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The Classical Review

FEBRUARY 1902.

CHARACTERISTICS OF THE HOMERIC VULGATE.

THE ancient Homeric *κοινή*, though clearly distinguished from the other states in which the poems existed, was not a fixed text itself. It suffered from the variation natural to any text transmitted by writing, together with the more extensive discrepancies incidental to a tradition largely oral. Therefore though the *κοινή* is nowhere confused with the various attempts made to improve upon it, its copies were not at all identical; and anyone who reads the current apparatus critici is aware of material additions and omissions,¹ without apparent source. I have collected these variations, and give here a skeleton of the conclusions which result.

As non-vulgate I have put aside (i) readings attributed to the eccentric editions (*κατ' ἀνδρα* and *κατὰ πόλεις*), whether by their separate names or collectively (*ἐν πάσαις* etc.); (ii) readings ascribed to any grammarian by name; (iii) large variations in early quotations (Plato and Aeschines), Ptolemaic papyri, and in certain late authors such as Plutarch, who are known to have referred to copies which resembled these papyri. This last class is vague, but if any meaning is to be given to 'vulgate' the categories I have mentioned must be excluded, and the only question is how far the class should extend; (iv) readings introduced by *τινές* and *ἑνιοί*. It is now clear that these expressions, even in the latest scholia, go back to precise statements

¹ And of many various readings also, which I do not deal with in this article.

about definite persons: and are to be distinguished from *ἐν τισι*, *ἐν ἅλλω*, *ἐν ἅλλοις*, *ἐν ἐνίοις* which refer to codices.

After making these exclusions we have, as sources for additions and omissions in the *κοινή*, (i) existing MSS., (ii) statements in scholia, (iii) quotations. The totals are (in lines)

Additions.	Omissions.
76	191.

The omissions are therefore $2\frac{1}{2}$ times as many as the additions. Arranged under sources we find—

	Additions.	Omissions.
MSS.	52.....	175
Quotations	14.....	15
Scholia	10.....	1.

In other words the additions come as to $\frac{10}{15}$ from extant MSS., as to $\frac{5}{15}$ from quotations and scholia together. The omissions come as to $\frac{1}{12}$ from extant MSS., as to $\frac{1}{12}$ from quotations and scholia. The part played by the MSS. is overwhelming in both categories, but with a marked increase of proportion in the omissions. The conclusion seems to follow that graphical conditions are mainly responsible for variations in the vulgate, and practically entirely responsible for omission.

While in the sphere of palaeography we appear to gain the observation, obvious perhaps but yet material, that omission is a much easier accompaniment of transcription than addition, we confirm—and this is of greater importance—our conception of the Homeric vulgate by noticing that the larger

changes in it (viz. additions and omissions of lines) consist mainly of variants within the MSS. which we possess. It is possible that further collation may find some of the additions and omissions hitherto known from quotations and scholia in actual MSS.

We may next analyse these variants according to their intrinsic character (no distinction being made between addition and omission). Several classes are at once obvious. I give a few specimens of each.¹

I. Epic Formulae, added or omitted. These are subdivisible under several heads, of which the most abundant are 'speaking' and 'going.' A few examples taken as they come—

- B 516 τοῖς δὲ τρυήκοντα γλαφυραὶ νέες ἐστι-
χόωντο.
Γ 86a ὄφρ' εἴπω τά με θυμὸς ἐνὶ στήθεσσι
κελεύει.
Δ 138 ἦ οἱ πλείστον ἔρπον, διὰ πρὸ δὲ εἵσατο
καὶ τῆς.
450 ἐνθα δ' ἄμ' οἰμωγὴ τε καὶ εὐχολὴ πέλεν
ἀνδρῶν.
461 αἰχμὴ χαλκείη, τὸν δὲ σκότος ὄσσε
κάλυπεν.
E 42 δούπησεν δὲ πεσὼν, ἀράβησε δὲ τεύχε'
ἐπ' αὐτῷ.

II. Influence of similar or identical Context.

- B 206 σκῆπτρόν τ' ἡδὲ θέμιστας ἵνα σφισι
βουλεύῃσι (199).
E 518a ἦ μὲν ἔχουσα κυδοιμὸν ἀναΐδα δημοτῆ-
τος (593, 594).
b 'Ἀρης δ' ἐν παλάμῃσι πελώριον ἔγχος
ἐνώμα.
H 380 δόρπον ἐπειθ' εἵλοντο κατὰ στρατὸν ἐν
τελέεσσι (370, Σ 298).
Θ 183 'Ἀργείους παρὰ νηυσὶν ἀτυζομένους ὑπὸ
καπνοῦ (I 243).

III. Additions and Omissions less automatic.

(a) In genealogies and lists of names.

- A 265 Θησεία τ' Αἰγείδην ἐπιείκελον ἀθανά-
τοισι.
B 820 Αἰνείας τὸν ὕπ' 'Αγχίστῃ τέκε δι' 'Αφρο-
δίτη.
821 'Ιδης ἐν κνημοῖσι θεὰ βροτῶ ἐνθηθεῖσα.
Δ 87 Λαοδόκῳ 'Αντηγόρῃ κρατερῶ αἰχμῆτῃ.
441 'Ἀρεος ἀνδροφόνου κασιγνήτῃ ἐτάρῃ τε.

¹ I am acquainted with Hoffmann's († und X der *Ilias*, 1864, p. 89 sq.) and Molhuysen's (*De tribus Homeri Odysseae codicibus antiquissimis*, 1896, p. 11 sq.) attempts at classification. A satisfactory collection must of course extend over the whole poem and all available MSS.

(b) To complete or facilitate a construc-
tion:

- B 206 σκῆπτρόν τ' ἡδὲ θέμιστας ἵνα σφισι
βουλεύῃσι.
E 567 μήτε πάθοι μέγα δὲ σφας ἀποσφῆλει
πόνοιο.
H 32 ὑμῖν ἀθανάτῃσι διαπραθέειν τόδε ἄστυ.
Θ 168a ἦ μήτε στρέψας μήτ' ἀντίβιον μαχέ-
σασθαι.
Ξ 70 νωνήμους ἀπολέσθαι ἀπ' 'Ἀργεος ἐνθάδ'
'Αχαιοῖς.
Π 658 Τρῶας φευγεμέναι· γινῶ γὰρ Διὸς ἰρὰ
τάλαντα.

(c) To complete a description, or eluci-
date a context;

- B 568a ἐν δ' ἄνδρες πολέμοιο δαήμονες, ἐστι-
χόωντο,
b 'Ἀργεῖοι λινοθώρηκες κέντρα πτολέ-
μοιο.
626 νήσων αἱ ναῖουσι πέρην ἀλὸς 'Ηλίδος
ἅντα.
738a χάρῳ ἐνὶ δρυόνετι, 'Υδης ἐν πίονι δημῷ.
Γ 78 μέσσοι δουρὸς ἑλὼν, τοὶ δ' ἰδρύνθησαν
ἅπαντες.
I 140a τὴν γὰρ ἀπ' αὐτὶς ἐγὼ δώσω ξανθῷ
Μενελάῳ.

(d) Similes omitted.

- Γ 35, N 63-5, Φ 283.

Some of these examples fall under more than one class. The large divisions are Epic Formulae and Effect of Like Contexts. The rest are small.

This analysis accounts for about 120 cases out of 265. The remainder will not bear arrangement under definite headings. Their omission is not accounted for by known graphical laws, such as homoeoteleuton²; and on the other hand they are not indispensable to the context. Their omission (or addition) is possible. Why were they omitted or added? Either (1) graphically: when we must admit mechanical omission without definite resemblance; or (2) the several scribes omitted or added lines because they felt that this or that passage was improved by doing so. This posits more intention and purpose in scribes than is generally supposed.³

² Clear graphical omissions, which exist in great abundance, and are caused not only by homoeoteleuton but by homoearechon and homoeomeson, are excluded from this enquiry.

³ Such a scribe or reader appears to announce himself in three epigrams in the *Palatine Anthology* ix. 36, 37, 38. The third is the most explicit:

ἐρῶν Κομητᾶς τὰς 'Ομηρικὰς βίβλους
ἐφθαρμένας τε κοῦδαμὸς ἐστιγμένας,
στίζας διςμύλινσα ταύτας ἐντέχνως,

However the fact that both omissions and additions are much more frequent in MSS. than in literary sources, and that omissions are commoner than additions, suggests that omissions are due to a graphical cause. That so many lines are strictly dispensable (they impair the poetical value of a passage but do not absolutely ruin the construction), is due to the natural diffuseness of epics and to the circumstance that additions to and expansions of a statement tend to fall within a single line.

These considerations should provide an explanation of the greatest omission in the *Iliad*, namely the Catalogue. They do not do so, however, and we have to fall back on general probabilities (Leaf, *Iliad*, i.-xii. p. 46).

Another question may be asked. Are the additions, whether in MSS., quotations, or scholia, new or old matter? do they give us new lines or are they repetitions of material actually in Homer? The answer is given by the following table:—

	MSS.	Scholia.	Quotations.
Total of Additions...	65	10	14
New Lines	8	4	10

As was to be expected, the additions in MSS. are nearly all of lines extant in Homer or other epic literature (e.g. A 265 from

τὴν σαπρίαν βίβλας μὲν ὡς ἀχρηστίαν,
γράφας δ' ἐκαινούργησα τὴν εὐχρηστίαν.
ἐπεὶ οἱ γράφοντες οὐκ ἐσφαλμένως
μαθητῶσιν ὡς εἴκε μαιβάνειν.

Cometes' metaphors do not leave it quite clear how far his critical activity proceeded, but he evidently 'used the knife' in one sense or another, and may have justified Timon's warning to Aratus.

Hesiod), sometimes with slight variations. On the other hand the additions made by scholiasts and found in quotations contribute new matter in rather more than half the cases.

Later MSS., that is minuscules and late Papyri, taken together yield a very small percentage of novelties. In the oldest papyri (not included in this calculation) the proportion is different. The four fragments of second or third century B.C. papyrus yield 26 extra lines, of which 5 are doubtful, 13 old, and 8 new. Omitting the doubtful restorations, about $\frac{2}{3}$ of the additions are old, $\frac{1}{3}$ new.

Since the mediaeval MSS. which exist in such great numbers make comparatively few additions to the text, and these almost exclusively lines already Homeric, it may seem probable that the addition of new lines in scholia and quotations are not vulgate but equivalent to the much more numerous additions introduced by the designations *τινές*, *ἐνιοι*. These, mainly preserved by the catholic interest of the Townley scholiast, would gain in value if age and source were ascribed to them; they have not survived in MSS., and the generous endeavour of this scholiast to save the stray and the eccentric has had as little effect upon the immovable Vulgate as in the other sense the Alexandrian obelus.¹

T. W. ALLEN.

¹ There is little distinction to be drawn between MS. and MS. in the matter of additions and omissions. The Townley MS. appears to come first with eight omissions, and Ge, Mc, and O5 to follow with five; among late papyri the Syriac palimpsest adds most lines.

THE OPENING OF SOPHOCLES *ANTIGONE*.

My conjecture as to the probable original form of v. 4 sq. has already appeared in this *Review* (xiii, 386), and I still believe it to be right. At the same place I have also expressed my belief in the correctness of Paley's treatment of v. 3. In what follows here I wish to deal with some other matters pertaining to the correction and interpretation of this speech of Antigone's.

In the first place I can no longer believe that the words *τῶν ἀπ' Οἰδίπου κακῶν* in v. 2 are sound. Professor Semitelos was right in objecting, as others had done, to the position of the word *Ζεὺς* and to the un-

natural meaning that must be given to the phrase *ἀπ' Οἰδίπου*. We find the phrase used in the natural sense and in the same position in the verse *Ant.* 193 (*ἀστροῖσι παίδων τῶν ἀπ' Οἰδίπου πέρι*). A simple remedy for the words, which has not, however, to my knowledge been applied by anyone, consists in changing *τῶν* to *τοῖς*. The collocation and contrast of *Ζεὺς* and *τοῖς ἀπ' Οἰδίπου* are excellent, and the *κακῶν* at the end of the verse would readily lead a careless copier to change *τοῖς* to *τῶν*. V. 2 sq. will thus be = *ἀρ' οἷσθ' ὅτι Ζεὺς τοῖς ἀπ' Οἰδίπου* (= *τοῖς Οἰδίπου τέκνοις*) *κακὰ πάντα*

νῶν ζῶσαν (gen. absol. = ἐν τῷ νῶ ζῆν) τελεῖ (=τελεῖν μέλλει);

Secondly, in v. 6 I cannot believe that οὐκ ὅπωπ' can be what Sophocles wrote. I venture to think that only if the words τῶν σῶν τε κἀμῶν belonged rather to the antecedent than to the relative clause (and that they do not) could the repeated negation be tolerated. But ὅπωπ' is too little separated from the οὐ after ὁποῖον to justify the resumption of the negation by a second οὐ (οὐκ). That Todt was right in suggesting (*Philologus* 31 [1872], p. 215) εἰσόπωπ' as the original text can, I think, be made still more plausible by a passage in the *Electra*, where Sophocles writes (417 sq.) εἰσιδεῖν πατρός τοῦ σοῦ τε κἀμοῦ δευτέραν ὁμιλίαν. Here the similarity of the first half of v. 418 to the first half of *Ant.* 6 is at once apparent; and the fact that with the half verse in the *Electra* εἰσιδεῖν is associated is certainly a fair argument to urge in support of Todt's conjecture. I may add that there is, on the other hand, an argument against Morstadt's conjecture (*Beiträge zur Exegese und Kritik der Sophokleischen Tragödien Elektra, Aias und Antigone*, Schaffhausen, 1864, p. 48) φίλων for κακῶν at the end of vs. 6 in *Electra* 763, where we read μέγιστα πάντων ὧν ὅπωπ' ἐγὼ κακῶν. This verse seems clearly reminiscent of *Ant.* 6: the fact that εἰσόπωπ' could not be fitted in makes it invalid as a defence of οὐκ ὅπωπ'.

It has not, I think, been duly noted that the words τῶν σῶν τε κἀμῶν are emphatic where they stand. That means that the evils—the κακά—of Ismene and Antigone are to be contrasted by the latter with the evils of somebody else. That somebody else is Polynices; and after the καὶ νῦν, in which the νῦν is contrasted with the ἥδη implied in εἰσόπωπ' (to accept that conjecture, though the sense is here the main point), we should expect, if we had thus far seen what Antigone were driving at—ποῦ γνώμης εἶη—a distinct reference to Polynices, and we should expect the tone of statement, not that of interrogation. The accepting of Reiske's τοιοῦτ' for τί τοῦτ' (which correction, I may be permitted to add, had occurred to me a good while ago before I knew that Reiske had also made it¹) preserves that tone of statement. But the accepting of τοιοῦτ' carries us farther. We must read to the end of v. 8 in the tone of statement and then suddenly appears a question, the statement not being completed. What has happened? Antigone has interrupted her-

The correction would seem (see Mr. Blaydes's *Adversaria*) to have been made also by Naber.

self. She wants to be quite sure that she is not telling Ismene something that the latter already knows. (Ἦδη καλῶς in v. 18 is, of course, equivalent to our 'I thought not,' 'I was pretty sure you hadn't,' if my reasoning is sound thus far.) If we look on a little further, we get just what Antigone was going on to say when she interrupted herself to question Ismene; for if in v. 21 we should substitute for οὐ γὰρ τάφου νῶν the words τάφου γὰρ ἡμῖν, the tale which Antigone tells in v. 21 sqq. could be placed in immediate sequence to vv. 1-8. ὥς λέγουσι in v. 23 recalls the φασὶ of v. 7. Indeed, I venture to think that Sophocles at first composed the opening of the *Antigone* in the form I have just indicated and then, thanks to a happy δευτέρα φροντίς, improved it by inserting vv. 9-20 and changing slightly the beginning of v. 21, which had been at first v. 9.²

Before writing out vv. 1-10 as I think we should read and point them I would note the meaning that must be given to Reiske's—καὶ Σοφοκλέους κἀν οὐ μὴ θέλῃς—τοιοῦτ', namely ἀλγεινὸν οὐδ' ἄτης ἄτερ καὶ αἰσχρὸν οὐδ' ἔντιμον. It may also be added that Hermann Schütz in his *Sophokleische Studien* p. 206 has strongly supported that interpretation of v. 10 which makes τοὺς φίλους = Ἰολυνείκη and τῶν ἐχθρῶν = τῶν Ἀργείων. Furthermore, Professor Gildersleeve has shewn that, by a peculiar form of ellipsis (akin perhaps in the case of individual words to such a phrase as ἡ τῆς βασιλείας νόσου ἀκμή=ἡ τῆς τῆς β.ν.ἀ.), the words στείχοντα τῶν ἐχθρῶν κακά may very well be taken as = στείχοντα τὰ τῶν ἐχθρῶν κακά. But to this interesting matter of style I shall recur. The following is the form that I believe vv. 1-10 should have:—

Ἦ κοινὸν αὐτάδελφον Ἰσμήνης κἀρα,
ἀρ' οἶσθ' ὅτι Ζεὺς τοῖς ἀπ' Οἰδίπῳ κακῶν
<οὐκ ἔσθ'> ὁποῖον οὐχὶ νῶν ζῶσαν τελεῖ;
Οἰδὴν γὰρ οὐτ' ἀλγεινὸν οὐδ' ἄτης ἄτερ
οὐτ' αἰσχρὸν οὐδ' ἔντιμον ἔσθ' ὁποῖον οὐ
τῶν σῶν τε κἀμῶν εἰσόπωπ' ἐγὼ κακῶν,
καὶ νῦν τοιοῦτ' αὖ φασὶ πανδῆμοι πόλει
κήρυγμα θείναι τὸν στρατηγὸν ἀρτίως—
ἔχεις τι κἀρήκουσας ἢ σε λαθάνει
πρὸς τοὺς φίλους στείχοντα τῶν ἐχθρῶν κακά;

² I may add that it may further be noted as an interesting coincidence and perhaps a confirmation of what I have just written, that vv. 1-8 + vv. 21-30 (omitting, of course, 24 and making the consequent corrections) amount to 17, the same number that Antigone's opening speech and Ismene's answer make up together, as the play now stands. Verses seem to tend markedly to fall into groups of 17 in the *Antigone*.

Before resuming the discussion of the peculiar form of ellipsis represented in v. 10, I wish to deal with another of Morstadt's conjectures because it can be very prettily and conclusively proved wrong. Morstadt repeats (*l.c.*) his conjecture that vv. 15-17 should be shared by Antigone and Ismene in this way:

ANT. ἐπεὶ δὲ φροῦδός ἐστιν Ἀργείων στρατός
ἐν νυκτὶ τῇ νῦν, οὐδὲν οἶσθ' ὑπέρτερον;
IS. οὐτ' εὐτυχούσα μᾶλλον οὐτ' ἀτωμένη.

This involves a change of the traditional text that could be readily accounted for, were there not a very good reason for maintaining that no such change is necessary—to say nothing of the fact that there is no obvious urgent reason for redistributing the traditional text. This good reason is the presence of a very elegant chiasmus,—a figure that has not, I venture to think, been sufficiently attended to in Sophocles—or other Greek stylists. In Ismene's speech as customarily read the arrangement is this: (A) Ἐμοὶ μὲν...ἔκετ(ο), (B) ἐξ ὅτων...χερὶ, (B) ἐπεὶ δὲ...τῇ νῦν, (A) οὐδὲν οἶδ'...ἀτωμένη. Here it should furthermore be observed (1)

that ἐξ ὅτων is parallel with ἐπεὶ, (2) that οὐθ' ἡδὺς οὐτ' ἀλγευνός is parallel with οὐτ' εὐτυχούσα οὐτ' ἀτωμένη, and (3) that μᾶλλον is parallel with ἐν νυκτὶ τῇ νῦν. The case for the defence is thus very plain.

To return now to the ellipsis. Professor J. H. Wright in the *Harvard Studies in Classical Philology*, xii. pp. 137 *seqq.*, has brought together a number of examples, all of which I cannot accept, of this very interesting phenomenon, which we might call in deference to Sophoclean diction the *ἀπλοῦν ἔπος* (implying ἀλλὰ διπλοῦν ἔργον). Professor Wright calls it 'euphonic ellipsis.' The matter is worthy of more attention than it has received, albeit such investigations should be pursued with the extremest caution. I venture to think that we can explain in this way a troublesome place in the *Electra*, where (v. 316) we read Ὡς νῦν ἀπόντος ἰστόρει τί σοι φίλον. May we not understand this as for Ὡς ν.δ. ἰστόρει εἰ τί σοι φίλον and write it (perhaps) Ὡς ν.δ. ἰστόρει τί σοι φίλον! But sat paginae biberunt atramenti.

MORTIMER LAMSON EARLE.

ON TWO PASSAGES OF SOPHOCLES *ELECTRA*.

I.—153-163.

If we try to construe this passage according to the traditional text, vv. 153-155 can only mean: 'Not to you alone, my child, has a grief come in respect of which you surpass those that are within.' But such a remark does not square with the evident intention of the Chorus nor with the following words. Prof. Kaibel has seen the difficulty and has evaded it. His words should be quoted here. He writes (*ad loc.*): 'Hier ist *πρὸς ὅτι* "in Bezug auf welches Leid" (*ἄχος*) freilich etwas prosaisch, *zudem sollte man* *πρὸς ὃ* *erwarten*. [The italics are mine.—M. L. E.] Aber die Prosa wird man hinnehmen müssen, und in *ὅτι* scheint die unbestimmte Allgemeinheit des regierenden Satzes nachzuwirken ("alle Menschen haben Leid"); keinesfalls darf man determinative Relativsätze vergleichen, in denen *ὅστις* mit Recht steht (G. Hermann praef. OT p. viii.): der Satz ist selbständig und lautet nicht *πρὸς ὃ* *τι* *δικαίως* *ἂν* *σύ* *περιττῇ* *εἴης*. Die für den Chor undenkbare Brutalität *πρὸς τί* *δὲ* *σύ* *τῶν* *ἔνδον* *εἰ* *περισσά*; hätte

niemandem 'einfallen sollen.' I can not but think that it is rather the 'unbestimmte Allgemeinheit' of Prof. Kaibel's theory of Greek relative clauses than that quality in the antecedent clause here that we should recognise. Yet who has thought to question *ὅστις* in Eur. *Med.* 220, a reading that I believe to be demonstrably wrong in the context? The fact is that a simple relative is demanded in v. 155. Such simple relative may be obtained without the change of a single letter by merely setting the proper diacritical marks. That I shall now do, as I think; and besides I will set down the whole context, as I would read it.

Οὐ τοι σοὶ μόναι, τέκνον,
ἄχος ἐφάνη βροτῶν,
πρὸς ὃ τί σὺ τῶν ἐν γένει περισσὰ
ὡς ὁμόθεν εἰ καὶ γοναὶ ξύναιμος;
οἷα Χρυσόθεμις ζῶει καὶ Ἰφιάνασσα
κρυπτᾷ τ' ἄχων ἐν ἡβᾷ—
ἄλβιος—ὄν ἂ κλεινὰ
γὰ ποτε Μυκηναίων
δέξεται εὐπατρίδαν Διὸς εὐφρονι
βίματι μολόντα τάνδε γᾶν—Ὀρέσταν.

To this text I would append a note or two, as follows. τί σὺ περισσὰ (sc. εἶ) means 'in what respect have you more?' The 'grief' or 'sorrow' (ἄχος) as here thought of is potential rather than actual. Electra is no more deeply concerned by right in the family sorrow and shame than her sisters and her brother. There is the same 'Brutalität' in my reading as in the conjectural reading condemned by Professor Kaibel; but I deny that it is 'undenkbar.' ἐν γένει (Blaydes) is pretty clearly demanded by what follows. It is only by an artifice of modern printing that Orestes can be separated from Chrysothemis and Iphianassa. His name is held until the end—to mention nothing else—in such wise that the three are most closely linked together. And he is distinctly not ἔνδον. οἷς...ἔναιμος is an essential and restrictive relative clause closely linked with τῶν ἐν γένει and not to be set off by a comma. It seems not to be well understood. It means ὧν ὁμομητρία εἶ καὶ ὁμοπατρία ἀδελφή. The adv. ὁμόθεν is = ἐκ τῆς αὐτῆς γαστρὸς, and γονή is used here in the sense of *semen viri*. ὄλβιος seems most naturally to be taken as an ejaculation, and ἀχέων must be noun and not participle (so Professor Kaibel). The relative clause ὃν...γὰν does duty as a substantive, and 'Ορέσταν is attracted to ὃν. The whole is = 'Ορέστας, ὃν...γὰν. The words κρυπταῖ...ῆβαι of course belong to ζῶει understood. In view of the strain that Sophocles has put upon the meaning of other words in other places, I hesitate, with Sir R. C. Jebb, to change βήματι, which, and not Διός, seems to demand change, if change is to be made. The proximity of μολόντα might have helped to change νεύματι to βήματι. But the matter is an exceedingly difficult one to decide.

II.—681–687.

THE current explanation of Δελφικῶν ἄθλων χάριν (v. 682) joins these words with ἐλθῶν (v. 681). To this construction there appears to be a fatal objection, namely that the words τὸ κλεινὸν (or κοινὸν) Ἑλλάδος πρόσχημ' ἀγῶνος, 'the famous (or 'common') assemblage-prominence of Greece' as, it seems, we should literally render, cannot, without an added epithet of some sort, describe the Pythian πανήγυρις. That vv. 681 and 682 are essentially sound as they stand in the Sophoclean MSS. there would appear to be no good reason to doubt. The fact that Sophocles is referring to a

πανήγυρις and that the idea of κλεινὸν would be practically repeated in πρόσχημ' seems to favour the reading of Thomas Magister, κοινὸν for κλεινὸν, in v. 681; but that may be justly regarded as a minor matter. A construction of the words Δελφικῶν ἄθλων χάριν that I have not met with elsewhere but that seems to me certainly right, makes v. 681 sq. perfectly plain. Join ἐς τὸ κοινὸν Ἑλλάδος πρόσχημ' ἀγῶνος Δελφικῶν ἄθλων χάριν, understanding the words as though they had been arranged ἐς τὸ κοινὸν Ἑλλάδος Δελφικῶν ἄθλων χάριν πρόσχημ' ἀγῶνος, which is only a compacter way of saying ἐς τὸ κοινὸν Ἑλλάδος πρόσχημ' ἀγῶνος τὸ Δελφικῶν ἄθλων χάριν γιγνόμενον = ἐς τὸν Δελφικόν (= Πυθικόν) ἀθλητικὸν ἀγῶνα. The expression πρόσχημ' ἀγῶνος (= κλεινὸς ἀγὼν) Δελφικῶν ἄθλων (= certaminum) χάριν is, save for the use of the simpler and commoner χάριν for πρὸς χάριν, essentially the same that we find at *Ani.* 30, where the words θησαυρὸν πρὸς χάριν (= χάριν) βορᾶς should be thus joined (as they are by Sir R. C. Jebb, though he gives an unduly laboured and partly false explanation of πρὸς χάριν and οἰωνοῖς θησαυρὸν πρὸς χάριν βορᾶς understood as a paraphrase of the Homeric οἰωνοῖσι δαῖτα—which two words were doubtless thus associated in Sophocles's mind as he commonly thought of them, much as we say and think *otium cum dignitate*, albeit in *Cic. de orat.* 1. 1, 1 *in otio* is linked with *cum dignitate* by the *esse* that follows the later phrase.¹

In v. 683 sq. it looks, if the text be sound, as though Sophocles had blended ἦσθετ' ἀνδρὸς ὀρθίους κηρύμασιν δρόμον προκηρύξαντος and ἦσθετ' ὀρθίους κηρυγμάτων ἀνδρὸς δρόμον προκηρύσσοντος (cf. however vv. 417–419), but there is a more important matter than that in v. 684, namely the interpretation of the relative clause οὗ πρώτῃ κρίσις. Nauck understood this to be a restrictive clause, though, of course, in the pernicious German fashion that the present writer for one would be glad to see banished for ever from Greek and Latin texts, he sets a comma before οὗ. We should then understand δρόμον οὗ πρώτῃ κρίσις as = τοῦτον τὸν δρόμον οὗ πρώτῃ κρίσις. But this interpretation of the relative clause practically demands, I venture to think, not οὗ πρώτῃ κρίσις but οὗ πρώτου κρίσις = ὅς πρώτος (sc. τῶν ἄλλων δρόμων) κρίνεται. If, however, we take

¹ It ought to be added here that Hermann Schiitz in his *Sophokleische Studien*, p. 292, separates Δελφικῶν ἄθλων χάριν from ἐλθῶν but makes χάριν purely substantival and appositive to πρόσχημ'. This I cannot believe to be right.

δρόμον in the sense of 'running,' 'foot-racing' (ποδῶν δρόμον), we can perfectly well understand οὐ πρώτη κρίσις as = οὐ κρίσις πρώτη, i.e. οὐ ἡ κρίσις πρώτη (= πρὸ τῶν ἄλλων κρίσεων) γίγνεται, although it must be admitted that οὐ πρώτων κρίσις would have been clearer.

We come now to the much and variously discussed v. 685 sq. Here I cannot but think that Schütz's lucid note in his *Sophokleische Studien*, pp. 292-4, is fatal to Musgrave's ingenious and palaeographically plausible τῇ 'φύσει (corrected by Dindorf to τὰ φύσει). However, there are objections to that conjecture that have not perhaps been put forward. (1) δρόμον would, if τὰ φύσει be adopted, have to be understood as = τοῦ δρόμου; (2) the emphatic position of δρόμον would also remain unexplained and, perhaps, unexplainable. The only way, it might be urged, in which Musgrave's conjecture could readily be admitted would be by changing δρόμον (δρόμω, δρόμον) into δραμών. Now the contrast of εἰσῆλθε (v. 685) and ἐξῆλθε (v. 687) shews that

vv. 686 and 687 must be closely connected with those that immediately precede: the full stop after σέβας should be replaced by a point above the line. Furthermore, we want at the head of the clause that is begun in v. 685 something to resume and carry on the former half of the sentence. This δρόμον will do, if taken in the same sense that δρόμον bears in v. 684 or that the δρόμον bears which we understand with εἰσῆλθε in v. 685. Should we not understand δρόμον τὰ τέρματα to mean 'the issue of running' and interpret v. 685 as = δραμών δὲ συμμετρῶς τῇ φύσει (= τῇ λαμπρότητι τῆς φύσεως implied in v. 685) or, more concisely, δραμών δὲ λαμπρῶς? Orestes was handsome to look at and he ran handsomely. My (and Wolff's) explanation of the passage thus differs from one that is commonly given chiefly in the interpretation of τὰ τέρματα. The main objection to this explanation and its fellow is that we must supply αὐτοῦ referring to Orestes with τῇ φύσει.

MORTIMER LAMSON EARLE.

NOTES ON ARISTOPHANES *KNIGHTS*.

THE following notes have been suggested by the posthumous commentary of the lamented R. A. Neil. All are upon passages which he marks, more or less distinctly, as still awaiting explanation, and I publish them as a tribute to his memory. His book, in fulness of knowledge, in distaste for nonsense (even ancient nonsense), and in genial spirit, is so like himself, that a friend cannot read it without an impulse to do something, if possible, in the same cause.

531 νυνὶ δ' ἑμεῖς αὐτὸν ὀρώντες παραληροῦντ'
οἷκ ἐλεῖτε,
ἐκπιπτοῦσιν τῶν ἡλέκτρων, καὶ τοῦ τόνου
οἷκ ἐτ' ἐνόητος,
τῶν ὅ' ἄρμονιων διαχασκουσῶν· ἀλλὰ γέρων
ὧ περιέρρει κ.τ.λ.

I take first this problematic passage from the famous lament over the supposed decadence of the poet Cratinus, because of its interest as illustrating the tendency of discussion to run in a rut, and the difficulty of a logical 'fresh start'. At first sight one may easily suppose that ἡλέκτρων, τόνου and ἄρμονιων are items in the same metaphor, parts of something to which Cratinus is compared. A *scholium* so supposes, and

suggests, not happily, that the object is a bed or bedstead. The moderns, improving the lead, suggest a lyre, and there to this day the matter stands. But upon ἐκπιπτοῦσιν τῶν ἡλέκτρων they encounter, with this theory, the objections that (1) ἡλεκτρος (ἡλεκτρον) is not feminine; (2) no such word as ἡλέκτρα (if we prefer the accentuation ἡλεκτρῶν) is discoverable; (3) if ἡλεκτρος, or a cognate, denoted any part of a lyre (or something else), that part would naturally, from the known history of the word, be an ornament or ornamental part, whereas the supposed metaphor manifestly requires an essential part, something necessary to the efficiency of the instrument. Now these objections, long ago noted and duly exhibited by Mr. Neil, are *prima facie* fatal to the whole supposition upon which the *scholium* proceeds. But the commentaries have continued to move within the lines of the discredited *scholium*, and to debate very peaceably the question, what part of what thing an ἡλεκτρος (feminine) or ἡλέκτρα may be supposed to be, if we first suppose the said ἡλεκτρος or ἡλέκτρα to exist. And we are thus left at this date to submit the remark that such speculations are premature,

because the term in debate is a familiar word with a known meaning. 'Ἠλεκτρῶν (feminine) is the genitive plural of the proper name *Electra*; it is this and, so far as we know, nothing else; and therefore until we have ascertained that the name does not fit, no other conjecture is legitimate.

But hereupon we immediately perceive that the proper name not only may be intended but must, because Ἀρμονιών (*sic*), another of the connected terms, is also such a proper name, and one closely associated with Ἠλεκτρῶν. *Electra*, the Theban *Electra*, who gave her name to the gate *Electrae*, was the sister of *Cadmus* (Pausanias 9. 8. 4), and *Harmonia* was his wife. That these two names, thus coupled by legend, should have come into our passage by accident, the words representing them not being really names at all, would be incredible, even if both words were capable, which one is not, of another interpretation. Therefore they certainly are names, and it remains only to translate the sentence accordingly: *now that his Electras fail, and the old vigour is not in them, and his 'Harmonias' do not hang together.* 'Electra' and 'Harmonia' are of course personages of Cratinus, presumably characters in the same play and scene, parody-characters borrowed from legend or tragedy, like many in Aristophanes. This we learn from the passage itself, and particularly from ἐκπιπτουσῶν, which is no metaphor but bears its ordinary sense as applied to theatrical works, persons and figures, *disapproved, rejected, hissed off*. Nor is τόνον, as first used, metaphorical; it means (see Mr. Neil's note) literally *energy, vigour, force*. But following on τόνον, Ἀρμονιών naturally recalls, by relation to *tone*, the meaning *harmony, joining or fitting together*, and hence the play upon this meaning, διαχασκουσῶν, *gaping, parting, going to pieces*, that is to say, without metaphor, missing the intended effect.

One ambiguity appears to remain and cannot perhaps be determined. Are *Harmonia* and *Electra* personages in a recent work of Cratinus which failed, or are they on the contrary former successes, typical and famous examples of his vigour,—as it might have been said of Scott in his latest years that 'his Boisguilberts and Ivanhoes are not what they were,' meaning that his recent figures of romance were inferior to Boisguilbert or Ivanhoe? This latter interpretation seems preferable, as explaining and requiring the plural, whereas the other

would admit, and perhaps more naturally, the singular.

It should be noted that the allusion to *Electra* and *Harmonia* does not exclude a simultaneous reference by way of pun to the ἤλεκτρος (-τρον, -τρα) of a bed or a lyre, if the existence of such an object can be sufficiently established. Whether it can, we need not here discuss, being concerned only with the primary and certain meaning of the word.

But the 'Electra' of this passage had a further history, and throws light upon another place in Aristophanes. In the year after the triumph of the *Knights*, Cratinus turned the tables, and repaid the condolences of Aristophanes over his 'decay' by beating the *Clouds* out of the field. The play with which he won seems to have been actually suggested by a line in our passage, (see Mr. Neil on *Eq.* 526), and we may be sure at any rate that its back-handed compliments were not left without an answer. Some years later Aristophanes, we know, appealed against the condemnation of the *Clouds*, though without success, by presenting it in the revised and existing form. His play, he then said, looked for judges as discerning and favourable as those who had rewarded him formerly; 'like *Electra*' (of course the Argive) 'she will recognise, if she sees it, her brother's hair' (*Nub.* 534). Now this comparison, though explicable, is far from obvious; and we might well ask why the heroine should be brought in. This question we are now able at least in part to answer. To bring in the name *Electra* anyhow was worth while, and a happy stroke, as proving at all events that Aristophanes was not ashamed or afraid of it. To mention it, in connexion with an attempt to retrieve the defeat of the *Clouds* by Cratinus, was to show in the circumstances both boldness and good humour.

503 ὅμεις δ' ἡμῖν προσέχετε τὸν νοῖν
τοῖς ἀναπαίστοις,
ὃ παντοίας ᾗδ' μούσης
πειραθέντες, καθ' ἑαυτοῦς.

Punctuate so, with comma after *πειραθέντες*. The words καθ' ἑαυτοῦς belong to τοῖς ἀναπαίστοις, 'a parabasis (*i.e.*, a comedian) appearing in its proper name (*i.e.*, as the poet's own)', as Aristophanes now with the *Knights* did for the first time (see Mr. Neil's *Introduction*). The construction is τοῖς καθ' ἑαυτοῦς ἀναπαίστοις, but the qualifying words are purposely extruded and separated for emphasis. The expression καθ' ἑαυτοῦς is technical (note *ad loc.*): Mr. Neil endeavours

to construe it with ὦ . . περιβαίντες, but is plainly not satisfied. The other way must, I think, have been suggested, though I find no notice of it.

526 εἶτα Κρατίνου μεμνημένος, ὃς, πολλῶ
†ρέυσας† ποτ' ἐπαίνῳ,
διὰ τῶν ἀφελῶν πεδίῳν ἔρρει κτλ.

The unsuccessful attempts to correct the solecistic *ρέυσας* (*βρύσας*; *λάβρος*, etc.) all apparently assume that we must have something equivalent to *ρέυσας* in sense, connecting the phrase with the comparison, which follows, of Cratinus to a torrent in flood. But is this certain? The only condition seems to be that πολλῶ — ποτ' ἐπαίνῳ should describe Cratinus as formerly victorious (*τὰς προτέρας νίκας* 535); the phrase need not be metaphorical at all, still less need it anticipate the figure of the torrent. On this wider view I suggest for consideration πόλλ' ἱρεύσας ποτ' Ἑπαίνῳ (or ἱερεύσας), 'having formerly offered many thanksgivings to Applause,' that is to say, having celebrated with sacrifice many a dramatic success and dedication of the prize. To personify the applause, which led to the rite, in the figure of a deity 'to' or in honour of whom it was performed, appears not unsuitable to the abounding personification of the comedians' style. The tragic form *ἱρεύσας* would, I conceive, be as likely in such a word and connexion as the prosaic form *ἱερεύσας*, and it may be preferred as accounting for the error: *πολλαίρευσας* was first mis-divided, *πολλαὶ ρεύσας*, and then mis-corrected in the obvious way, *πολλῶι*.

755 κέχνηεν ὥσπερ †ἐμποδίζων ἰσχυάδας†

'open-mouthed as [a person?] hindering figs.' Neil cites four interpretations of this, drily distinguishing the one which 'seems the least possible.' The words are surely nonsense, if so much. The fondness of Aristophanes for birds and especially their beaks (e.g. *λάρος κεχνηώς* *Eq.* 936), together with the fact that *-ās* is a characteristic ending of bird-names (Neil on 534), strongly suggest that a bird-name lies in the letters *ισχυάδας*. What name, we cannot hope to say with certainty, but why not *ισχυάδας* itself? Such a name 'fig-bird' seems likely enough. Then for *ἐμποδίζων* we want the act in which it 'opens its mouth.' Probably *ἐμπιδίζων*, *gnatting*, i.e. gnat-hunting. The existence of such a word, available for Aristophanes, is as direct a corollary from the existence of the stem *ἐμπίδ-*, *gnat*, as any case of the noun *ἐμπίς*. In the Attic of the comedians

verbs are formed in *-ίζω* with exactly the same freedom as we in colloquial English make a verb out of a substantive (see Neil on *Eq.* 825, 1189, etc.). In *Eq.* 523 we actually have in a group of such words *ψηνίζων*, *midging*; it happens there to mean 'exhibiting in the theatre *midges*', but that is given by the context. The word means *per se* 'doing something connected with *midge*', and similarly *ἐμπιδίζων*, *gnatting*.

773 ὃς πρῶτα μὲν, ἡνίκ' ἐβούλενόν σοι,
χρήματα πλείστ' ἀπέδειξα
ἐν τῷ κοινῷ, τοὺς μὲν στρεβλῶν, τοὺς
δ' ἄγχων, τοὺς δὲ μεταίτων.

'*μεταίτω*' says Mr. Neil 'a rare compound, generally means "blackmail, claim a share" as an accomplice or partner in some dubious transaction . . . Does it mean more than "*dunning*" here?' Surely yes: it means 'blackmail' as usual. The words *τοὺς δὲ μεταίτων* are an 'aside', a *solto voce* confession of the truth, escaping in the midst of Cleon's self-laudation.

1025 οὐ τοῦτό φησ' ὁ χρησμός, ἀλλ' ὁ κύων
ἔδδ
ὥσπερ θύρας σου τῶν λογίων παρεσθίει.
ἐμοὶ γάρ ἐστ' ὀρθῶς περὶ τούτου τοῦ
κυνός.

Cleon has produced an oracle (1015 foll.) promising Demos a faithful dog, and has applied it, though it contains no personal identification, to himself. The Sausage-man heredenies this application; he himself has an oracle, which he proceeds to quote (1030 foll.) really applicable to Cleon the dog; he is a dog indeed, but a Cerberus. But what of *v.* 1026, *he eats as it were some of the door of your oracle*? 'It seems to mean that Cleon suppressed parts of oracles unfavourable to himself. But the reading is uncertain and the full meaning obscure' (Neil). Nothing in the context explains the supposed 'suppression of a part', and the metaphor *eat the door* is surely absurd. Mr. Neil, following Hermann (*ἀθάρης*), suspects the word *θύρας*. I think the error is in *παρεσθίει* and in the punctuation:

οὐ τοῦτό φησ' ὁ χρησμός, ἀλλ' ὁ κύων ἔδδ.
ὥσπερ θύρας σου τῶν λογίων παρεσθίειν
ἐμοὶ γάρ ἐστ' ὀρθῶς περὶ τούτου τοῦ κυνός.

'That is not the meaning; the true dog is myself. He slipped in at the door (so to speak) of your oracle, did this dog; I have an oracle which really describes him.'

In claiming the benefit of the oracle about the faithful dog Cleon practised a theft and an intrusion, like a *stray-dog who should slip in at the house-door* in the hope of course to pick up something at the expense of the master and the true guardian. *θύρας* (*fores*) is acc. plur., not fem. sing. In *παρεισέθει* the imperfect tense is correct and necessary; the act of *running in surreptitiously* describes what Cleon 'was doing'

when, in the preceding lines, he cited the complimentary oracle in his own favour. For the corruption to *παρεσθίει* (for which, by the way, we should in any case rather expect *πατραρώγει*) a ready occasion would be the common spelling *παρεσ*: indeed in certain uncials the two words would be scarcely distinguishable.

A. W. VERRALL.

PLATONICA.—IV.

(Continued from Vol. XV. p. 302.)

PHAEDO.

In several passages, which are still obscure, I am inclined to think that the solution of the difficulty is the supposition of a word, or sometimes more than one word, lost. Indeed in Greek books generally this loss has probably happened more often than is commonly supposed. We all know how easy it is to leave out a word in writing or copying. In the *Phaedo* Heindorf pointed out long ago that οὐδὲν μεντᾶν ἡγτρον ἀκούοιμι (73 D) ought to have a ἡδέως added, but he pointed it out in vain.

For instance, in 66 B we read *παρίστασθαι δόξαν τοιάνδε* 'to genuine philosophers, that they say to one another: *Κινδυνεύει τοι ὥσπερ ἀτραπὸς τις ἐκφέρειν ἡμᾶς μετὰ τοῦ λόγου ἐν τῇ σκέψει, ὅτι, ἕως ἂν τὸ σῶμα ἔχωμεν κ.τ.λ., οὐ μὴ ποτε κτησώμεθα ἱκανῶς οὐ ἐπιθυμοῦμεν.* Here *ἀτραπὸς τις*, a metaphorical expression, hardly admits of being explained by *ὅτι κ.τ.λ.* 'as it were a path, that, as long as &c.': yet *ὅτι κ.τ.λ.* cannot itself be the subject of *κινδυνεύει ἐκφέρειν*. What again is the combination of *ἀτραπὸς τις* and *μετὰ τοῦ λόγου*? They do not cohere. What really guides us as a sort of track in our enquiry along with reason is an *idea*, *inkling*, *conjecture*, *surmise*, to the effect that we shall never get what we want while we are cumbered with the body. In other words, something like *δόξα, εἰκασία, στοχασμός, πίστις* has been lost, e.g. before *ἐκφέρειν*. Observe the *παρίστασθαι δόξαν τοιάνδε* just before and in 67 B *τοιαῦτα οἶμαι...πρὸς ἀλλήλους λέγειν καὶ δοξάζειν πάντας τοὺς ὀρθῶς φιλομαθεῖς.*

So again in 82 C *εἰς δέ γε θεῶν γένος μὴ φιλοσοφῆσαντι καὶ παντελῶς καθαρῶ ἀπίνοντι οὐ*

θέμις ἀφικνεῖσθαι ἀλλ' ἢ (*ἄλλω ἢ T*) *τῷ φιλομαθεῖ* the only possible meaning is the absurd one that none but lovers of knowledge are admitted in an impure and unphilosophical condition. Possibly *ἀλλ' ἢ τῷ φιλομαθεῖ* should, as someone has suggested, be omitted altogether, but how did the words get in? To me it seems more likely that something, perhaps a whole line, has been lost before them.

83 D (*ψυχῇ*) *οἷα μηδέποτε εἰς Αἴδον καθαρῶς ἀφικέσθαι.*

The adverb *καθαρῶς* is quite impossible as qualifying the action of the verb, and Heindorf made the obvious correction *καθαρά*, which is likely enough to be right (cf. *καθαρῶ ἀπίνοντι* in 82 C above quoted &c.). But, when we compare the phrase *αἱ μὴ καθαρῶς ἀπολυθεῖσαι* (81 D), we see that it is perhaps just as likely that Plato wrote something like *εἰς Αἴδον καθαρῶς ἀπολυθεῖσα* (or *ἀπηλλαγμένη*) *ἀφικέσθαι*. The two compounds with *ἀπο-* might lead to the mistake.

In 91 D *Κέβης δέ μοι ἔδοξε τοῦτο μὲν ἐμοὶ συγχωρεῖν, πολυχρονιώτερον γε εἶναι ψυχὴν σώματος, ἀλλὰ τὸδε ἀδελον παντί, μὴ κ.τ.λ.* It may be that we are to understand an *ἔστω* or an *ἔφη εἶναι* with *τὸδε ἀδελον*, but is it not more likely that we ought to add it?

In 108 A *οὐ γάρ πού τις ἂν διαμάρτοι οὐδαμῶς μῖα ὁδοῦ οὕσης*, until I come across a parallel to *διαμάρτοι οὐδαμῶς* I shall think that we ought perhaps to read *οὐδαμῶς <ἰών>*. Putting *ὁδοῦ* earlier would also make the sentence intelligible, *ὁδοῦ* being then governed by *διαμάρτοι*, and *οὐδαμῶς* by *ὁδοῦ*.

There are two places where I think *ἄν* has to be inserted. One is 86 B ἄλλα φαίη ἀνάγκη (if ἀνάγκη for ἀνάγκη is right) ἔτι που εἶναι αὐτὴν τὴν ἁρμονίαν. Certainly *ἄν* cannot be supplied to φαίη from οὐδεμία μηχανὴ ἄν εἴη above, for the two sentences are not coordinate, οὐδεμία κ.τ.λ. being part of what the man would say. Neither, I think, can φαίη be joined on to δυσχυρίζοιτο (εἴ τις δυσχυρίζοιτο . . . ἄλλα φαίη). To this there are two objections: (1) the illogical substitution of ἄλλά for καί, hardly to be justified by what intervenes: (2) the great awkwardness of resuming the construction with εἰ at such a distance and with the distinct sentence οὐδεμία γάρ . . . ἀπολομένην coming between to cut the connection and make the reader forget. It was probably this difficulty that made Cobet wish to omit φαίη. I think an *ἄν* has fallen out either before the *ἄν* of ἀνάγκη (so in 62 c, where Heindorf restored it, as he did also before ἀναγκάσης in *Theaet.* 169 B) or after ἄλλά. Cf. 87 A and D.

Again in 95 D the optatives ζῶη and ἀπολλύοιτο cannot be regarded as *oratio obliqua* after a past tense. There is no past tense. The argument is being quoted in the present tense (οὐδὲν κωλύειν φῆς πάντα ταῦτα μὴν εἶναι ἀθανασίαν μὲν μή, ὅτι δὲ πολυχρόνιον τέ ἐστιν ψυχὴ κ.τ.λ.) and these optatives refer as clearly to the future as ἦν and ᾗδει etc. do to the past. Consequently we have either to read *ἄν* for δὴ before τοῦτον or to insert *ἄν* somewhere in the sentence, e.g. after τοῦτον (*an* after *on*).

Finally, there seems to me a great want of clearness in the antithesis as to pleasure and pain (60 B), unless we add a word in the way here indicated: τὸ ἅμα μὲν αὐτῷ μὴ ἐθέλειν παραγίγνεσθαι τῷ ἀνθρώπῳ, ἐὰν δὲ τις διώκῃ τὸ ἕτερον καὶ λαμβάνῃ, σχεδὸν τι ἀναγκάζεσθαι αἰεὶ λαμβάνειν καὶ τὸ ἕτερον <ὑστερον>, ὥσπερ ἐκ μιᾶς κορυφῆς ἡμμένω δὴ ὄντε. Is not a ὑστερον needed to bring out the contrast with ἅμα? After ἕτερον it would fall out very easily. Cf. the ἐπακολουθεῖ ὑστερον and ἐπακολουθοῦν a few lines further on.

I have sometimes thought that the description of the weaver in 87 C needed a similar supplement, πολλὰ κατατρίψας τοιαῦτα ἱμάτια καὶ ἄνφηρνάμενος <ἕτερα>, since, taken as a ὑστερον πρότερον for ἄνφηρνάμενος καὶ κατατρίψας, the words are very harsh. But a sentence further on (ib. D) suggests another remedy. Keeping to the image of the weaver, Plato writes εἰ γὰρ ρέει τὸ σῶμα καὶ ἀπολλύοιτο ἐν ζωῆς τοῦ ἀνθρώπου ἄλλ' ἢ

ψυχὴ αἰεὶ τὸ κατατρίβόμενον ἀνφαίνοι, ἀναγκαῖον μέντοι ἄν εἴη κ.τ.λ. Had he not used the very apposite compound ἀνφαίνειν in the earlier sentence too writing πολλὰ κατατρίψας τοιαῦτα ἱμάτια καὶ ἀνφηρνάμενος (perhaps κἀνφηρνάμενος)? It may be said that there is a series of new and distinct garments, whereas τὸ κατατρίβόμενον ἀνφαίνειν means the repair of an old body, not the taking of a new one, and that therefore πολλὰ ἱμάτια . . . ἀνφηρνάμενος would not be a correct expression. But τὸ κατατρίβόμενον ἀνφαίνειν is immediately preceded by the phrase πολλὰ σώματα κατατρίβειν, relating to the same case. Plato therefore was not careful to describe it with absolute exactitude and, if ἀνφαίνειν could be used in E for the taking of a new body, ἀνφηρνάμενος would be equally admissible in C.

74 C διαφέρει δὲ γε, ἢ δ' ὅς, οὐδέν. ἔως ἂν (ἔως γὰρ ἂν T) ἄλλο ἰδὼν ἀπὸ ταύτης τῆς ὁψέως ἄλλο ἐννόησας, εἴτε ὁμοιον εἴτε ἀνόμοιον, ἀναγκαῖον, ἔφη, αὐτὸ ἀνάμνησιν γεγενῆσθαι.

It is strange that editors can go on printing ἔως ἂν . . . ἐννόησας here. They must understand it to mean 'as long as you conceive,' but it is really incapable of meaning anything but 'until you have conceived.' The rule for the use and meaning of ἔως is a very simple one, though it has not as far as I know found its way into Greek grammars. 'ἔως (ἔως ἂν) with aorist indicative or subjunctive invariably means *until* and never *while*. 'ἔως (ἔως ἂν) with present or imperfect indicative or present subjunctive almost invariably means *while*, not *until*. The very idea of *while* precludes the use of the aorist. On the other hand *until* almost always means *until something has happened* (aorist) e.g. ἔως ἂν νῦν γένηται, but occasionally we need to say *until so and so is happening*, e.g. ἔως ἂν νῦν γίγνηται. Hence ἔως *until* does now and then take the present or imperfect tense, for instance in *Thuc.* 1. 90. 3 ἔως ἂν τὸ τεῖχος ἰκανὸν αἴρωσιν, if αἴρωσιν, and not ἄρωσιν is right. For the same reason πρὶν (πρὶν ἂν) usually takes the aorist, but not quite invariably: see e.g. *Thuc.* 1. 118. 2 πρὶν δὴ ἡ δύναμις . . . ἤρτο καὶ . . . ἤπτοντο. The rule for ἔως therefore is roughly this: ἔως *while* with present or imperfect, ἔως *until* with aorist. And with the aorist it always means *until a thing has or had happened*, not *is or was happening*.

Shall we then in the *Phaedo* read ἔως ἂν . . . ἐννόησας? I think not. To my feeling it would come too near giving ἔως ἂν the semi-conditional sense that *so long as* etc. bear in other languages, a sense probably never

present in the Greek. This was, I suppose, the ground on which Heindorf suggested ὥς, εἰν ἄλλο, or, what he preferred, ὅταν γάρ (or γοῦν) ἄλλο. The former would seem preferable, unless indeed ἔως ἂν is only a mistake for εἰν, as in Xen. *Hell.* 1. 7. 35 εἰν stands unmistakably for ἔως ἂν (Stephanus). ὅταν ἐννοήσῃ occurs however a few lines below.

82 C ἀτιμίαν τε καὶ ἀδοξίαν μοχθηρίας δεδιότες.

Is this a possible expression? We might read δόξαν μοχθηρίας (cf. *Euthyphro*, 12 c δέδοικεν ἅμα δόξαν πονηρίας) or before μοχθηρίας insert ἐκ.

88 D τίνοι οὖν ἐτι πιστεύομεν λόγῳ; ὥς γὰρ σφόδρα πιθανὸς ὢν, ὃν ὁ Σωκράτης ἔλεγε λόγον, νῦν εἰς ἀπιστίαν καταπέττωκεν.

ὥς as an exclamation is unsatisfactory. Cobet follows Heindorf in accepting instead ὁ (which seems to have no MS. authority) and omitting λόγον. As ὥς and καὶ are sometimes confused, might we read καὶ γὰρ ... ὢν, for, though very plausible?

89 A τὸ μὲν οὖν ἔχειν ὅτι λέγοι ἐκεῖνος ἴσως οὐδὲν ἄτοπον.

The nominative ἐκεῖνος is surely impossible when the same person is the subject of ἔχειν. Would any one defend τὸ ἔχειν ὅτι λέγω ἐγὼ for τὸ ἔχειν ἐμὲ ὅτι λέγω? ἔχειν ὅτι λέγοι is so much of a set phrase, making one idea, that Heindorf's objection to ἐκεῖνον following λέγοι, not ἔχειν, seems unfounded, especially as ἐκεῖνον may well be emphatic.

97 D ἄσμενος ἡγήρκεναι ᾧμην διδάσκαλον τῆς αἰτίας περὶ τῶν ὄντων κατὰ νοῦν ἐμαυτῷ, τὸν Ἀναξαγόραν.

Perhaps τὸν A. should be omitted. If not, it might be better to make it the immediate object of ἡγήρκεναι, taking διδάσκαλον predicatively.

ιβ. E Socrates thought Anaxagoras ἐπεκδηγήσειεθαι τὴν αἰτίαν καὶ τὴν ἀνάγκην, λέγοντα τὸ ἄμεινον καὶ ὅτι αὐτὴν (i.e. τὴν γῆν) ἄμεινον ἦν τοιαύτην εἶναι.

τὸ ἄμεινον and ὅτι ἄμεινον ἦν are surely very flat together. I conjecture Plato to have written ΚΑΙΔΙΟΤΙ, καὶ <δι> ὅτι, why it was better. So 100 c καλόν τι and the question δι' ὅτι καλόν ἐστιν. In *Phaedr.* 235 A by a contrary error ΔΙ has been inserted after ΑΙ and the MSS. give εἶναι δικαιοῦν for εἶναι καὶ οὖν.

101 D εἰ δέ τις αὐτῆς τῆς ὑποθέσεως ἔχοιτο.

ἔχοιτο in the sense of *fastening on, attacking*, is certainly wrong; and Madvig's

ἔφοιτο, which seems to have found some favour, is open to the objection that ἐφέισθαι does not carry the required meaning either. As we have ἐχόμενος two lines before in its proper sense of *keeping fast hold of*, I should conjecture that this is another instance of what in these *Platonica* we have observed before, the accidental repetition of a word to the displacement of the word really intended. I should suppose Plato to have written λάβοιτο or ἐπιλάβοιτο and this to have been altered to ἔχοιτο through the copyist having the previous ἐχόμενος in his mind. Cf. *Laus* 637 c ταχὺ γὰρ σου λάβοιτ' ἂν τις.

This is independent of the question whether the whole sentence is genuine. See Mr. Archer-Hind's note, in which he does not point out that οὐκ ἀποκρίναιτο ἔως ἂν... σκέψαιο is bad Greek. Ἄν is however easily omitted, or altered to δῆ, ἔως δῆ being proper enough.

116 c οἷδ' ὅτι οὐκ ἐμοὶ χαλεπαίνει.

Mr. Archer-Hind says 'some read χαλεπαίνεις, but the present is found in the best MSS. and gives the best sense.' I venture to question the last statement, though I presume that Schanz and Burnet concur in it, as they both read the present and do not even mention the future as an alternative. The gaoler has just said 'other men are angry with me when I tell them they must now drink the poison. But,' he goes on, 'I am sure you *will not be* angry with me,' i.e. when I tell you, as he proceeds virtually to do in the words νῦν οὖν, οἶσθα γὰρ ἃ ἤλθον ἀγγελῶν, χαίρει τε κ.τ.λ. These last words are the intimation that the time has come, and χαλεπαίνεις, if right, would therefore refer to the time before the intimation was made, and would fail to correspond to the case of other men. In 117 A the MSS. have just in the same way οἶμαι κερδαίνειν for οἶμαι κερδανεῖν (ἂν κερδαίνειν is Mr. Burnet's slightly less probable correction); and so perhaps (Schanz) in the line before.

I append half a dozen further suggestions that need no explaining.

69 C ναρθηκοφόροι μὲν πολλοὶ, βάκχοι δέ τε παῖροι. Need we perpetuate the probably accidental disturbance of order for πολλοὶ μὲν ναρθηκοφόροι?

76 E ὑπερφνῶς. ὦ Σώκρατες, ἔφη ὁ Σιμμίς, <ὥς> δοκεῖ μοι ἡ αὐτὴ ἀνάγκη εἶναι.

Cf. 66 A, 95 A, 99 D, 102 A. Or ὥς may have been lost immediately after ὑπερφνῶς, just as T omits it in *Theaet.* 155 c.

87 c λέγοι for λέγει?

94 B Read ἔλκει for ἔλκειν. Cf. ὁρῶμεν following.

98 B <τὸν> ἄνδρα (in spite of Ast *Lex. Plat.* 1. 175).

100 B εἶμι πάλιν ἐπ' ἐκείνα τὰ πολυθρόλυτα καὶ ἄρχομαι ἀπ' ἐκείνων. Read ἄρξομαι.

102 B For τοῦτω τῷ Σιμμίαν εἶναι read αὐτῷ τῷ Σιμμίαν εἶναι.

105 D ἦκει (twice) should certainly be ἦξει and ἔχει perhaps ἕξει. Observe ζῶν ἔσται preceding and οὐ μὴ ποτε δέξεται following.

ibid. Perhaps τοῦτο (ταῦτα B) ὀνομάζομεν.

108 E ἀρέσει for ἀρκεί?

A word may be added on the disputed passage in 62 A. ἵσως μέντοι θαυμαστόν σοι φανέται (I should prefer φαίνεται both here and in the next sentence: Schanz writes φανείται in both) εἰ τοῦτο μόνον τῶν ἄλλων ἀπάντων ἀπλοῦν ἔστιν καὶ οὐδέποτε τυγχάνει τῷ ἀνθρώπῳ, ὥσπερ καὶ τὰλλα, ἔστιν ὅτε καὶ οἷς βέλτιον τεθιάναι ἢ ζῆν. All serious difficulty seems to me to disappear, if we only recur to an old punctuation, ὥσπερ καὶ τὰλλα ἔστιν ὅτε καὶ οἷς, 'just as all other things on some occasions and to some people (are better away).' The ellipse, which must indeed be supposed even with the current punctuation, is easily supplied.

For 82 D see my note in this *Review*, xii. 29.

CHARMIDES.

156 A Ἀπογράφομαι τοίνυν, ἔφη, παρὰ σοῦ τὴν ἐπωδὴν. Πότερον, ἦν δ' ἐγώ, ἐάν με πείθῃς ἢ κἂν μὴ; γελᾶσας οὖν Ἐάν σε πείθω ἔφη.

Read πείθῃς and πείσω, the proper tense and habitual in this phrase, e.g. *Rep.* 327 c ἐλλείπεται τὸ ἦν πείσωμεν ὑμᾶς: *Meno* 100 c ἐὰν πείθῃς τοῦτον, etc.

157 c ἐὰν βούλῃ...τὴν ψυχὴν πρῶτον παρασχεῖν ἐπάσαι ταῖς τοῦ Θρακὸς ἐπιδόαις.

The regular accusative after ἐπάδειν is the charm, not the person. I would therefore write τὰς τοῦ Θρακὸς ἐπιδόας. It is true that in 176 B we seem to have the personal passive ἐπάδεσθαι, but such passive uses do not guarantee a corresponding active use, e.g. ἐπιβουλεύομαι, ἐπιτάττομαι, ἐπιτιμῶμαι do not prove that ἐπιβουλεύω, etc. can take an accusative of the person. Nor does the construction require the object of παρασχεῖν and of ἐπάσαι to be the same. For the corruption cf. *Lach.* 190 B ἀρετὴ παραγενομένη τὰς ψυχὰς (or ταῖς ψυχαῖς) ἀμείνους ποιήσει,

where Schanz gives ψυχὰς from a Vatican MS. but B and T have the dative.

160 E Δοκεῖ...αἰσχυνέσθαι ποιεῖν ἢ σωφροσύνη καὶ αἰσχυνητὸν τὸν ἄνθρωπον, καὶ εἶναι ὅπερ αἰδῶς ἢ σωφροσύνη.

It is very harsh for ποιεῖν to take first the infinitive and then the adjective after it. Cf. note on *Laches* 178 B. Unless parallels are forthcoming, I think something like παρέχειν *render* should be added with the adjective (αἰσχυνητὸν παρέχειν).

161 E δοκεῖ ἂν σοι πόλις εὖ οἰκείσθαι ὑπὸ τοῦτου τοῦ νόμου τοῦ κελεύοντος τὸ ἑαυτοῦ ἰμάτιον ἕκαστον ὑφαίνειν καὶ πλύνειν, καὶ ὑποδήματα σκυτοτομεῖν, καὶ λήκυθον καὶ σπλεγίδα καὶ τὰλλα πάντα κατὰ τὸν αὐτὸν λόγον, τῶν μὲν ἀλλοτρίων μὴ ἄπτεσθαι, τὸ δὲ ἑαυτοῦ ἕκαστον ἐργάζεσθαι τε καὶ πράττειν.

The deficiency of proper government for λήκυθον etc. might pass, something being supplied out of the previous infinitives. But the asyndeton of τῶν μὲν κ.τ.λ. makes it probable that we ought to remedy both defects by adding something like ποιοῦντα after or before κατὰ τὸν αὐτὸν λόγον. A certain similarity between πάντα and ποιοῦντα might lead to the omission. Or is πάντα itself an error for ποιοῦντα?

163 D δόλον δὲ μόνον ἐφ' ὅτι ἂν φέρῃς τοῖνομα ὅτι ἂν λέγῃς.

We shall perhaps get not only more elegant but more correct Greek, if we write ἐφ' ὅτι δὴ φέρεις, availing ourselves of the frequent confusion of ἂν and δὴ. The indirect interrogative is more proper here than the relative. Many editors write φέρεις, but Schanz does not record any MS. variation from φέρῃς. The optative does not seem quite in place.

164 A ἀλλὰ λέγε εἰ δοκεῖ τίς σοι ἰατρὸς ὑγιᾶ τινὰ ποῖων ὠφέλιμα καὶ ἑαυτῷ ποιεῖν καὶ ἐκείνῳ ὃν ἰῶτο.

The optative ἰῶτο is unintelligible unless an ἂν with ποιεῖν preceded. Perhaps ὠφέλιμ' ἂν; but the ἂν would be very likely to be placed with δοκεῖ.

166 B ἐπ' αὐτὸ ἦκεις ἐρευνῶν, ὅτῳ διαφέρει πασῶν τῶν ἐπιστημῶν ἢ σωφροσύνη.

I do not see how ὅτῳ can be justified, as the sense is relative, not interrogative. Read ἐπ' αὐτὸ...τὸ ᾧ. So for instance *Phaedr.* 247 E τὴν ἐν τῷ ὃ ἔστιν ὃν ὄντως ἐπιστήμην οὖσαν: *Lach.* 185 D περὶ τοῦ ὃ ἕνεκα ἄλλου ἐζήτει (MSS. οὐ ἕνεκα ἄλλο: the error there too caused or helped by the unusual construction).

173 B εἰ γὰρ ὅτι ῥημάιστα ἡμῶν ἄρχοι ἢ

σωφροσύνη, οὐσα οἶαν ἵν ὀρίζομεθα, ἄλλο τι κατὰ τὰς ἐπιστήμας ἂν πράττοιτο;

Stallbaum lightly translates, *nonne secundum artium scientiam agitur?* But there is no impersonal *πράττεται* like *agitur*. *Meno* 96 Ε *πράττεται* τὰ πράγματα. Something, therefore, is wrong or missing. <πάν> ἂν πράττοιτο? *πράττοιτο* <πάντα>?

ib. c εἰ δὲ βούλοιο γε, . . ἐνυχωρήσωμεν.

Probably βούλει.

174 Α τίνα; ἦν δ' ἐγὼ. ἄρα μὴ τὸν τοιονδέ, εἴ τις πρὸς τοῖς μέλλουσιν καὶ τὰ γεγονότα πάντα εἶδει καὶ τὰ νῦν ὄντα καὶ μηδὲν ἀγνοοῖ; φῶμεν γάρ τινα εἶναι αὐτόν.

Does τινα εἶναι αὐτόν make any sense? should not αὐτόν be τοιοῦτον?

LACHES.

178 Β ἕμῃς δὲ ἡμεῖς ἡγησάμενοι καὶ ἱκανοὺς γνῶναι καὶ γνόντας ἀπλῶς ἂν εἰπεῖν ἂ δοκεῖ ἡμῖν, οὕτω κ.τ.λ.

The adjective and the infinitive are very awkwardly paired. Cf. on *Charm.* 160 Ε. Has εἶναι dropped out before or after γνῶναι? or should we read κἂν ἱκανῶς γνῶναι?

182 Ε οἶμαι ἐγὼ τοῦτο. . . οὐκ ἂν λεληθῆναι Λακεδαιμονίων. . . εἰ δ' ἐκείνους ἐλελήθην, ἄλλ' οὐ τούτους γε τοὺς διδασκάλους αὐτοῦ λέληθεν αὐτὸ τοῦτο, ὅτι κ.τ.λ.

Schanz writes αὐτοῦ λελήθην, but we must add ἂν. 'If it had escaped the Lacedaemonians, the fact would not have escaped etc.' The previous οὐκ ἂν λεληθῆναι and εἰ δ' ἐλελήθην show λελήθην to be wrong, and οὐκ ἂν λ. shows the meaning of εἰ δ' ἐ.

184 Β εἰ μὲν δειλὸς τις ὢν οἴοιτο αὐτὸν ἐπίστασθαι, θρασύτερος ἂν δι' αὐτὸ γενόμενος ἐπιφανέστερος γένοιτο οἷος ἦν.

Αὐτόν should be αὐτό, as in the next clause, i.e. the μάθημα; and ἦν must be a mistake for εἴη, an easy and not infrequent error.

185 c εἴτε χρή αὐτὸ (the φάρμακον) ὑπαλειφῆσθαι εἴτε μὴ.

I suspect we should read either αὐτῷ or ἐπαλειφῆσθαι. So in *Ar. Probl.* 38. 3. 967 a 4 ὑπαλειφθέν might very well be ἐπαλειφθέν.

192 Ε εἰ τις καρτερεῖ. . . τοῦτον ἀνδρεῖον καλοῖς ἂν;

καρτεροῖ or -οίη, as a few lines below? So in 199 D I suspect προσήκει should be προσήκοι.

LYSIS.

207 Β προσήλθον δὴ καὶ οἱ ἄλλοι.

Probably ἄλλοι without οἱ.

208 Α ἦν ἐπιθυμῆσης ἐπὶ τινος τῶν τοῦ πατρὸς ἀρμάτων ὀχεῖσθαι λαβὼν τὰς ἡνρίας ὅταν ἀμύλλῃται, οὐκ ἂν ἐφῶν σε ἀλλὰ διακυβύλιεν; Μὰ Δί' οὐ μέντοι ἂν, ἔφη, ἐφῶν. 'Αλλὰ τίνα μὴν; 'Ἔστιν τις ἡνίοχος παρὰ τοῦ πατρὸς μισθὸν φέρων.

Schanz seems right in altering τίνα μὴν to τί μὴν. But, unless I mistake his meaning, he intends ἀλλὰ τί μὴν to be said by Socrates. It is really said by Lysis in continuation of the words preceding and means 'of course they wouldn't'; 'how could you expect it?' In the following twelve lines Lysis twice says ἀλλὰ τί μὴν in a similar sense.

ib. c Should παιδαγωγός be omitted?

209 Α οὐκ ἀναμένονσιν ἕως ἂν ἡλικίαν ἔχῃς.

σχῆς attain? But ἔχῃς may be right. See note above on *Phaedo* 74 c.

210 Α ἄρ' οὖν καὶ τᾶλλα πάντα ἡμῖν ἐπιτρέποιν. . . περὶ ὅσων ἂν δόξωμεν αὐτῷ σοφώτεροι ἐκείνων εἶναι.

In this purely hypothetical case ὅσων ἂν δόξωμεν does not seem right. We want the optative δόξαιμεν or δοκοῖμεν. Perhaps, therefore, περὶ ὅσων δὴ δόξαιμεν may be suggested. Cf. on *Charm.* 163 d.

ib. c οὔτε σὲ ὁ πατήρ οὔτε ἄλλος ἄλλον, not οὐδέ. . . οὐδέ. Cf. three lines below.

ib. d οὐδ' ἄρα μεγάλῳ φρων εἶ. . . Μὰ Δί', ἔφη, ὦ Σώκратες, οὐ μοι δοκεῖ. Rather οὐ μοι δοκῶ. In *Gorg.* 509 A I have suggested δόξαιμεν for δόξειεν.

211 Ε ὁ μὲν γάρ τις ἵππους ἐπιθυμῇ κτᾶσθαι, ὁ δὲ κῖνας, ὁ δὲ χρυσίον, ὁ δὲ τιμάς. ἐγὼ δὲ πρὸς μὲν ταῦτα πρῶως ἔχω, πρὸς δὲ τὴν τῶν φίλων κτῆσιν πάνν ἐρωτικῶς.

I cannot persuade myself that πρῶως ἔχω is possible Greek in the sense required. It could only mean 'I am good-humoured towards them' or 'mercifully disposed,' whereas he means 'I don't much care about them.' The obvious word to suggest is ῥαθυμῶς. Nearer, however, in letters is παρέρως, which Dinarchus 3. 14 uses just in this way, δεῖ μὴ παρέρως ἔχειν πρὸς τὰς ὑπὸ τῆς βουλῆς γεγενημένας ἀποφάσεις. I think παρέρως more likely to be right.

212 Β Read μόνον (not μόνος μόνον) for μόνος.

214 Β For ταῦτα αὐτὰ Schanz follows Heindorf in reading ταῦτα ταῦτά, but the invariable order is ταῦτά ταῦτα.

Just below I would add a μὲν after the second ἴσως (ἴσως μὲν. . . ἴσως δέ).

ib. Ε δυσχεραίνω τί γε should be δυσχεραίνω γέ τι.

ibid. ὁτιοῦν ὁμοῖον ὁπωῖν ὁμοίω τίνα ὠφελίαν ἔχειν ἢ τίνα βλάβην ἂν ποιῆσαι δύναται ὃ μὴ καὶ αὐτὸ αὐτῷ;

The neuter *ὃ* seems indefensible and ἦν necessary.

216 D πρὸς ᾧ δὲ λέγων μαντεύομαι ἄκουσον.

In spite of Heindorf βλέπων is probably a right emendation of λέγων.

Such phrases as πρὸς τί δὴ τοῦτο λέγεις; are quite different. They mean 'what is the bearing of that?' 'how do you apply the things that make me surmise that,' 'the observations my surmise is based on.' Cf. *Lach.* 195 A πρὸς τί τοῦτ' εἶπες βλέπας; 197 E ἄξιος ἐπισκέψεως ὅποι ποτὲ βλέπων τοῦνομα τοῦτο τίθησι: *Meno* 89 D and 96 E: *Hipp.* *Ma.* 299 E: &c.

218 B φάμεν γὰρ αὐτό. Perhaps οὗτω.

221 A ἡ πείνη μὲν ἔσται, ἐάνπερ ἀνθρωποὶ τε καὶ πᾶλλα ζῷα ἦ.

'Εάνπερ should, I think, be ἕωσπερ ἂν. In *Hellenics* 1. 7. 35 the MSS. give us ἐγγυητὰς καταστήσαι, ἐὰν κριθῶσιν; but the emendation of Stephanus, ἕως ἂν κριθῶσιν, is universally adopted. Cf. above on *Phaedo* 74 c.

ib. c Read οὐ τὰν for οὐκ ἂν. Also ἀδύνατόν που ἦν seems to lack an ἂν.

CRATYLUS.

384 B εἰ μὲν οὖν ἦδη ἡκηκόη παρὰ Προδίκου τὴν πεντηκοντάδραχμον ἐπιδείξιν... οὐδὲν ἂν ἐκόλυε κ.τ.λ. νῦν δὲ οὐκ ἀκήκοα, ἀλλὰ τὴν δραχμαίαν.

Probably according to a common idiom οὐκ ἀκήκοα ἀλλ' ἢ τὴν δραχμαίαν.

395 B ὃ τε γὰρ τοῦ Χρυσίππου αὐτῷ φόνος καὶ ἂ πρὸς τὸν Θυέστην ὡς ὦμα διεπράττετο κ.τ.λ.

'A and ὡς cannot be reconciled. For ᾧ read τά. We might omit it, but that seems less likely.

395 C δοκεῖ δέ μοι καὶ τῷ Πέλοπι τὸ ὄνομα ἐμμέτρως κείσθαι.

Rather ἐμμελῶς, or possibly μετρίως.

398 D A word σμικρὸν παρηγμένον ἐστὶν ὀνόματος χάριν.

Burnet cites Peipers' suggestion of στόματος for ὀνόματος. I had myself thought of εὐστομίας (cf. εὐστομίας ἕνεκα 412 E, 414 c), taking ὀνόματος to be not so much a corruption of εὐστομίας as due to ὄνομα coming in the previous line.

399 B ἄλλων δὲ τοῖναντίον ἐμβάλλονεν γράμματα, τὰ δὲ βαρύτερα ὀξύτερα φθεγγόμεθα.

I do not see how the genitive ἄλλων (*other words*) can be justified. We should expect ἄλλοτε, ἄλλοις, or perhaps <ἐπ> ἄλλων, in *other cases*.

408 E ἔοικε τοῖνυν κατὰδῆλον γεγόμενον ἂν μᾶλλον εἰ τῷ Δωρικῷ τις ὀνόματι χρῆται. The use of a nominative participle with ἔοικα is so doubtful and discredited that we ought rather to read κατὰδῆλῳ γεγόμενῳ. Cf. ἔοικε δηλοῦντι a few lines below. In 419 c κεκλημένη is now written for κεκλημένην. So δηλόνση προσέεικεν 420 c (Schanz).

409 A Read τοῦτο δὴ for τοῦτο δέ.

420 D EPM. ταῦτα ἦδη μοι δοκεῖς, ὦ Σώκρατες, πυκνότερα ἐπάγειν. ΣΩ. τέλος γὰρ ἦδη θεῷ (θεῷ T: θεῶ B: θεῷ vulg.: θέῳ Adam. *Burnet*).

θεῷ, imperative of θεῶμαι, seems to yield no proper sense. Schanz reads θεῷ, but it is hard to see what that can mean. Adopting the old reading or conjecture σὺν θεῷ, I think a verb must be added, e.g. τέλος γὰρ ἦδη <ὀρῶ σὺν> θεῷ. They are as a matter of fact just at the end of the derivation of particular words. Cf. *Diog. L.* 6. 38 μακρά τινος ἀναγινώσκοντος... θαρρεῖτε, ἔφη, ἄνδρες γῆν ὀρῶ.

425 D ὥσπερ οἱ τραγωδοποιοὶ ἐπειδάν τι ἀπορῶσιν ἐπὶ τὰς μηχανὰς καταφεύγουσι θεοὺς αἵροντες.

Cicero's words in *N.D.* 1. 53 *ut tragici poetae, cum explicare argumenti exitum non potestis, confugitis ad deum*, suggest the question whether τὰς μηχανὰς and θεοὺς should not change places. The conjecture is perhaps supported by two things: (1) in the familiar line of Antiphanes Ποίησις we have αἵρουνσι ὥσπερ δάκτυλον τὴν μηχανήν: (2) Plutarch in at least five places (quoted in Dörpfeld and Reisch's *Greek Theatre*) uses the phrase μηχανὴν αἵρειν.

MENO.

75 D εἰ μὲν γε τῶν σοφῶν τις εἴη..., εἵπομ' ἂν κ.τ.λ. εἰ δὲ ὥσπερ ἐγώ τε καὶ σὺ νυνὶ φίλοι ὄντες βούλονται ἀλλήλοις διαλέγεσθαι, δεῖ δὴ... διαλεκτικώτερον ἀποκρίνεσθαι.

It may be observed (1) that there is no proper subject for βούλονται, (2) that δεῖ in the apodosis does not harmonise strictly with an optative in the protasis. Now with ὥσπερ a peculiarity of construction is sometimes found, the use of which by Plato has been illustrated by Stallbaum on *Symposium* 179 E,

and Stahl on Thuc. 1. 82. 1 (ἀνεπίφθορον δὲ σοὶ ὥσπερ καὶ ἡμεῖς...ἐπιβουλευόμεθα...βαρβάρους προσλαβόντας διασωθῆναι) will furnish further references. If we adopted that here, we should substitute βουλούμεθα for βούλουτο, and I cannot but fancy that Plato wrote that.

79 E τούτῳ τῷ αὐτῷ τρόπῳ λέγων.
The proper order is τῷ αὐτῷ τούτῳ.

80 c In the second ποῶ ἀπορεῖν, it would be a gain to drop the ἀπορεῖν.

81 c ἄτε οὖν ἡ ψυχὴ ἀθάνατος οὕσα κ.τ.λ.
Ἡ ψυχὴ must be either omitted or put elsewhere in the sentence. The subject of a sentence cannot be immediately preceded by ἄτε. Here the subject is easily supplied from what preceded the quotation, and ἡ ψυχὴ is a natural adscript to point it out.

86 E εἴτε διδασκὼν ἐστὶν εἴτε ὁπωσοῦν <ἔχει> or <παραγίγνεται>? cf. 71 A.

87 D τὴν ἀρετὴν appears to be an adscript explanatory of αὐτό, unless αὐτό itself should be omitted.

87 E It is difficult to believe in the abrupt interrogative οὐχί. Whether there is any MS. evidence for ἡ οὐχί or not, that seems better.

90 A Ἀνθεμίωνος perhaps an adscript.

90 c ἐπέμπομεν should perhaps be πέμποιμεν. Observe πέμποιμεν and βουλοίμεθα before, σωφρονοῦμεν and πέμποιμεν afterwards.

92 B ΣΩ. ἄπειρος ἄρ' εἰ παντάπασιν τῶν ἀνδρῶν. ΑΝ. καὶ εἴην γε

Schanz after Heindorf καὶ <ἀεί>εἴην γε. but ἀεί is not more needed than a ποτέ in Ar. Ran. 1045 EYP. μὰ Δι' οὐδὲ γὰρ ἦν τῆς Ἀφροδίτης οὐδέν σοι. ΑἰΣ. μηδὲ γ' ἐπέειν.

94 B ἐβούλετο, ἀλλὰ μὴ οὐκ ἡ διδασκὼν.

Very probably right, as in 94 E, but perhaps μὴ οὐκ ἦν. Cf. 89 c.

95 B καὶ certainly seems necessary for ἡ before διδασκὼν. Ἡ is not equally necessary for καὶ before ἐπιστήμη in 98 B, though we might expect it on comparison of ἀλλοῖον ἡ in 87 B. Symp. 186 B illustrates the statement here that two things are ἀλλοῖον τι.

HERBERT RICHARDS.

ON SOME CORRECTIONS IN THE CLARKE MS. OF PLATO.

THE oldest and best MS. containing the Phaedo of Plato, Codex Clarkianus, Bibl. Bodleianae n. 39, was written, as we learn from the subscription, in A.D. 895 by Johannes Calligraphus for Arethas a Deacon of Patras. The oldest and best MS. of the first five books of the *Praeparatio Evangelica* of Eusebius was written, as we learn again from the subscription, in the year A.D. 914 for the same Arethas, who had now become Archbishop of Caesarea in Cappadocia, and is known to have been alive about twenty years after the last date.

It has been proved beyond any reasonable doubt by Professor Oscar v. Gebhardt (*Texte u. Untersuch.* I. iii. p. 175 ff.) and others that Arethas was in the habit of writing marginal notes in his books, and even of signing them occasionally with his name.

Now it happens that there is one passage of Plato, and only one, contained in both these MSS. namely Phaedo 96 Cod. Bodl. (B) fol 46' = *Praep. Evang.* Vig. p. 26 b 8-d 8, Ἐγὼ γάρ, ἔφη, ὦ Κέβης — ὦ μὴ εἰδέναι.

It is probable *a priori* that an earnest student like Arethas being in possession of

two such valuable books would not fail to compare the readings of a passage occurring in both, and even, if necessary, to correct one text from the other.

With the kind help of Mr. Falconer Madan, of the Bodleian, I have carefully examined both the photograph of Cod. Clark. and the MS. itself. In what follows B, b represent the original text and the corrections of this MS., and A the text of Eusebius in the MS. of Arethas.

(1) Ἐγὼ γάρ, ἔφη, ὦ Κέβης] A, om B, supplet b in marg.

The obvious cause of the omission is the repetition of Κέβης after ἔφη ὦ Κέβης in the preceding line.

(2) εἰδέναι τὰς] A, om B, partim in rasura partim extra lineam supplet b.

(3) σκοπῶν πρῶτον τὰ τοιαῦτα] om πρῶτον B, om τὰ τοιαῦτα A.

The omission of πρῶτον in B was supplied by b in the following manner: as τὰ stood at the end of the line, the α was erased, τ changed into π of a form not used in B, and the rest written in very small letters outside the line. There were thus three

stages in the process as explained to me by Mr. Madan, (i.) τὰ, (ii.) τ, (iii.) *πρῶτον τὰ.*

The omission of τὰ τοιαύτε in A was supplied in the margin by a second hand, acknowledged to be the same as b.

(4) τὸ θερμὸν καὶ τὸ ψυχρὸν] A, τὸ θερμὸν
τὸ
καὶ ψυχρὸν B, τὸ being supplied above the line by b.

(5) ξυντρέφεται] A, συντρέφεται B, ξυντρέ-
φεται (ξ in rasura) b.

(6) οὐρανὸν τε καὶ] A, om τε B, οὐρανὸν καὶ
b, τε being added above the line, and the accent of οὐρανὸν altered.

(7) ἀπέμαθον καὶ ταῦτα ἂ πρὸ τοῦ ᾧμην
εἰδέναι] A, ἀποτ' ἔμαθον ἂ καὶ πρὸ τοῦ κ.τ.λ.
B, with the following marginal note:

οὕτω δεῖ ἐν ἄλλῃ
ὥστε ἀπέμαθον καὶ ταῦτα ἂ πρὸ τοῦ ᾧμην
εἶδεναι.

This note is in the hand of b, except οὕτω δεῖ, which is much later.

Mr. T. W. Allen of Queen's College, Oxford, a well-known expert in Greek Palaeography and the author of the very valuable Preface to the photographic edition of the Codex Clarkianus, has kindly re-examined this passage both in the photograph and in the MS. itself, and assures me that the corrections are all made by the same hand (b). He clearly identifies the writing with that of notes which have been generally attributed by other scholars, such as Harnack, Von Gebhardt, Heikel, and Schwartz (*Athenagorae Libellus*, Praef. p. iv) to Arethas himself. If Mr. Allen still hesitates to accept their conclusion as absolutely certain, it is, I believe, chiefly on the ground that the rich purchaser of the MS.

would not have been likely to number the parchments and add the titles of the Platonic Dialogues with his own hand, instead of requiring such mechanical work to be completed by the professional scribe.

Against this objection it is urged that in other MSS. belonging to Arethas both his name and the price paid by him are added in the same writing; and especially that the D'Orville MS. of Euclid (Bodl. n. 301) written in the year 888 A.D. has the subscription by this same hand: Ἐκτρησάμην
0 0 =
Ἀρέθας Πατρὲς τὴν παροῦσαν βιβλίον NNΔ.

Unless this use of the name Arethas with the 1st Person *ἐκτρησάμην* is a forgery, which is not likely, the identity of the writing is a conclusive proof that the aforesaid corrections in the celebrated MS. of Plato are by the hand of Arethas himself.

Of these seven corrections occurring within twenty lines six are made to correspond with the text of Eusebius as reproduced by the scribe Baanes from some older MS. now lost.

The one remaining, n. 3, is especially remarkable. It is evident that the words τὰ τοιαύτα omitted by Baanes were supplied from the older MS. in the margin by Arethas, who then proceeded to supply the word *πρῶτον* in his MS. of Plato in the manner described above.

It is interesting to think of the learned Archbishop in his remote Diocese in Cappadocia bestowing so much loving care upon his noble transcripts of Plato and of the early Christian Apologists, writing in the margin of his favourite passages here an *ὁραῖον* (schön!) and there a *σημείωμα* (beachte!) as Dr. Otto Stählin points out, and making each necessary correction in the text with his own hand.

E. H. GIFFORD.

THE ARITHMETICAL SOLUTION OF PLATO'S NUMBER.

As I have lately had occasion to investigate the subject of Plato's *Number* afresh, and my views have in some respects altered since this matter was discussed in the *Classical Review* by Dr. Monro and myself (Vol. vi. pp. 152-156, 240-244), I have thought that it might possibly be of interest to some readers of the *Review* if I were to set down the conclusions at which I have now arrived, together with a brief account of the evidence on which they rest.

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The text of the passage is as follows: *ἔστι δὲ θείῳ μὲν γεννητῷ περίοδος, ἣν ἀριθμὸς περιλαμβάνει τέλειος, ἀνθρωπεῖ δὲ ἐν ᾧ πρώτῳ αὐξήσεις δυνάμεναι τε καὶ δυναστεύμεναι, τρεῖς ἀποστάσεις, τέτταρας δὲ ὁρὸν λαβοῦσαι, ὁμοιοῦντων τε καὶ ἀνομοιοῦντων καὶ αὐξόντων καὶ φθινόντων, πάντα προσήγορα καὶ ἡγῆτ' ἀλλήλα ἀπέφηναν· ὧν ἐπίτριτος πυθμὴν πεμπτὰδι συζυγεῖς δύο ἀρμονίας παρέχεται τρις αὐξηθείς, τὴν μὲν ἴσην ἰσάκης, ἑκατὸν τοσαντάκης, τὴν δὲ ἰσομήκη μὲν τῇ, προμήκη δὲ, ἑκατὸν μὲν ἀριθμῶν*

c

ἀπὸ διαμετρῶν ῥητῶν πεμπάδος, δεομένων ἐνὸς ἐκάστων, ἀρρήτων δὲ δυῶν, ἐκατὸν δὲ κύβων τριάδος.

Plato's words should be thus translated: 'Now for a divine creature there is a period which is comprehended by a number that is final: but the number of a human creature is the first number in which root and square increases, having received three distances and four limits, of elements that make both like and unlike and wax and wane, render all things conversable and rational with one another; of which the numbers 4, 3, married with 5, furnish two harmonies when thrice increased, the one equal an equal number of times, so many times 100, the other of equal length one way, but oblong—on the one side of 100 squares of rational diameters of five diminished by one each, or if of irrational diameters, by two; on the other of 100 cubes of 3.'

What the number of the 'divine creature,' or in other words, the World, is, Plato does not say: but the arithmetical meaning of the words from ἀνθρωπείῳ δέ down to τριάδος may be thus expressed in our notation:—

$$(1) 3^3 + 4^3 + 5^3 = 216.$$

$$(2) (3 \times 4 \times 5)^4 = 3600^2 = 4800 \times 2700.$$

Let us take Plato's words in detail.

αὐξήσεις δυνάμεναι τε καὶ δυναστεύμεναι means 'root and square increases,' i.e. either additions of root to square (e.g. $x + x^2$, $y + y^2$, $z + z^2$), or multiplications of root by square (e.g. $x \times x^2$, $y \times y^2$, $z \times z^2$). A comparison of the *Theologumena Arithmetica*, p. 39 Ast, with Proclus in *Euclidem*, p. 8, Friedlein, Plato *Theæt.* 147E, 148E, and Euclid x. def. 11 will, in my judgment, establish the truth of this statement.

The words τρεῖς ἀποστάσεις, τέτταρας δὲ ὅρους λαβοῦσαι shew that αὐξήσεις δυνάμεναι τε καὶ δυναστεύμεναι refers to *multiplications* of root by square and not to *additions* of root to square: so that the whole phrase αὐξήσεις δυνάμεναι τε καὶ δυναστεύμεναι, τρεῖς ἀποστάσεις, τέτταρας δὲ ὅρους λαβοῦσαι is a fantastic expression for κυβικαὶ αὐξήσεις or 'cubings' and nothing more.

What is the evidence for this assertion? It is as follows.

The words ἀποστάσεις, διαστάσεις and διαστήματα were used by the Greeks in the sense of 'dimensions'; and αἱ τρεῖς διαστάσεις, or αἱ τρεῖς ἀποστάσεις meant μήκος, πλάτος and βάθος, the three dimensions of a solid body. The most precise explanation of this matter is to be found in Nicomachus *Introd. Ar.*, p. 116 Ast: πρῶτον δὲ διάστημα γραμμῇ λέγεται· γραμμῇ γάρ ἐστι τὸ ἐφ' ἐν

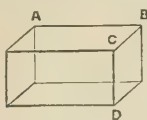
διαστατόν· δύο δὲ διαστήματα ἐπιφάνεια· ἐπιφάνεια γάρ ἐστι τὸ διχῇ διαστατόν· τρία δὲ διαστήματα στερεόν· στερεόν γάρ ἐστι τὸ τριχῇ διαστατόν. . . . εἴ τι γὰρ στερεόν ἐστιν, τὰς τρεῖς διαστάσεις πάντως ἔχει, μήκος, πλάτος καὶ βάθος· καὶ ἔμπανιν εἴ τι ἔχει τὰς τρεῖς διαστάσεις, ἐκείνο πάντως στερεόν ἐστιν, ἄλλο δ' οὐδέν. Similarly also on pp. 117, 123, 128 and *Theol. Ar.*, p. 38 the word διαστάσεις is used with the same connotation, as well as in Theo Smyrnaeus, pp. 24 f. Hiller, and elsewhere: and we find τρεῖς ἀποστάσεις, as in Plato, in *Theol. Ar.*, p. 23, where it is said that the number 4—which according to the Pythagoreans, πρώτη εἰδείξε τὴν τοῦ στερεοῦ φύσιν—ταύς-πάσας ἀποστάσεις ἦτοι τὰς τρεῖς ἀπέστη, ὧν περαιτέρω οὐκέτι εἰσίν. There are several other passages to the same effect in Greek writers on ἀριθμητική, such as Nicomachus, *Introd. Ar.*, pp. 143 f. Ast, where Nicomachus expressly refers to the Platonic Number (cf. Dr. Monro in *J. Ph.* viii. p. 276): but it is perhaps even more important to observe that the definition of body as that which has τρεῖς διαστάσεις is at least as old as Aristotle: see *Top.* Z 5. 142^b 24 ὁ τοῦ σώματος ὁρισμός, τὸ ἔχον τρεῖς διαστάσεις and *Phys.* iv. 1. 209^a 4 ff. διαστήματα μὲν οὖν ἔχει (sc. ὁ τόπος) τρία, μῆκος καὶ πλάτος καὶ βάθος, οἷς ὀρίζεται σῶμα πᾶν, together with Simplicius in *physic.* iv. 1. p. 531, 9 Diels σῶμα—τὸ τὰς τρεῖς ἔχον διαστάσεις. Finally, it is clear from the express testimony of Aristotle that the Pythagoreans before his day defined body in this way (*de caelo* A 1. 268^a, 7 ff. μεγέθους δὲ τὸ μὲν ἐφ' ἐν γραμμῇ, τὸ δ' ἐπὶ δύο ἐπιπέδον, τὸ δ' ἐπὶ τρία σῶμα—καθάπερ γάρ φασι καὶ οἱ Πυθαγόρειοι, τὸ πᾶν καὶ τὰ πάντα τοῖς τρισὶν ὀρίσται), and I may add that the same definition is involved in a notable passage of Plato's *Laws* 894A, where the word employed is μετάβασις and not ἀποστάσις.

We may take it therefore that the three ἀποστάσεις of which Plato speaks are length, breadth, and thickness.

What are the four ὅροι or limits?

To this question a precise answer is furnished by Iamblichus in *Nicom.*, p. 93 Pistelli στερεὸς δὲ ἐστὶν ἀριθμὸς ὁ τρίτον διάστημα παρὰ τὰ ἐπιπέδους δύο προσειληφώς (cf. λαβοῦσαι in Plato), δηλονότι τετάρτου ὅρου προσγενομένου· ἐν γὰρ τέσσαρσιν ὅροις τὸ τριχῇ διαστατόν, and by a writer in the *Theologumena Arithmetica*, p. 16 Ast, τὸ ἐξ ὕλης καὶ εἶδους αἰσθητόν, ὃ ἐστὶν ἀποτέλεσμα τριχῇ δια-

στατόν, ἐν τέτταρσιν ὅροις ἐστίν. This in the accompanying figure of a solid number, which is taken from Theo



Smvrnaeus, p. 42 Hiller, *AB, BC, CD* are the three ἀποστάσεις—*AB* the μήκος, *BC* the πλάτος, and *CD* the βάθος; and the four points *A, B, C, D* are the four ὅροι (αἱ στιγμαὶ τῶν μεγεθῶν ὅροι Arist. *Met.* N 5. 1092^b 9): ἐν γὰρ τέσσαρσιν ὅροις τὸ τριχῇ διαστατόν, as Iamblichus observed.

I conclude that the whole expression αὐξήσεις—λαβοῦσαι ‘root and square increases, having received three dimensions and four limits’ means cubic increases. Inasmuch as solid numbers are to be produced, possessed of three dimensions and four limits, αὐξήσεις δυνάμει τε καὶ δυναστεύονται must refer to *multiplications* of root by square and not to *additions* of root to square: in other words to κυβικαὶ αὐξήσεις.

What then are the numbers to be cubed?

This information is contained or concealed in the genitives ὁμοιούντων τε καὶ ἀνομοιούντων καὶ αὐξόντων καὶ φθινόντων, which depend directly upon αὐξήσεις. The key to the interpretation of ὁμοιούντων κ.τ.λ. is supplied by Plato himself in ὦν ἐπίτριτος πυθμὴν κ.τ.λ. The antecedent of ὦν is ὁμοιούντων τε καὶ ἀνομοιούντων καὶ αὐξόντων καὶ φθινόντων, and ἐπίτριτος πυθμὴν means the two numbers 4, 3: see Theo Smvrnaeus, pp. 80 f. Hiller and Proclus *in temp.* ii. p. 37 Kroll [ἔστιν οὖν οὗτος] ὁ ἐπίτριτος πυθμὴν γ’ καὶ δ’, together with Dr. Monro in *Cl. Rev.* vi. pp. 243 f. Now the most natural and obvious meaning of ὦν ἐπίτριτος πυθμὴν ‘of which 4, 3,’ is ‘of which numbers, the numbers 4, 3.’ I infer, therefore, that ὁμοιούντων τε καὶ ἀνομοιούντων καὶ αὐξόντων καὶ φθινόντων, which is the antecedent to ὦν, denotes *some numbers, two of which are the numbers 4 and 3.*

We have thus obtained two of the numbers to be cubed, viz. 4 and 3. What is the missing number or numbers? It is clear from the partitive genitive ὦν that there is at least one other number besides 4 and 3. Plato does not tell us what the missing number is, but if we note that the numbers 4 and 3 are presently ‘coupled with 5’ (πεμπάδι συζυγίς), and remember that 3, 4 and 5 are the three sides of the Pythagorean triangle, which, according to

Aristotle, Plutarch, Proclus and other ancient authorities, was employed by Plato in his *Number*, we cannot be wrong in holding that there is but one missing number, and that it is the number 5.

Why are the numbers 3, 4 and 5 said ‘to make both like and unlike and wax and wane’? The full explanation of these words involves an investigation into the properties of the Pythagorean triangle, as they were conceived by some of the ancients, and lies beyond the scope of the present article. As to αὐξόντων καὶ φθινόντων, I will at present only say that these epithets are (in my belief) applied to the sides of the Pythagorean triangle regarded as cosmic agencies (κοσμικὸν τρίγωνον Proclus *in temp.* ii. p. 45 Kroll): but the epithets ὁμοιούντων τε καὶ ἀνομοιούντων have a special arithmetical meaning in the Platonic *Number*, and it is right to explain that meaning here. The words ὦν ἐπίτριτος πυθμὴν—τριάδος describe how the numbers 3, 4 and 5 produce, first a square (τὴν μὲν ἴσην ἰσάκῃς) viz. (as I believe) 3600², and secondly an oblong, viz. 4800 × 2700. Now, according to the Pythagoreans, square numbers are ὅμοιοι, and oblong numbers ἀνόμοιοι. The evidence is Iamblichus *in Nic. Intr. Ar.* p. 82 Pistelli οἱ δὲ παλαιοὶ ταυτοὺς τε καὶ ὁμοίους αὐτοὺς (i.e. τοὺς τετραγώνους) ἐκάλουν διὰ τὴν περὶ τὰς πλευράς τε καὶ γωνίας ὁμοιότητα καὶ ἰσότητα, ἀνομοίους δὲ ἐκ τοῦ ἐναντίου καὶ θατέρους τοὺς ἑτερομήκεις, and also Nicomachus himself *Intr. Ar.* pp. 132 ff. Ast. That this doctrine is old, Iamblichus expressly tells us: cf. also Arist. *Met.* A 5. 986^a 22 ff. The numbers 3, 4 and 5 are therefore ὁμοιούντα because (among other reasons) they produce the square ἁρμονία, ἀνομοιούντα because (among other reasons) they produce the oblong ἁρμονία.

The words πάντα προσήγορα καὶ ῥητὰ πρὸς ἄλλα ἀπέφηναν can be plentifully illustrated from Pythagorean writings. I do not now discuss them, because they do not affect the arithmetical solution of the *Number* in any way. For the same reason I shall not at present touch upon the question why the square and the oblong are ἁρμονίαι, merely remarking that the explanation which I gave of this matter in my *Number of Plato* was wrong.

Thus the ‘number of a human creature is the first number in which cubings of 3, 4 and 5 make all things conversable and rational with one another.’ Now the first number in which 3³, 4³ and 5³ occur is 3³ + 4³ + 5³ = 216; and we have a remarkable confirmation of our results, not only in

Aristotle (as I shall presently shew), but also in Aristides Quintilianus iii. p. 151 Meibom 89 Jahn, who, in explaining the properties of the Pythagorean triangle, says, in a passage where he alludes expressly to the Platonic Number, ἀλλ' εἰ καὶ τῶν πλεονῶν ἐκάστην κατὰ βάθος ἀδεήσαιμεν (βάθος γὰρ ἡ σώματος φύσις), ποιήσαιμεν ἅν τὸν διακόσια δεκαέξ, ἰσαριθμον ὄντα σύγγενον τῷ τῶν ἐπταμήνων ($3^3 + 4^3 + 5^3 = 216$). By 'the number of a human creature' Plato means the *περίοδος* or period during which a human creature is in the womb, as I think I have shewn in *The Number of Plato* pp. 42 f.

So much for the first part of the Platonic Number. I proceed now to the second, contained in the words from ὧν ἐπίτριστος πυθμὴν down to ἐκατὸν δὲ κύβων τριάδος.

'Of which numbers' (viz. as we have seen 3, 4 and 5) 'the numbers 3, 4 coupled with 5,' means that 3, 4 and 5 are to be married *i.e.* multiplied together. Dr. Monro has said that 'there is no parallel to lead us to take *συνγυεῖς* to mean multiplied' (*Cl. Rev.* vi. p. 154). A precise parallel may now be found in Proclus *in remp.* ii. p. 54. 2 ff. Kroll ἡ δ' οὖν ἑκατοντὰς τῷ ἐλλείποντι ἀριθμῷ πρὸς αὐτὴν κατὰ τὸν ἀπὸ τῆς πεμπτὰδος ἀριθμὸν *συνγυεῖσα* ποιεῖ τὴν ἀπὸ γενέσεως ἐπὶ γένεσιν περίοδον (cf. *συνέξεις* *ibid.* ii. p. 26); and the usage is in harmony with the Pythagorean habit of describing 6 as 'marriage,' because it is produced by the 'marriage' *i.e.* the 'multiplication' of the first female with the first male number ($2 \times 3 = 6$; see Iamb. *in Nic. Ar.* p. 34. 20 Pistelli, Arist. Quint. i. p. 151 Meibom and other passages), as well as with Euclid's οἱ γενόμενοι ἐξ to denote numbers produced by the multiplication of other numbers (*e.g.* vii. 16 ff.).

To proceed.

$3 \times 4 \times 5$ *i.e.* 60, produces, says Plato, two harmonies, when 'thrice increased,' 'Thrice increased' means here 'three times multiplied by itself'—to this point I shall return—and $60 \times 60 \times 60 \times 60 = 12,960,000$.

This number furnishes, we are told, 'two harmonies, the one equal an equal number of times, so many times 100.'

Now 12,960,000 furnishes 3600², and 3600² is 'equal an equal number of times' viz. *thirty-six* times 100, so that *τοσαντάκις* refers to 36 times. With this use of *τοσαντάκις* I formerly compared *Phaedr.* 271 D (τόσα καὶ τόσα) and *Laus* 721 D (τόσω καὶ τόσῳ); better parallels, I think, are to be found in *Alc.* i. 108 Ε βέλτιον τόδε τοῦδε καὶ νῦν καὶ τοσοῦτον and Arist. *Pol.* Γ 12. 1283^a 8 *τοσόνδε* γὰρ

μέγεθος εἰ κρείττον τοσοῦδε, *τοσόνδε* δῆλον ὡς ἴσον. None of these parallels is perfect, but the meaning which I assign to *τοσαντάκις* is as natural in Greek as in English, and what Dr. Monro calls 'the ordinary interpretation of ἐκατὸν *τοσαντάκις*—a hundred taken *that* number of times viz. 100 times' is, as I hope to shew hereafter, not only open to question in itself, but involves insuperable difficulties in the special context where the words occur.

One of the two harmonies furnished by 12,960,000 is therefore, as I hold, 3600²: what is the other? It is an oblong, one of whose sides is 100 cubes of three (ἐκατὸν δὲ κύβων τριάδος) *i.e.* $(100 \times 3^3) = 2700$, and the other '100 squares of (for ἀριθμὸν ἀπὸ cf. Euclid vii. 20 and Pl. *Men.* 85 B) the rational diameter of 5, diminished by 1 each, or if of irrational diameters, by 2 each.' What is the rational diameter of 5? It is the nearest rational number to the real diameter of a square whose side is five, *i.e.* to $\sqrt{50}$ by Euclid i. 47 (see Theo Smyrnaeus pp. 43 ff., Gow *Gk. Math.* p. 96 and Cantor *Gesch. d. Math.* p. 191). The nearest rational number to $\sqrt{50}$ is $7 = \sqrt{49}$: so that 'rational diameters of 5' means 'sevens.' 'A hundred squares of sevens' = 4900, and when we diminish each of the hundred squares by 1 we obtain $4900 - (1 \times 100) = 4800$, which is therefore the other side of the oblong. Now take ἀρήττον δὲ δοῦν. '100 squares of irrational diameters of five' = $(\sqrt{50})^2 \times 100 = 5000$. Diminish each of the hundred squares by 2, and we obtain the same result as before viz. 4800 : for $5000 - (2 \times 100) = 4800$.

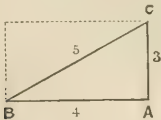
The two sides of the oblong are therefore 4800 and 2700; and this harmony like the first is furnished by 60 'thrice increased,' for $60 \times 60 \times 60 \times 60 = 4800 \times 2700$.

So much for Plato's words: let us now briefly discuss that part of Aristotle's criticism which has a bearing on the arithmetical solution of the Number.

The passage which concerns us is in these words: ἐν δὲ τῇ πολιτείᾳ λέγεται μὲν περὶ τῶν μεταβολῶν ὑπὸ τοῦ Σωκράτους, οὐ μέντοι λέγεται καλῶς τῆς τε γὰρ ἀρίστης πολιτείας καὶ πρώτης οὕσης οὐ λέγει τὴν μεταβολὴν ἰδίως, φησὶ γὰρ αἴτιον εἶναι τὸ μὴ μένειν μῆθεν ἀλλ' ἐν τινι περιόδῳ μεταβάλλειν, ἀρχὴν δ' εἶναι τούτων ὧν ἐπίτριστος πυθμὴν περιπαθεῖ *συνγυεῖς* δύο ἀρμονίας παρέχεται, λέγων ὅταν ὁ τοῦ διαγράμματος ἀριθμὸς τούτου γένηται στερεός, ὡς τῆς φύσεως ποτε φνούσης φαύλους καὶ κρείττους τῆς παιδείας, τοῦτο μὲν οὖν αὐτὸ λέγων ἴσως οὐ κακῶς ἐνδέχεται

γὰρ εἶναι τινὰς οὓς παιδευθῆναι καὶ γενέσθαι σπουδαίους ἀνδρας ἀδύνατον. ἀλλ' αὕτη τί ἂν ἴδιος εἴη μεταβολὴ τῆς ὑπ' ἐκείνου λεγομένης ἀρίστης πολιτείας μᾶλλον ἢ τῶν ἄλλων πασῶν καὶ τῶν γιγνομένων πάντων; (*Pol.* E 12. 1316*). Socrates, says Aristotle, does not assign any specific or peculiar principle of change to his best polity: 'for he says that the *cause* of change is the fact that nothing abides, but all things change in a certain cycle, and that the *beginning* of change comes from' (lit. 'is of') 'those' (elements or numbers) 'whereof 4, 3, coupled with 5, furnish two harmonies, meaning, *when the number of this diagram is made solid*, the theory being that nature sometimes produces inferior children and children who defy education. In this particular point, indeed, Socrates is no doubt right: for there may well be persons who cannot be educated and made into good men. But why should *this* be a change peculiar to the constitution which he calls the best more than to every other constitution and everything that comes into being?'

A careful examination of this passage will shew, I think, that Aristotle understood the words of Plato as we have done. 'The *beginning* of change,' he says, 'comes from those elements' (viz. the *ὁμοιοῦντων τε καὶ ἀνομοιοῦντων καὶ αἰξόντων καὶ φθινόντων* i.e. 3, 4, 5) 'of which the numbers 4, 3 coupled with 5, furnish two harmonies—meaning (that change begins) when the number of this diagram is made solid.' In the words of Schneider (vol. iii. p. xxix.) 'τούτων ad ὧν pertinet et sensus verborum talis est: Principium mutationis positum esse in numeris—quorum sesquitercia radix etc. Deinde verba λέγων ὅταν declarant tempus, quo Plato initium mutationis posuerit.' Now what is 'this diagram'? It is agreed by all that the diagram is the Pythagorean triangle. What is its 'number'? 'The number of a diagram' means its area (see below), and the area of the Pythagorean



triangle is $\frac{4 \times 3}{2} = 6$ (cf. *Theol. Ar.* p. 39

Ast). Make 6 solid and we obtain $6^2 = 216$, which is the number which we obtained by our investigation of the words *ἀνθρωπείω δέ—ἀπέφηναν* in the passage of Plato. The

only difference between Aristotle's calculation and that of Plato is that Aristotle, who was interested only in the result, and not in the processes, arrives at the number by cubing the area of the triangle, and not, like Plato, by adding together the cubes of its sides ($3^3 + 4^3 + 5^3 = 6^3 = 216$). Such a difference is to my mind exactly what we should expect: for Aristotle is in the habit of varying his predecessors' methods of expressing their results, and, in point of fact, 6^3 was itself called by the Pythagoreans the *ψυχρογονικός κύβος* (*Theol. Ar.* p. 40).

In what sense the number 216 in Plato expresses the 'beginning of change' is a question which belongs to the interpretation of Plato's symbolism. I must content myself with saying here that the number in question is the beginning of change because it expresses the period of gestation in the human kind, and change, according to Plato, begins with the child in the womb (*ὅταν—ὑμῖν οἱ φύλακες συνοικίῳσι νύμφας νυμφίους παρὰ καιρὸν, οὐκ εὐτυχεῖς οὐδ' εὐφυνεῖς παῖδες ἔσονται* 546 D). That Aristotle interpreted Plato in the same way seems to me clear from the explanatory clause *ὡς τῆς φύσεως ποτε φουδύσης φαιδύλων καὶ κρείττους τῆς παιδείας*, which signifies that 216 is the *ἀρχὴ μεταβολῆς* because it is connected with the production of offspring.

The above interpretation of Aristotle, which is based on that of Schneider, entirely harmonises with the results of our enquiry. What is the rival interpretation? I will give it in the words of Dr. Mouro (*J. of Ph.* viii. p. 280):—

'Aristotle paraphrases *τῆς ἀξήθεις* by the words *ὅταν ὁ τοῦ διαγράμματος ἀριθμὸς τοῦτου γένηται στερεός*. By the 'number of this figure' he cannot well mean any single number; probably he uses *ἀριθμὸς* in the sense of 'linear measurement,' as opposed to surfaces or solids (cf. *Rep.* p. 587 D, where *κατὰ τὸν τοῦ μήκους ἀριθμὸν* is opposed to *κατὰ δύναμιν καὶ τρίτην ἀξήτην*). Now the most natural way of raising the Pythagorean triangle to the third dimension is by cubing each of the sides; and this process leads at once to the remarkable fact that $3^3 + 4^3 + 5^3 = 216 = 6^3$. It is difficult to resist the impression that this is what was in the mind of Plato.'

The theory which underlies this interpretation is, as the reader will observe, that *ὅταν ἐπίτριστος πυθμὴν πεμπάδι σύζυγεις—τρίς ἀξήθεις* in Plato means $3^3 + 4^3 + 5^3 = 216$. I shall deal with the phrase *κατὰ τὸν τοῦ μήκους ἀριθμὸν* (*Rep.* 587 D), on another occasion, and shew, as I think, that *ἀριθμὸς* has nothing to do with linear measurement in this passage of Aristotle, where there is nothing to correspond to the important words

τοῦ μήκους. Meantime I will mention two obvious objections to Dr. Monro's view, each of which is in my opinion fatal to the interpretation which he advocates.

In the first place, Dr. Monro makes 'the number of this triangle' equivalent to 'the sum of the numbers of its sides.' Aristotle says simply 'number,' not 'numbers,' and gives no hint whatever that he desires us to have recourse to a process of addition. I submit that the natural and obvious meaning of ἀριθμός is 'number' and not 'numbers'; and that the ἀριθμός of a figure is proved to be the number which denotes its area by Theophrastus p. 39 Hiller, where the number 9 is actually represented by the diagram

a a a

a a a, in which the number of letters

a a a

represents the area. Cf. also Arist. *Met.* N. 5. 1092^b 10 ff., from which it appears that this way of representing the area of figures was earlier than Aristotle, and Theophr. *Frag.* 12. 11 Wimmer.

In the second place, how does Dr. Monro cube what Aristotle calls 'the number of this diagram'? By making $3+4+5$ into $3^3+4^3+5^3$.

But, in point of fact, the cube of $3+4+5$ is 12^3 , and not $3^3+4^3+5^3$. Are we to suppose that Plato and Aristotle were ignorant of this fact?

For these reasons I think that the ordinary interpretation of this passage in Aristotle is demonstrably wrong, and Schneider's, in every essential point relating to the language, unquestionably right.

On a review of the whole matter, it will, I think, be generally agreed that the cornerstone of my solution of the number is the meaning which it assigns to *τρίτης αὐξήσεως*. I will therefore add a few sentences by way of epilogue on this subject.

The prevalent interpretation of *τρίτης αὐξήσεως* seems to be 'raised to the third power,' and of *τρίτη αὐξή* 'the third power': see for example Dr. Monro in *Cl. Rev.* vi. p. 242. This view, in my opinion, rests on a mistranslation: for *αὐξή* should be translated 'increase' and not 'power' or 'dimension' or anything of the sort. The mathematical terms 'third power,' 'fourth power,' etc., were unknown to Plato. 'Power' or *δύναμις* alone is sometimes used with the meaning which we give to 'second power' (*Rep.* ix. 587d), but the word is so elastic that it even means 'root' in *Theaet.* 148a. See Allman *Gk. Geom.* p.

208n. Consequently the only safe translation of *δευτέρα αὐξή* and *τρίτη αὐξή* in Plato is 'second increase' and 'third increase.' Now 'increase' implies something to be increased, and the result will of course be different, wherever the objects which have to be increased are different. Thus in the increasing series

1, 60, 3600, 216,000, etc.,

the number 216,000 is the *τρίτη αὐξή* of unity; and in the increasing series with which Plato is dealing viz.

60, 3600, 216,000, 12,960,000, etc.,

the number 12,960,000 which we call 60^4 is the *τρίτη αὐξή* of 60, or in other words 60^3 *τρίτης αὐξήσεως*.

That this is 'logical,' has been admitted; but 'it is not,' says Dr. Monro, 'in accordance with the *usus loquendi*' (*Cl. Rev. l.c.* p. 154). 'We may feel sure, I think, that the "third increase" would naturally mean the third term in the increasing series rather than the fourth' (ib). (The italics are mine.)

Personally, I feel quite sure that the 'third increase' did in point of fact mean to a Greek as it does to an Englishman, the fourth term in an increasing series, and not the third; and why? Because in such a series as Euclid speaks of in ix. 8 (cited by Dr. Monro *l.c.*) *ἐὰν ἀπὸ μονάδος ὁποσοῖον ἀριθμοὶ ἐξῆς ἀνάλογον ὦσιν, ὁ μὲν τρίτος ἀπὸ τῆς μονάδος τετράγωνος ἔσται κ.τ.λ.*, e.g. 1, 60, 3600, etc., if we are to suppose, with Dr. Monro, that the third increase is the third term, we must hold that 3600 or 60^2 , which is the third term, is also the *τρίτη αὐξή*! Against this supposition not only logic, but the *usus loquendi* itself cries out. The fact is, of course, that 60^2 , which in this series is the third term, is the second increase of unity: and it is equally true that in the series 60, 3600, 216,000, 12,960,000, the number 12,960,000, or, as we call it, 60^4 , is at once the fourth term, and the third increase of 60, in other words 60^3 *τρίτης αὐξήσεως*.

In conclusion, it is of course true that the idiomatic phrase *τρίτη αὐξή* is used once or twice in Plato with reference to what later mathematicians call the third dimension. The usage is, however, excessively rare: I have found no instance in Aristotle or later Greek mathematicians, and only two in Plato (*Rep.* 528 B and 587 D: cf. also [*Epin.*] 990 D *τοὺς τρίτης ὑψιζήμένους καὶ τῇ στερεᾷ φύσει ὁμοίους* sc. ἀριθμούς). But Plato employs also *δευτέρα αὐξή* in speaking of plane surfaces, and if we compare 528 B *ὁρθὸς δὲ ἔχει ἐξῆς μετὰ δευτέραν αὐξήν τρίτην λαμβάνειν* with 526 C *δευτέρον δὲ τὸ ἐχόμενον τούτου (ἐχόμενον* is plane geo-

metry and *τούτου* the study of Number) *σκεψόμεθα ἄρα τι προσήκει ἡμῖν* it is clear that he also regarded linear number or the line as the *πρώτη αὐξη*. What then is that something which is 'increased,' first to a line, second to a plane, and thirdly to a solid? The only possible reply is 'the unit or point': for number is a *σύστημα μονάδων* (Theo p. 18 cf. *Rep.* vii. 525A), and the Pythagoreans, as every one knows, built up the line out of points, the plane out of lines, and the solid

out of planes: see Burnet, *Early Gk. Phil.* pp. 312 ff. Dr. Monro says 'there is no evidence that *αὐξη* in the idiomatic phrase *πρώτη αὐξη* originally referred to the increase of the unit or point' (*ib.* 154, 242). To me the evidence seems to be writ plain for all to read in the fundamental principles of Pythagorean physics. If it is not the point which is 'increased,' what is it?

J. ADAM.

ON ARISTOTLE, *NIC. ETH.* VII. XIV. 2 AND XII. 2.

N.E. VII. xiv. 1—2, 1154^a 8—21 :

- 1154^a 8 Περὶ δὲ διὰ τῶν σωματικῶν ἡδονῶν ἐπισκεπτέον τοῖς
λέγουσιν ὅτι ἐνίαί γε ἡδοναὶ αἰρεταὶ σφόδρα, οἷον αἱ καλαί,
10 ἀλλ' οὐχ αἱ σωματικαὶ καὶ περὶ ὧς ὁ ἀκόλαστος. διὰ τί οὖν
αἱ ἐναντίαι λυπαὶ μοχθηραί; κακῷ γὰρ ἀγαθὸν ἐναντίον. ἢ
οὕτως ἀγαθαὶ αἱ ἀναγκαῖαι, ὅτι καὶ τὸ μὴ κακὸν ἀγαθόν
ἐστίν; ἢ μέχρι του ἀγαθαί; τῶν μὲν γὰρ ἕξεων καὶ κινήσεων
ὅσων μὴ ἔστι τοῦ βελτιόνος ὑπερβολή, οὐδὲ τῆς ἡδονῆς· ὅσων
15 δ' ἔστι, καὶ τῆς ἡδονῆς. ἔστι δὲ τῶν σωματικῶν ἀγαθῶν
ὑπερβολή, καὶ ὁ φαῦλος τῷ διώκειν τὴν ὑπερβολὴν ἐστίν,
ἀλλ' οὐ τὰς ἀναγκαίας· πάντες γὰρ χαίρουσιν πως καὶ
ἄφθοις καὶ οἷνοις καὶ ἀφροδισίοις, ἀλλ' οὐχ ὥς δεῖ. ἐναντίως
δ' ἐπὶ τῆς λύπης· οὐ γὰρ τὴν ὑπερβολὴν φεύγει, ἀλλ' ὅλως·
οὐ γὰρ ἔστι τῇ ὑπερβολῇ λύπη ἐναντία ἀλλ' ἡ τῷ διώκοντι
20 τὴν ὑπερβολήν.

The conclusion of this passage—*ἐναντίως δ' ἐπὶ τῆς λύπης*, κ.τ.λ., is perhaps one of the hardest places in the Aristotelian writings.

The meaning of the last clause, *οὐ γὰρ ἔστι κ.τ.λ.* is clear enough: *ὑπερβολή* is the excess of bodily pleasure, and the man who pursues the excess of bodily pleasure is said to consider pain as opposed to excessive bodily pleasure only, because he knows no other bodily pleasure but the excessive pleasure. The difficulty lies in the relation of this clause to the preceding one—*οὐ γὰρ τὴν ὑπερβολὴν κ.τ.λ.*, whether we assume that the nominative to *φεύγει* is indefinite, or, as some think, is ὁ φαῦλος. If we assume the former we get, 'for it is not the excess (of bodily pain) which a man avoids, but (bodily) pain in general; for it is not to the excess only (of bodily pleasure) that (bodily) pain is opposed except for the man who pursues the excess.'

If we assume the latter we get, 'for it is not the excess (of bodily pain) which the φαῦλος avoids, but (bodily) pain in general; for it is not to the excess only (of bodily pleasure) that (bodily) pain is opposed, except for the man who pursues the excess: (i.e. except for the φαῦλος).'

In either case we feel there is some strange *non sequitur*.

We may endeavour to determine more precisely what the logical difficulty consists in.

The clauses, *οὐ γὰρ τὴν ὑπερβολὴν φεύγει ἀλλ' ὅλως*, *οὐ γὰρ ἔστι τῇ ὑπερβολῇ λύπη ἐναντία ἀλλ' ἡ τῷ διώκοντι τὴν ὑπερβολήν*, are of the form

'A is true (generally), for B is not true save in an exceptional case.'

This implies that if B were true, A would not be true.

(i) Suppose the subject of *φεύγει* is indefinite.

Then A = 'it is not the excess of bodily pain which a man avoids but pain in general.'

And to deny the truth of A would naturally mean to assert:—

'it is the excess of bodily pain which a man avoids, not bodily pain in general.'

The truth of B means:—

'it is to excessive bodily pleasure only that bodily pain is opposed.'

Thus 'if B is true, A is not true' becomes :—

'if it were to excessive bodily pleasure only that bodily pain were opposed, then it would be excessive bodily pain which was avoided and not bodily pain in general.'

This is a false inference; for if the protasis were true, it would be a reason not for excluding some bodily pain from the undesirable, but rather for including in the undesirable not only all bodily pain but all bodily pleasure which is not excessive.

(ii) If δ $\phi\alpha\tilde{\upsilon}\lambda\omicron\varsigma$ is the nominative to $\phi\acute{\epsilon}\upsilon\gamma\epsilon\iota$ the denial of A would naturally mean :—

'it is the excess of pain which the $\phi\alpha\tilde{\upsilon}\lambda\omicron\varsigma$ avoids, not pain in general'

and 'if B is true A is not true' becomes :—

'if it were to excessive bodily pleasure only that bodily pain were opposed, then the $\phi\alpha\tilde{\upsilon}\lambda\omicron\varsigma$ would avoid the excess of bodily pain only, and not bodily pain in general,' where there is the same kind of false inference as before.

But in this case there is another absurdity.

Since the $\phi\alpha\tilde{\upsilon}\lambda\omicron\varsigma$ is the same as δ $\delta\iota\omega\kappa\omega\nu$ $\tau\eta\nu$ $\upsilon\pi\epsilon\rho\beta\omicron\lambda\eta\nu$, the clause $\omicron\upsilon$ $\gamma\acute{\alpha\rho}$ $\acute{\epsilon}\sigma\tau\iota$ $\tau\eta$ $\upsilon\pi\epsilon\rho\beta\omicron\lambda\eta$ $\lambda\upsilon\pi\eta$ $\acute{\epsilon}\nu\alpha\nu\tau\acute{\iota}\alpha$ $\acute{\alpha}\lambda\lambda'$ η $\tau\tilde{\omega}$ $\delta\iota\omega\kappa\omicron\nu\tau\iota$ $\tau\eta\nu$ $\upsilon\pi\epsilon\rho\beta\omicron\lambda\eta\nu$, assigns something true only in the exceptional case of the $\phi\alpha\tilde{\upsilon}\lambda\omicron\varsigma$ as a reason for what he is said to do in the preceding clause, $\omicron\upsilon$ $\tau\eta\nu$ $\upsilon\pi\epsilon\rho\beta\omicron\lambda\eta\nu$ $\phi\acute{\epsilon}\upsilon\gamma\epsilon\iota$ (δ $\phi\alpha\tilde{\upsilon}\lambda\omicron\varsigma$) $\acute{\alpha}\lambda\lambda'$ $\acute{\omicron}\lambda\omega\varsigma$. This latter then should be something peculiar to the $\phi\alpha\tilde{\upsilon}\lambda\omicron\varsigma$, but it is obviously not peculiar to the $\phi\alpha\tilde{\upsilon}\lambda\omicron\varsigma$, nor does the writer suppose it to be so, but common to all mankind. Thus we have the absurdity :—

'the $\phi\alpha\tilde{\upsilon}\lambda\omicron\varsigma$ behaves like everyone else about bodily pain, because he is in a position unlike that of every one else.'

The result then seems to be that the grammatical form of the two clauses $\omicron\upsilon$ $\gamma\acute{\alpha\rho}$ $\tau\eta\nu$ $\upsilon\pi\epsilon\rho\beta\omicron\lambda\eta\nu$ $\kappa.\tau.\lambda.$ and $\omicron\upsilon$ $\gamma\acute{\alpha\rho}$ $\acute{\epsilon}\sigma\tau\iota$ $\tau\eta$ $\upsilon\pi\epsilon\rho\beta\omicron\lambda\eta$ $\kappa.\tau.\lambda.$ would naturally imply a logical connexion between them which their matter, or meaning, makes impossible.

Assuming the text to be sound the solution of the problem must lie in some sort of brachylogy: and this is the more likely because this treatise on Pleasure (*N. Eth.* VII. xi.—xiv.) is distinguished by a remarkable brachylogy and obscurity of expression.

The question may be narrowed by excluding one of the alternatives described.

Of the difficulties pointed out as affecting the hypothesis that δ $\phi\alpha\tilde{\upsilon}\lambda\omicron\varsigma$ is the nominative, the second cannot be altered by any brachylogy. Whatever thought may be suppressed, the clause $\omicron\upsilon$ $\gamma\acute{\alpha\rho}$ $\acute{\epsilon}\sigma\tau\iota$ $\kappa.\tau.\lambda.$ would assign as a reason for something in which the $\phi\alpha\tilde{\upsilon}\lambda\omicron\varsigma$ agrees with everybody else, something in which he differs from everybody else: and this absurdity excludes the possibility that δ $\phi\alpha\tilde{\upsilon}\lambda\omicron\varsigma$ should be the nominative to $\phi\acute{\epsilon}\upsilon\gamma\epsilon\iota$.

It remains that the nominative must be indefinite: an idiom which has already occurred once before in this same treatise—xi. 4, $\xi\tau\iota$ $\acute{\epsilon}\mu\pi\acute{o}\delta\iota\omicron\nu$ $\tau\tilde{\omega}$ $\phi\rho\omicron\nu\acute{\epsilon}\iota\nu$ $\alpha\acute{\iota}$ $\eta\delta\omicron\nu\alpha\acute{\iota}$, $\kappa\alpha\acute{\iota}$ $\theta\sigma\omega$ $\mu\acute{\alpha}\lambda\lambda\omicron\nu$ $\chi\acute{\alpha}\iota\rho\epsilon\iota$, $\mu\acute{\alpha}\lambda\lambda\omicron\nu$: and perhaps twice; cf. xiii. 7 $\acute{\omega}\sigma\tau\epsilon$ $\delta\iota\acute{\alpha}$ $\tau\acute{\iota}$ $\acute{\alpha}\nu$ $\phi\acute{\upsilon}\gamma\omicron\iota$ ($\tau\eta\nu$ $\lambda\upsilon\pi\eta\nu$)—though here δ $\acute{\epsilon}\nu\delta\alpha\acute{\iota}\mu\omega\nu$ may be nominative—and it occurs elsewhere in the *Ethics*.

Whether it is to be explained by an ellipse of $\tau\iota\varsigma$,—cf. Kühner, *Gr. Gr.* § 352 g, or of the present participle of the verb with the article (here therefore δ $\phi\acute{\epsilon}\upsilon\gamma\omega\nu$),—cf. Buttmann, *cit.*, Stallb., *Meno*, 97 a, it is equivalent, when the verb governs an accusative, to the passive with the word in the accusative turned into the nominative.

Thus $\omicron\upsilon$ $\gamma\acute{\alpha\rho}$ $\tau\eta\nu$ $\upsilon\pi\epsilon\rho\beta\omicron\lambda\eta\nu$ $\phi\acute{\epsilon}\upsilon\gamma\epsilon\iota$ $\acute{\alpha}\lambda\lambda'$ $\acute{\omicron}\lambda\omega\varsigma$ = 'it is not the excess of pain which is avoided but pain in general,' which again, in such a context as this, = 'it is not the excess of pain which is undesirable, &c.' The sense thus obtained is not only true but, as will be seen, suits the argument of the preceding part of the chapter.

Assuming then that the nominative to $\phi\acute{\epsilon}\upsilon\gamma\epsilon\iota$ is indefinite, a certain part of the preceding analysis must stand in any case.

For, as before, the truth of proposition B—'bodily pain is opposed only to excessive bodily pleasure,' must involve the untruth of proposition A, = 'it is not the excess merely of bodily pain which is undesirable but all bodily pain.' That is, B must involve some third assertion (C) which is incompatible with A. In the foregoing it was assumed that this third proposition (C) would naturally be 'it is the excess of bodily pain which is avoided, and not all bodily pain,' but, as we have seen, this cannot be a consequence of B: and it follows that some other proposition incompatible with A must be looked for, which is really a consequence of B.

Now it may be shewn from the context that there is such a proposition; and it will be seen also why the writer should be thinking of it rather than of that (*viz.* C) which at first seems the only natural one.

At the beginning of the chapter the following argument is brought against the view that all bodily pleasure is bad :—

Bodily pain is opposed to bodily pleasure ; therefore, if all bodily pleasure is bad, bodily pain is opposed to that which is bad : but what is opposed to the bad is good, therefore bodily pains would be good and not bad (*μοχθηρα*).

According to this argument, if bodily pain had opposed to it only bad bodily pleasure, bodily pain would be desirable and not undesirable. But, according to the passage following the above argument, excessive bodily pleasure is bad. Therefore if bodily pain were opposed only to excessive bodily pleasure (as the writer supposes is the case with the *φαῦλος*) it would be opposed only to bad bodily pleasure, and hence it would not be undesirable.

Thus it turns out that proposition B, viz. 'bodily pain is opposed only to excessive bodily pleasure,' would necessitate that bodily pain would not be undesirable (D).

Now this last proposition (D) is incompatible with A ; for if all bodily pain were desirable and not undesirable, the proposition 'all bodily pain is undesirable, not merely the excess of bodily pain' would obviously be untrue.

D then seems to be the proposition required to complete the argument, for it is necessitated by B and is incompatible with A.

For clearness the result may be put as follows. Whereas the proposition A—'all bodily pain is undesirable and not merely the excess of it,' is contradicted both by C—'it is the excess of bodily pain which is undesirable and not bodily pain in general,' and by D—'no bodily pain is undesirable,' it is an objection involving D, which the writer meets in the clause *οὐ γὰρ ἐστὶ τῇ ὑπερβολῇ κ.τ.λ.*, and not one involving C. And this seems capable of explanation. When the author has written *οὐ γὰρ τὴν ὑπερβολὴν φεύγει ἀλλ' ὅλως*, he reflects that the principle he has just laid down, which is equivalent to 'all bodily pain is undesirable' cannot be maintained, as he has shewn, if bodily pain is opposed only to bad pleasure, and he further reflects that this opposition only holds in the exceptional case of the *φαῦλος*, as has been above explained. He expresses this latter thought in the clause *οὐ γὰρ ἐστὶ τῇ ὑπερβολῇ κ.τ.λ.*

The argument then seems to be this :—

'All bodily pain is undesirable, not

merely the excess of it ; and the objection that no bodily pain is undesirable, because such pain is opposed to bad pleasure alone, could only lie in the case of the *φαῦλος*, with whom bodily pain is opposed to excessive pleasure alone, which is bad, for it is not to excessive bodily pleasure that bodily pain is opposed except for the man who pursues excessive pleasure, i.e. the *φαῦλος*.'

Or we may express it with less addition to the text, but not so clearly, thus :—

'All bodily pain is undesirable, not merely the excess of it, for bodily pain is not opposed to the excess of bodily pleasure alone, that is, to bad pleasure which would, as we have seen, make it desirable, for this opposition does not hold except for the man who pursues the excess of bodily pleasure.'

Of course it is not meant that the *φαῦλος* himself could accept the argument that bodily pain was not undesirable, but that in his case the bodily pleasure, which is for him the only alternative of bodily pain, being really all bad, the paradox could be inferred as it is at the beginning of the chapter.

It may be added that awkward as this brachylogy would be, it is much less awkward than that which must be assumed in another part of this short treatise on Pleasure, ch. xi. § 2 : but before considering that place we may endeavour to complete the interpretation of the present one, and add some minor brachylogies from this same passage.

It remains to explain *ἐναντίως δ' ἐπὶ τῆς λύπης*—'the contrary is true in the case of pain.' As the reason given for this is that bodily pain in general is undesirable, and not merely the excess of it (*οὐ γὰρ τὴν ὑπερβολὴν κ.τ.λ.*), the words naturally imply a preceding statement to the effect that the contrary is true of bodily pleasure (*ἐπὶ τῆς ἡδονῆς*), and that it is only the excess of bodily pleasure which is undesirable, not all bodily pleasure. Now this is exactly the purport of the preceding context. It is there first argued negatively that to assume all bodily pleasure undesirable and bad leads to the paradox already described, and then it is stated positively that bodily pleasure is only bad in excess (*ὁ φαῦλος τῷ δίδωκει τὴν ὑπερβολὴν*) but not otherwise (cf. *μέχρι του ἀγαθαί and ἀλλ' οὐ τὰς ἀναγκαίους*). The sentence *πάντες γὰρ χαίρουσι πως καὶ οὖσι καὶ οἷσι καὶ ἀφροδισίοις, ἀλλ' οὐχ ὥς δεῖ* is illustrative and parenthetical ; it is not immediately to this that *ἐναντίως δ' ἐπὶ τῆς λύπης*

refers, but to the distinction established in 1154^a 13-17 (ἡ μέχρι του...ἀναγκαῖαι), which πάντες κ.τ.λ. illustrates.

There are other obvious brachylogies in the same passage. In the last sentence ὑπερβολήν stands for the excess of pain, and ὑπερβολή for the excess of pleasure. ἀλλ' οὐχ ὡς δεῖ in the preceding sentence is for ἀλλ' οὐκ αἰεὶ ὡς δεῖ,¹ if the text is sound; but αἰεὶ may possibly have fallen out after δεῖ, for though it ought properly to come after οὐκ, the order ἀλλ' οὐχ ὡς δεῖ αἰεὶ, has a parallel in οὐδὲ μετὰ γενέσεως πᾶσαι, for οὐδὲ πᾶσαι μετὰ γενέσεως, VII. xii. 3. In οὕτως ἀγαθαὶ αἱ ἀναγκαῖαι κ.τ.λ. ἡ μέχρι του ἀγαθαί; the ἀναγκαῖαι ἡδοναί are the bodily pleasures in general, in accordance with the usage in

VII. iv. 2 ἀναγκαῖα μὲν τὰ σωματικά (τῶν ποιούντων ἡδονήν), etc. *ib.* 4 τὰς τῶν ἀναγκαίων ἐνδείας; but in οὐ τὰς ἀναγκαίας, by ἀναγκαίας is meant 'necessary' pleasures so far as they are really necessary, as opposed to the ἀναγκαῖαι which are ὑπερβολαί. Cf. VII. vii. 2.

A well-known elliptical passage in this treatise is VII. xii. 7 τὸ δὲ τὸν σόφρονα φεύγειν καὶ τὸν φρόνιμον διώκειν τὸν ἄλμπον βίον, καὶ τὸ τὰ παῖδια καὶ τὰ θηρία διώκειν τῷ αὐτῷ λύεται πάντα, where after φεύγειν must be understood τὰς ἡδονάς, and the same again after the second διώκειν.

But perhaps the most extraordinary passage is the one already referred to, VII. xii. 2, which is as follows:

1152^b 33 ἔτι ἐπεὶ τοῦ ἀγαθοῦ τὸ μὲν ἐνέργεια τὸ δ' ἕξις,
κατὰ συμβεβηκὸς αἱ καθιστᾶσαι εἰς τὴν φυσικὴν ἕξιν ἡδέϊαι
35 εἰσὶν ἔστι δ' ἡ ἐνέργεια ἐν ταῖς ἐπιθυμίαις τῆς ὑπολοίπου
ἕξεως καὶ φύσεως, ἐπεὶ καὶ ἄνευ λύπης καὶ ἐπιθυμίας εἰσὶν
1153^a ἡδοναί, οἷον αἱ τοῦ θεωρεῖν [ἐνέργεια], τῆς φύσεως οὐκ ἐνδεοῦς
οὕσης· σημεῖον δ' ὅτι οὐ τῷ αὐτῷ ἡδέϊ χαίρουσιν ἀναπληρου-
μένης τε τῆς φύσεως καὶ καθεστηκυίας, ἀλλὰ καθεστηκυίας
μὲν τοῖς ἀπλῶς ἡδέειν, ἀναπληρουμένης δὲ καὶ τοῖς ἐναντίοις·
5 καὶ γὰρ ὀξέσι καὶ πικροῖς χαίρουσιν, ὧν οὐδὲν οὔτε φύσει ἡδύ
οὔθ' ἀπλῶς ἡδύ. ὥστ' οὐδ' ἡδοναί· ὡς γὰρ τὰ ἡδέα πρὸς ἄλ-
ληλα διέστηκεν, οὕτω καὶ αἱ ἡδοναὶ αἱ ἀπὸ τούτων.

The problem is here more complicated and the data less definite. There are four principal difficulties.

(1) The passage starts with a classification of Good, of which no use seems to be made.

(2) The definite article before ἐνέργεια is hard to explain, and some interpreters render as if they read ἐνέργεια τις.

(3) ἐπεὶ καὶ ἄνευ λύπης κ.τ.λ. does not seem to give a reason for what immediately precedes it.

(4) σημεῖον δ' ὅτι κ.τ.λ. seems to give a reason, not for what immediately precedes but for κατὰ συμβεβηκὸς κ.τ.λ.

The object of the chapter is to controvert a too indiscriminate condemnation of pleasure, and here the writer has before him the objection that pleasure cannot be good because it is a process of restoration implying therefore imperfection (and the pain of want or ἐπιθυμία).

In the first section a two-fold division of the Good is made—ἐπεὶ τὸ ἀγαθὸν διχῶς, τὸ μὲν γὰρ ἀπλῶς τὸ δὲ τι—which is at once used in the defence of pleasure. Another two-fold division is made here—ἐπεὶ τοῦ ἀγαθοῦ τὸ μὲν ἐνέργεια τὸ δ' ἕξις, and this

¹ This is perhaps better than supposing οὐχ ὡς δεῖ = οὐ πάντες ὡς δεῖ.

also was doubtless intended for use in the defence of pleasure; but the development of this argument is disturbed because the writer confusedly combines with it another. This second argument is that the pleasures of restoration are not pleasures in the true sense, but only κατὰ συμβεβηκός, and that there are other pleasures, not processes where there is no restoration of what is defective, and hence the objection falls.

It may be inferred from the text that the drift of the first argument intended was this:—'The Good being either ἐνέργεια or ἕξις, restorations involve both kinds of good. The ἕξις which they involve is the φυσικὴ ἕξις which is restored, and the ἐνέργεια which they involve (ἡ ἐνέργεια ἐν ταῖς ἐπιθυμίαις) is that of the unimpaired ἕξις or φύσις.' This accounts for the article before ἐνέργεια, and the sentence ἔστι δ' ἡ ἐνέργεια ἐν ταῖς ἐπιθυμίαις...φύσεως belongs to this argument and implies the unexpressed ἔστι μὲν ἡ ἕξις ἐν ταῖς ἐπιθυμίαις κ.τ.λ. to correspond to it.

But after giving the classification of the Good on which this argument depends, the writer passes to the second argument in the words κατὰ συμβεβηκὸς αἱ καθιστᾶσαι εἰς τὴν φυσικὴν ἕξιν, suggested to him by what he has been thinking about the relation of these restorations to a ἕξις. The next point

is to try to determine to which side the clause *ἐπεὶ καὶ ἄνευ λύπης εἰσὶν ἡδοναί, οἷον αἱ τοῦ θεωρεῖν [ἐνέργειαι], τῆς φύσεως οὐκ ἐνδεοῦς οὐσης* belongs. It seems hardly possible that it should be connected with the preceding *ἔστι δ' ἡ ἐνέργεια, ἐν ταῖς ἐπιθυμίαις κ.τ.λ.* as the usual punctuation implies. *ἐνέργειαι* is considered ungenueine by Prof. Bywater, and reasonably, for the doctrine that pleasure is identical with the *ἐνέργεια* is not developed till later on. But even if we retain it, the existence of pleasures which are not incident to the relief of a painful want, and are therefore not processes but *ἐνέργειαι*, is no reason why there should be an *ἐνέργεια* in the case of the reliefs, or that this should be the *ἐνέργεια* of an unimpaired φύσις.

Nor can we make a connection by help of the later passages upon the identification of pleasure with the *ἐνέργεια* (xii. 3) and upon the *ὑπόλοιπος ἔξις* (xiv. 7). For though *ἐπεὶ καὶ ἄνευ λύπης κ.τ.λ.* might give a reason for the general statement that pleasure is not a process, and perhaps even for its being an *ἐνέργεια*, such general statement has not preceded in the text; while on the other hand, in the argument contemplated, *ἔστι δ' ἡ ἐνέργεια κ.τ.λ.* would have to follow *ἐπεὶ καὶ ἄνευ κ.τ.λ.* thus—'pleasure in general is an *ἐνέργεια*, for there are pleasures which are not processes, but *ἐνέργειαι* etc., and the *ἐνέργεια* in the case of the pleasant processes is that of the unimpaired φύσις.' And the difficulty would not be removed by transposing *ἐπεὶ καὶ ἄνευ κ.τ.λ.* and *ἔστι δ' ἡ ἐνέργεια κ.τ.λ.* for the general statement that all pleasure was *ἐνέργεια*, necessary to the argument, would still be wanting.

If we omit the words *ἔστι δ' ἡ ἐνέργεια... φύσεως*, the sentence which precedes them—*κατὰ συμβεβηκός... ἡδέαι εἰσιν* and that which follows them—*ἐπεὶ καὶ ἄνευ λύπης κ.τ.λ.*, form a coherent whole.

The objection being that pleasure is a process of restoration, implies therefore imperfection and is not good; the reply is that pleasures of restoration are only pleasures *κατὰ συμβεβηκός* and not true pleasures—*κατὰ συμβεβηκός αἱ καθιστάσαι εἰς τὴν φυσικὴν ἐξὶν ἡδέαι εἰσιν*.

This answer, to be of any value, must imply there are other pleasures not involving restoration (*τῆς φύσεως οὐκ ἐνδεοῦς οὐσης*) and so true pleasures.

Now this is just what is stated in the clause *ἐπεὶ καὶ ἄνευ λύπης καὶ ἐπιθυμίας εἰσὶν ἡδοναί, οἷον αἱ τοῦ θεωρεῖν, τῆς φύσεως οὐκ ἐνδεοῦς οὐσης*. The two clauses then, if the sentence between them is removed, form

one continuous context of which the sense would be in effect—'(the objection that pleasure is not good because it is restoration, does not hold) for there are pleasures which are not restorations, and the so-called pleasures incident to restorations are not pleasures at all in the true sense.'

The removal of *ἔστι δ' ἡ ἐνέργεια, κ.τ.λ.*, makes such a plausible context that one might suspect that it was originally a marginal note prompted by the later passage on the *ὑπόλοιπος ἔξις* (iv. 7 *τὸ ὑπομένον ὑγιές*), but its place in the text seems guaranteed by *ἐπεὶ τοῦ ἀγαθοῦ τὸ μὲν ἐνέργεια τὸ δ' ἔξις*, for without it there would be nothing to correspond to the first member of this classification of good.

If we retain the text as it stands, as there is strong reason for doing so, we may perhaps explain it thus. The second argument, which is clearly the most important one, when once introduced, becomes the main argument. Then *ἔστι δ' ἡ ἐνέργεια κ.τ.λ.*, is a mere parenthetic return to the first argument supplying the *ἐνέργεια* side of it of which nothing had been said: the sentence therefore should be enclosed in a parenthesis, a full stop substituted for the comma after *καὶ φύσεως*, and a colon for the full stop after *ἡδέαι εἰσιν*.

The connection of the passage *σημεῖον δ' ὅτι* down to the end of the section—*ἡδοναί αἱ ἀπὸ τούτων*, would present no difficulty, as it is a continuation of the main argument.

The train of thought may then perhaps be represented thus:—

As to the argument that pleasure as a restoration implies want and imperfection and so is not good;—whereas the Good is either ἐνέργεια or ἔξις, restorations involve both kinds of good. The ἔξις which they involve is the φυσικὴ ἔξις to which they restore: but now the restorations to a φυσικὴ ἔξις are as such only accidentally pleasant, not in the true sense: [The ἐνέργεια which they involve, it may be noted, is that of the ἔξις which remains unimpaired and is not being restored.] for there are other pleasures without pain and appetite and implying no defective φύσις to be restored, such as those of thinking, and these are the true pleasures. That the others are accidental is confirmed by the fact that things found pleasant during a restoration, e.g. what is bitter or sour, are not so when the restoration is complete: these things are not normally pleasant and so the pleasures derived from them cannot be normal.

'For' in the above represents the elliptical use of *ἐπεὶ* (see Kühner, Gr. Gr. § 569, An. 1). The full expression of the thought would be

'and so the objection falls, since there are other pleasures, not processes, to which therefore it could not apply. ἔστι δ' ἡ ἐνέργεια ἐν ταῖς ἐπιθυμίαις τῆς ἀπολοῖπου ἕξως καὶ φύσεως would then appear as a kind of note by the author himself, interrupting the context. Possibly its character was indicated by some mark, or by its position in the MS. relative to the other text; but it is perhaps unnecessary to assume this. It is not likely to have been a note by another hand, for anyone who read the text with sufficient care to realise what the undeveloped argument was intended to be, would probably have written more, and have expressed what was wanting about the ἕξις as well.

There is another place of great difficulty in *N. Eth.* Bk. VIII. ix. where a coherent context is produced by leaving out a passage. If 1160^a 19-^b 23 (ἐναι...τὸν βίον) is omitted, the text on each side of it coheres in a remarkable manner, making a grammatical whole with the exactly right sense; and there is no occasion to suppose anything lost before θυσίας τε ποιῶντες in 1160^a 23. There, however, it seems likely that a member of a parallel version has been interpolated, as I

suggested, some years ago, in an article in the *Philologische Rundschau* (I. Jahrg. No. 39, sp. 1240).

May I add a rather belated correction of a previous article on Aristotle's Classification of the Arts of Acquisition (*Class. Rev.* vol. x. 1896). In consequence of the views developed in my articles in the *Archiv für Geschichte der Philosophie*, xi. 2, p. 246 sqq., and xii. 1, p. 50 sqq., the words 'probably' and 'not only to the good μεταβλητική but' should be struck out of the second footnote to my article in the *Class. Rev.* In the tabular conspectus of the departments of κτητική, the second division of οἰκιστάτη χρηματιστική, viz. 'the good or natural kind of μεταβλητική,' should be enclosed in square brackets, to indicate that though it logically belongs to the place assigned to it, Aristotle probably left it out of sight altogether, as 'prehistoric,' in making his classification. In the last footnote, 24th line from the end, transpose 'as we said' and 'though.'

J. COOK WILSON.

ON ΤΟ ΚΈΩΝ = 'PARENT.'

THE τοκέων, which Mr. Headlam (see p. 401), has restored to the Anthology, actually occurs in *M. Anton.* iv. 46, though ignorance of its existence has banished it from all printed editions. Stich in his Teubner text, inserting Gataker's ὥσπερ, reads καὶ ὅτι οὐ δεῖ ὥσπερ παῖδας τοκέων, ὧν τοῦτ' ἔστι κατὰ ψιλόν, καθότι παρελήφαμεν. Coraes put ὥς for ὥσπερ, and other editors omit the intractable ὧν, but without giving any tolerable sense to the passage. Previously I proposed ὅτι οὐ δεῖ παῖδας τοκέων ὧν taking ὧν for possessive, and repunctuating; but it now becomes clear that παῖδας τοκέωνων (with the MSS.) is the true reading, and that the words belong to the original Herakleitos,

and are not a paraphrase (as Bywater and others suggest) of the fragment ἀνὴρ νήπιος ἤκουσε πρὸς δαίμονος, ὁκῶσπερ παῖς πρὸς ἀνδρὸς. 'Sons,' wrote Herakleitos, 'should snarl at sires'; and to this characteristic aphorism, the epigrammatist gave the malicious personal turn—'I spurned and snarled at my own parents'; while Marcus, omitting the offensive verb, preserves the true interpretation of the paradox—'Sons must spurn their sires,' that is to say in plain terms, we must not blindly accept tradition. It is parallel to the injunction of Fr. cxi, not to 'follow bards or accept the teaching of the crowd.'

GERALD H. RENDALL.

CAESAR'S RHINE BRIDGE.

OF those persons, who, whether editors of Caesar's works or critics, have essayed to explain how his bridge over the Rhine was built, some, as will be seen below, have assumed that their self-imposed undertaking gives them perfect licence to contradict, in whole or in part, express statements of their author. It is the object of this paper to show (i) that systems of construction and figures put forth by many writers are quite inconsistent with the clear and emphatic statement made by Caesar as to the effect of his mode of constructing the bridge; and that, in consequence, all such systems and figures ought to be regarded by us as wholly misleading and worthless; (ii) and, further, that Caesar's words construed in the simplest and most regular way, and giving to those words the meanings which they bear in other passages of Caesar, or, if none such can be found, in ancient works on architecture, indicate a construction, in reference to which the emphatic words of Caesar are strictly and necessarily true.

Caesar after setting forth the considerations which made him desire to lead his army across the Rhine, explains why he objected to using ships for the passage and preferred to build a bridge though he foresaw that he would meet with the utmost difficulty by reason of the breadth, the depth and the strong current of the river.

The breadth of the river involved, first, the expenditure of much time on the construction; next, provision for securing the work, when completed, against attempts of the Germans to destroy it, since a wide channel in mid stream lay beyond the effective range of missiles from the bank.

The depth made it difficult to provide an ample supply of timber of sufficient length and strength; and this difficulty was much aggravated by the strength of the current.

The Roman military engineers had already acquired much experience in bridging, by means of piles, rivers of less volume or of sluggish current: but here Caesar was confronted by a new and difficult problem, and it is precisely his mode of solving this problem which we should expect Caesar to describe, and nothing beyond. We should not look for any detailed account of matters of familiar usage.

It has become a common practice for editors and critics, to commend different and even inconsistent suggestions and then, as if to convince us of the futility of any criticisms of their plans, to say, 'In the lack of information no certainty is possible,' 'We shall now never know how the bridge was built' and the like.

This is probably true if they mean that we can hardly expect to discover working drawings and specifications from Caesar's hands. But we hold that Caesar was an engineer of conspicuous genius, and that as a writer of much experience he was neither unable nor unlikely to write such an account of his bridge as to be perfectly intelligible to his contemporaries: such an account indeed, as would enable any competent military engineer of his day to construct another like it. Hence, in considering a passage which has come down to us with few, and mostly unimportant, variations of reading, we should distrust the censorious objections of modern critics, and bear in mind rather the express commendation of his contemporary, Hirtius, who, in the preface to the supplementary Eighth Book of the Gallic War, has, '*Erat autem in Caesare cum facultas atque elegantia summa scribendi, tum verissima scientia suorum consiliorum explicanturum.*'

The following are specimens of direct contradiction of Caesar's statements by modern elucidators of his meaning.

Caesar says of himself *rationem pontis hanc instituit*. A. Rheinhard charges Caesar with appropriating the credit due to his Engineer in Chief, Mamurra, and says that Caesar, not understanding Mamurra's description, wrote an unintelligible account of the construction of the bridge (Caesars Rheinbrücke, 1883). It is true that Pliny names Mamurra, whom he describes as *Praefectus Fabrum* to C. Caesar in Gaul, as the first person to case the interior walls of his house with marble, calling him a discreditable author of that invention: and this without any reference to the Rhine Bridge, nor does he say that Mamurra was the only engineer officer under Caesar.

Caesar says that he drove pointed timbers (*tigna bina*) into the river bed. Col. Henrard (*Mém. couronnés... publiés par l'Acad. Roy. de Belgique*, xxxiii. 1882, pp. 18, 19) denies that any timbers were driven into the bed, (or could be for he asserts

that Caesar crossed the river where the bed is rock), and gives a hypothetical construction of his own as Caesar's.

Caesar says that he fastened the timbers of his twin-piers together, at two feet apart, before he drove them into the bed of the river. A. Rheinhard asserts that they were driven in separately and fastened together afterwards. (Caesars Rheinbrücke, 1883.)

['Twin-piers': this term will be used to describe the *tigna bina*, because it seems an abuse of language to use the term 'pile,' in reference to them, in discussing a passage in which it is a point of dispute whether Caesar after defining the correct meaning of the term *sublica* ('pile') does or does not use it, some dozen lines below, in a different sense. This, however, is exactly what is done by Dr. Fennell, Camb. Philolog. Soc. Proceedings, Mich. Term 1887, p. 28 *passim*; Professor E. V. Arnold *Classical Review*, Vol. i p. 169 *passim*; Mr. H. J. Roby *ibid.* p. 242; Mr. A. G. Peskett, *C.R.* Vol. xiii p. 462, *ibid.* 464, and by Mr. T. Rice Holmes, *Caesar's Conquest of Gaul*, pp. 697-709 *passim*.]

Caesar says that his twin-piers were formed of timbers fastened together, at two feet apart. (i) O. Pohl represents the *tigna* of each couple as crossing each other, like an X, two feet above the water line and the crossbeam (*trabs*) as resting in the angle formed by their crossing. (Festschrift des Realgymnasiens am Zwinger zu Breslau, 1886). (ii) J. Rondelet says they were two feet apart at the top, where they carried the *trabs*, but divaricated towards the river bed. (*Traité théorique et pratique de l'art de bâtir*, 1812-14, iv. 305-7.)

Mr. T. Rice Holmes on this remarks: 'This theory is disproved; first by the fact that Caesar says that the piles were fastened by cross-pieces at an interval of two feet; and secondly, by the fact that Rondelet's arrangement would have served no purpose except that of making the bridge weak.' (*Caesar's Conquest of Gaul*, 1899, p. 698.)

The first part of this argument is correct, the latter part incorrect; for this arrangement, which may be seen figured *passim* in illustrations of wooden bridges on American railways and elsewhere, would have stiffened the bridge against movement in the direction of its length, had such stiffening been necessary. Were other disproof than Caesar's words required it might have been objected that the difficulty of driving in the *tigna* would have been greatly increased had they been fastened

together thus divaricated. T. Maurer (Noch einmal Julius Cäsars Brücke über den Rhein, 1883), following Feldbausch (Ueber die Konstruktion der Brücke, welche J. Cäsar Ueber den Rhein schlug, 1830) represents the *tigna bina* as lying not side by side across the stream, but one behind the other down the stream, thus making it impossible for a *trabs* to fit into the interval between them and that between the corresponding pair, in the way that Caesar says they did.

Now let us turn from the mention of direct contradictions of Caesar's account to others which are less obvious to the casual reader.

The Emperor Napoleon III, in his *Histoire de Jules César*, Plate xvii Fig. 1, represents the *fibulae* as long poles which, uniting the upper part of each twin-pier of a trestle to a point near the water level on its fellow twin-pier, cross midway, and are bolted to the *tigna* at each end and to each other where they cross. This construction triangulates the framework of the element of the bridge: and a triangular frame is a rigid construction which acts precisely as a single piece of timber of the same form would act; and in reference to such a construction Caesar's statement about the effect of increased force of the current would have been absolutely meaningless and absurd. Force applied to one side of a triangular frame of wood might be sufficient to break that side, or to force out the bolts which hold the separate pieces together at the angles, or to break the bolts themselves; but it would in no sense of the words bind the whole firmer together.

Therefore we may feel absolutely certain that Caesar's Bridge was not built with the triangulating ties figured by Napoleon III. These, however, are described by Professor E. V. Arnold (*C.R.* Vol. I. p. 168) as 'a real addition to the strength and compactness of the bridge'; an expression which seems to indicate more concern to discover some way of improving the bridge and making it more like a structure designed to be permanent than to ascertain the exact meaning of Caesar's words.¹ Not only the scheme of Napoleon III. but also, for the reason assigned above, all other schemes which figure, or describe, systems of triangulation, whether it be on a large scale,

¹ Cf. Mr. Peskett's 'I represented these detached piles on the up-stream side as driven in sloping because I thought they would fulfil their purpose better so than if they were perpendicular' (*C.R.* vol. xiii. p. 462).

like the horizontal one suggested by Professor Arnold in the place cited; or on a lesser scale like those which are introduced by the short links,¹ by the half joints,² multiple bolts or mortice-work of other writers; should, as at variance with the plain declaration of Caesar, '*ut, quo maior vis aquae se incitavisset, hoc artius inligata tenerentur*' be held to be self-condemned.

Caesar's account is to the following effect. 'He took pairs of $1\frac{1}{2}$ foot beams (*tigna bina*) sharpened, for a short distance, at their lower ends, and cut to suit the depth of the river, and fastened them together two feet apart. When he had by pontoons brought them out into the river, planted them in position and driven them in by rammers, not like a pile upright by a plumb-line, but inclined to the vertical and sloping to a ridge, so as to lean in the direction of the current; he then, at a distance of 40 feet from their lower part (*i.e.* from where they entered the river bed), set up over against each pair another pair, united in the same way but turned to meet the force and onset of the stream. Then he took long baulks of 2 feet in width, for this was the distance between the *tigna bina*, and from above let them down into the interspaces of the *tigna bina* which constituted a pair of up and down stream twin-piers, which were then made fast (*destinabantur*) at their (upper) ends by a pair of *fibulae* at each extremity of the baulk (*utrimque*).

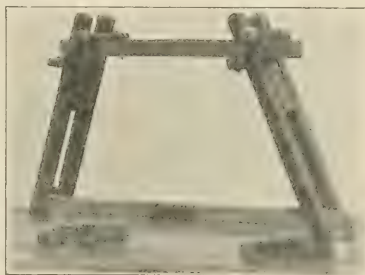
Then since these *fibulae* were separated (*viz.* by the *trabs* and *tigna bina*) and lashed together in direction opposite to their separation, such was the firmness of the work and such the nature of the mechanical principles involved that as the force of the current waxed stronger the timbers of the bridge were more firmly bound together.'

It is quite immaterial whether the *iuncturae* of the *tigna bina* were two-foot lengths of timber fixed between the *tigna*, or longer pieces lashed to them or nailed like rounds of a rough ladder across them, as in Napoleon III's plan: but it may be remarked that the mode of attachment which he figures by single bolts, allowing of movement, like the links of a parallel ruler, would be tried much less than any more rigid form of attachment would be, by inequality of driving force on the heads of the *tigna*, or by inequality of resistance offered them by the river's bed.

However this may have been, each *trabs* may be supposed to have rested on the uppermost *iuncturae* of the twin-piers which it united. Suppose the *fibulae* to have been poles of six or seven feet in length, placed in the acute angles between the up-stream *tigna bina* and *trabes*, and in the obtuse angles between the down-stream *tigna bina* and *trabes*; and that the ends of each pair of *fibulae* which projected beyond the *tigna* on either side of the *trabs*, were firmly lashed together. No attachment of these *fibulae* to *trabes* or to *tigna*, beyond such lashing, was necessary. Consider the effect of this arrangement.

Any movement caused by the force of the current would be of the nature of a slight rotation of the twin-piers about transverse axes in the bed of the river.

This rotation would tend to diminish the angles in which the *fibulae* were placed, and therefore to thrust them outwards from the vertices of those angles and *ipso facto* to tighten the lashing and bind all the timbers firmer together.



The mere statement of the case should be sufficient for a mathematician, but for the benefit of those who might not at once apprehend the force of the foregoing argument, we constructed to scale a model of one trussle of the bridge, '*segnius*' enim '*irritant animos demissa per aures quam quae sint oculis subjecta fidelibus*,' in which model the lower extremities of the twin-piers were pivoted, at the proper distance apart, to a longitudinal piece of wood representing a portion of the bed of the river; and the *fibulae* were tightly lashed together with a figure-of-eight lashing. On applying pressure (in the direction of the stream) to the twin-piers of this model, one immediately feels strong resistance increasing with the pressure: but resistance to pressure, applied

¹ A. Rheinhard, C. Jul. Caesars Rheinbrücke, 1883, p. 5.

² F. Krauer, C. Jul. Caesaris Commentarii de B.G., 1853, p. 111.

in the contrary direction is absolutely *nil*; so that it was necessary to fix (upon the longitudinal base) stops which prevent movement in this direction but allow it freely in the opposite direction.

Hence it is clear that it is a mistake to figure such *fibulae* placed in the acute angles on the down-stream side of the bridge, for in that case the lashings on that side would be slackened by any movement induced by the current; and we cannot doubt that Caesar so arranged his trestles as to make every part contribute to the effect which he says was produced. This faulty arrangement of the *fibulae* is figured by Long, by Cohausen (*Cäsars Rheinbrücken*, 1867, Fig. 10) by H. Rheinhard (*Caesar de Bell. Gall.*, 1881, Taf. V. p. 90), is approved by Messrs. Peskett and Allcroft; and is shown in the model of Caesar's Bridge in the Library of Trinity College, Cambridge.

The arrangement of the *fibulae* in the acute angles at each end of the trestles would be the proper one to adopt in the case of a bridge crossing a ravine, or the arm of a freshwater lake or wherever force is likely to bear upon the bridge from either side, and it is therefore necessary to stiffen the framework in both directions, but where it is known from the first that great force will constantly act upon the structure from one side without any possibility of reversal, it becomes all important to provide security against the foreseen danger.

The arrangement shown in the model figured above, (which was made before our attention had been drawn to the articles in the *Classical Review*, to that in the Proceedings of the Cambridge Philological Society Mich. Term 1887, and to Caesar's Conquest of Gaul), is we find shown in the original figures of Col. Emy's *Traité de l'art de la Charpenterie* (1837).

Sonntag (*Bemerkungen zu Caesar de B. G. iv. 17.* 1890, p. 4) says that the arrangement devised by Cohausen would have suited the upper but not the lower side of the bridge; and he is in general agreement with us, but differs in asserting that ropes would have been too weak, and in representing the ends of the *fibulae* as connected by iron bands: and he suggests that *fibula* was either a term of military engineering, or else was used by Caesar to describe a construction resembling that of the ancient brooch so called.

However this may be, if in a model constructed on the plan of that described above close fitting safety-pins, the modern *fibulae*, are substituted for the two pieces of wood

and their rope lashing at either end, the model will behave exactly as it did before. Moreover the words *quibus disclusis* will aptly represent the unclasping of the safety-pins before passing them round the wood-work, and *in contrariam partem revinctis* will as aptly represent the pressure necessary to lock them again when passed round.

However, it seems more probable that all the parts of the bridge were bound together by ropes or thongs than by metal. We have often seen lofty scaffoldings, bound together by slight rope lashings, standing not for a few weeks but for months.

Dr. Fennell (Camb. Philological Society, Proceedings, Mich. Term. 1887) exhibited a model in which the *fibulae* were placed in the acute angles at each end of the trabs. The *fibulae*, he says, were stout pieces of wood about six feet long bolted to the horizontal beam, and 'there were no other fastenings.' In this arrangement also no resistance to movement would be offered on the down-stream side of the bridge.

The arrangement suggested by H. J. Roby (*Classical Review*, Vol. i. p. 242) is open to the same objection. Mr. Roby, who takes *quibus* to refer to *fibulis* and the words *quibus—revinctis* as an ablative absolute, takes the *fibulae* to be horizontal bolts driven through the *trabes* at right angles one on each side of the *tigna bina*.

Mr. Peskett's text of the passage B. G. iv. 17 except for variations of orthography differs from the text of F. Oehler (1864) only in having *conteccebantur* for *consternabantur*; and, with a like reservation, from the text of H. Meusel (1894) only in having *his* for *iis*, *missae* for *immissae* and in omitting *causa*.

The first word which seems to invite remark is *fastigate*. This is not equivalent to *prone*, but, calling attention to the whole line of twin-piers, explains that their up-stream faces lay in one plane, just as the principal rafters of a house roof run up, parallel to one another, from the wall-plate to the ridge timber.

Passages in Caesar suggest that he would have applied the term *fastigate* to the sloping sides of a canal or of a road embankment indifferently.

Haec utraque obviously mean the up-stream *tigna bina* and the down-stream *his contraria duo* of each trestle. *Utrisque* therefore means, at each end of the *trabs* which stretched between these opposite pairs, and therefore *binis fibulis* shows that there were two, and *only two*, *fibulae* at each end of each *trabs*. To take *quibus* as

having for its antecedent *tignis*, as some have suggested (e.g. White and Riddle; Lat. Dict. sub voce *discludo*) does not yield any sense such as to explain or justify Caesar's statement about the effect of increased strength of the current.

If however we take *quibus* to refer, as perspicuity of composition would require, to the nearest possible antecedent *fibulis* and also take, as is simplest, *disclusis* and *revinctis* in agreement with *quibus*, we find in the words a meaning which fully justifies Caesar's speaking 'with some pride' (to adopt Professor Arnold's phrase, *loc. cit.*) of the ingenious device he made use of to ensure the stability of the bridge.

Sonntag (*loc. cit.*) is in exact agreement with our view of the grammar of the passage and so also is H. J. Roby (*loc. cit.*).

Destinabantur (the reading of E) is to be preferred to *distinebantur*.

For *distinebantur* ('were held apart') would yield no useful meaning, whether it be held to be predicated of the *tigna* which form one twin-pier, or of the two twin-piers which one *trabs* joined; because the former were already securely fastened, two feet apart, by their *juncturae*; the latter were sufficiently separated by being driven into the river-bed.

It will be noticed that the strong expression of Caesar's pride in the success of his method of dealing with the difficulty caused by the depth and swiftness of the river, follows the description of the bare trestles and precedes that of the roadway superimposed on them.

Not till this has been indicated, but only in outline, as familiar to his readers, does Caesar go on to mention the *defensores*, and these he introduces with the phrase *nihilo secius*, as if to intimate that, though perfectly satisfied as to the capacity of his bridge to withstand any strength of the current, he would not, therewith content, neglect to provide protection against possible attempts of the enemy to injure the structure.

Injury might be done by fire (cf. Liv. I. xxxvii), by the mere impact of floating bodies, or by the increase of pressure due to the banking up of the water against such bodies lodged against the piers.

The most vulnerable parts of the bridge were the twin-piers, and any floating body fended off from one of the up-stream piers, would, by reason of this deflection, be more likely to strike the lower piers, than if it had passed the upper piers without contact.

Not only is this the case, but the risk of damage to the lower piers, if undefended,

was far greater than it would, in like case, have been to the upper piers; because the force of the current would immediately depress the floating body, fix it firmly under the overhanging twin-piers, bank up the water against it and make it far harder for the Romans to deal with it.

The sense of this greater danger to the lower piers may have led Caesar to mention first the lower *defensores*, inverting the order in which he describes the erection of the piers. We do not hold so low an opinion of Caesar's ability to express himself as to believe that after a clear statement that *sublicae* means a vertically driven pile he would a few lines lower employ that term in a different sense. This however is done by F. Kraner, H. Rheinhard, A. Rheinhard, A. von Cohausen, Napoleon III., T. Rice Holmes (*op. cit.* p. 707), A. G. Peskett, (*C.R.* xiv. p. 464), &c.

We see also that for the defence of the lower piers against floating bodies their *defensores* must have been above them, and we maintain that every word of Caesar's description supports this view and is inconsistent with any other. Caesar's account then continues to the following effect. 'These structures were linked together by transverse beams laid across them and strewn with poles and fascines; and notwithstanding (the strength of the trestles) piles were driven in lines crossing the stream obliquely, both towards the lower side, which piles placed underneath, buttress-like, and united to the whole work would intercept the force of the river, and others likewise at a moderate interval above the bridge, in order that if trunks of trees or ships were sent down by the enemy, the force of those things might by these defensive works be lessened and no damage be done to the bridge.'

Had Caesar intended to say that the *sublicae* were driven lower down the stream than the bridge he would probably have written *infra pontem*. *subjectae* is properly used of position vertically underneath, not of position behind. *excipere* is used to denote that a person or object is intercepted midway on its passage from one point to another. *his defensoribus minueretur* would have no meaning in regard to the downstream piers, if their *defensores* were lower down than the bridge, for the full force of the impact of any floating body and the whole strength of the current would be borne by those piers.

We believe that *his defensoribus* is generally understood to apply to the whole of the

protective works, but some editors seem to limit the application of the clauses (a) '*quae pro ariete subjectae et cum omni opere conjunctae vim fluminis exciperent*,' and (b) '*ut, si arborum trunci sive naves deiciendi operis essent a barbaris missae, his defensoribus earum rerum vis minueretur, neu ponti nocerent*,' to the works in connection with the lower and upper piers respectively.

This seems to be a mistake. Caesar might have written, in brief, '*sublicae et ad inferiorem partem oblique agebantur, et aliae item supra pontem*,' but since he had broken the continuity of his sentence, by the clause '*quae . . . exciperent*' expressing the effect which would naturally be produced by the protective works, after his subsequent mention of the upper piles, he adds the clause '*ut, si . . . nocerent*' to express his intention in adding all these protective outworks.

By the way, *item* is always used by Caesar in the sense 'also.'

The V-shaped arrangement of piles figured

by Long, Napoleon III., H. Rheinhard, A. Rheinhard, and others, would naturally be employed in a stream flowing equably in a straight reach, and this form we see everywhere represented by the stone abutments of the piers of bridges.

But, if Caesar's bridge was thrown across at, or just below, a bend of the river or a short distance below where a reef of rock or a sandbank deflected the stream towards one bank, a diagonal line of piles across the front of each pier would have been all that was required to protect them; and this may be what Caesar meant by *oblique*.

Whether V-shaped or in straight lines the *defensores* must have been formed of walls of piles driven close side by side, otherwise they would not have shielded the piers from the force of the stream, though they might, by the obliquity of impact, have lessened the shock caused by floating bodies striking against them.

J. H. TAYLOR.

ON CICERO, *TUSC. DISP.* I. 36, 88.

In this passage the words *carere in morte* ... *quod est malum* fail to carry on the argument or to yield any definite sense. The chief emendations, which may be seen in Kühner's *crit. n.*, are unsatisfactory. Bentley confessed that he could not understand the words and O. Heine proposed to cut them out. But how then did they come into the MSS.? I believe that they are merely out of place and that they should follow the words *erroris in uerbo*. An early copyist missed this clause beginning with *carere* and went on to the clause beginning with *carere igitur hoc significat*. When he had written down to *facile patiare* he discovered the omission and inserted the clause beginning with *carere in malo*, out of its proper place. *Carere in malo*, not *carere in morte*, though the latter is the MS. reading. At some time subsequent to the error of transposition *malo* was altered to *morte* by an interpolator or owing to the act of a glossator, who thought the change demanded by the words *sed ne uirius quidem* and *at in mortuo*, following.

I believe that this emendation and transposition remove all difficulties. Cicero in T.D. undertakes to prove that death is to be despised whether the soul is mortal

or immortal. The interlocutor admits (§ 25) that the soul is happy in death if it is immortal, and Cicero in §§ 26-81 sets forth arguments for the immortality of the soul. But in § 82 he commences the second division of his subject and, from that point to the end of the book, maintains that, even though the soul perish as completely as the body, there is no evil in death. After maintaining in § 82 that the act of dying involves no evil, and in §§ 83-6 that the necessity of leaving behind the good things of life involves no evil, and that one is more likely to leave evil behind than good, he maintains in § 87 that, *even assuming that in dying we depart from good things and not from evil, death is nevertheless no evil*. For (by *HYPOTHESIS* assumed throughout §§ 82-117) there is no feeling in death, and where there is no feeling there can be no privation (*carere*). *Even to the living* there is no privation in being without those things of which they have no need. In § 88 he reiterates (cf. *pre-mendum etiam atque etiam*) the argument stated in § 87 reminding us, as a preliminary, to hold firmly to the principle that there is no feeling whatever in death, a principle which, on our hypothesis that the soul is mortal, cannot be disputed.

Here then Cicero is arguing that, even though in dying we depart from good things and not from evil, death is no evil. His positions are the following :—

(a) A man is not said *carere* in respect of evils (except in a few phrases like *febri carere*).

(b) He is not even said *carere* in respect of good things unless he has need of them, no, *not even when he is alive and can feel*.

(c) Much less then can he be said *carere* in respect of good things when he is dead and cannot feel.

To translate the emended passage in detail :—‘ We must sift the meaning of *carere*, lest any source of error be left in the word. We cannot use the word *carere* with reference to evil, for evil (when we have it) would not (in that case) be a thing about which to grieve; we speak of lacking good things, this being an evil. [These Cicero takes to be facts generally recognized with reference to the use of the word.] The meaning then of *carere* is to lack a thing which one desires to have. For wish is implied in the word, except when we use it in another sense, as in the phrase *febri carere*. For the word is used in another sense [of which *febri carere* is a particular instance] when there is something that one has not, and he is aware of the fact though he may also be glad of it. But even when alive a man does not lack a good thing [this second sense of the word applying only to *bad* things] unless he has need of it. It is true that in the case of a living man it is at least an intelligible mode of expression to speak *e.g.* of you (*i.e.* of a man) as lacking a throne, although this cannot with much accuracy be said of you (*i.e.* individually; Cicero plays on the word *tu*) [since you, Brutus, with your principles and your supposed descent from the *exactor regum*, would be the last man to *desire* a throne]; it could be said of Tarquin after his expulsion [for he wanted to recover the throne, as is proved by the fact that he fought for that purpose]; but in the case of a dead man the expression is not even intelligible, for lacking belongs to one who feels, and there is no feeling in the dead.’

With regard to the MSS. it need not excite surprise that a sentence should have got out of its proper place in all MSS., since

in § 95, a little farther on, the words *iussu tyrannorum* appear after *ponamus* in most MSS., including the best, although they are obviously out of place there and should only follow *triginta* ten lines lower down. The only MSS. that omit these two words after *ponamus* and have them only after *triginta* are late MSS. freely interpolated by Renaissance scholars. Similarly the words *aliunde didicisse videamur* in iv. 2, 4 are out of their proper place in the best MSS.

The emendation *malo* for *morte* I adopt against the consensus of MSS. Orelli, who adopted *malo*, states that *Bernensis* reads *malo*, but he has been misinformed by the Bern professor who supplied him with the readings of that MS. I can positively assert that *Bernensis* reads *morte* and that it does so clearly, without trace of erasure, and without marginal gloss.

carere in morte non dicitur is read by G R Brux, Bern. Vat. Pal 1 and seven others at Rome, Vind 1, 5 Oxx, 8 Paris, and many other MSS.

carere enim in morte non dicitur, by Vind 2, Mon 1, Ball. and 2 other Oxx.

carereque in morte non dicitur, by ed H.

Two early editions (S.E.), it is true, read *carere in malo*, but I attach little weight to this except as probably showing that some Renaissance scholar saw that *malo* was required.

It is well known that all MSS. of the T.D. have several errors, omissions, etc. in common, cf. Kühner, *Introd.* pp. 11–12; Kühner and Moser on i. § 95; and (for the two best GR) Seyfert, *Introd.*, p. 7.

I maintain that *morte* was substituted for *malo* in the archetype of all existing MSS., either by interpolation or owing to a marginal gloss, the glossator or interpolator thinking the change demanded by the words *sed ne uiuus quidem* and *at in mortuo* following.

T. W. DOUGAN.

BELFAST, 4 Dec., 1901.

[Prof. Dougan's explanation of the passage would seem to involve the interchange of *bono* and *uiuus* ‘*sed ne bono quidem uiuus caret si eo non,*’ unless we assume loose writing on the part of Cicero.—J.P.P.]

AN EARLY CORRUPTION IN VIRGIL.

Incepe parue puer risu cognoscere matrem :
matri longa decem tulerunt fastidia men-
ses.

incepe, parue puer :
nec deus hunc mensa dea nec dignata cubili
est.—Virgil, *Ecl.* iv, 60 sqq.

Strange as it may perhaps appear, we may sometimes learn more about a disputed passage by analysing its commentators than its text. And this method I have adopted with regard to the half verse whose place is left blank above; but which appears in all the manuscripts and almost all the editions in the form '*cui non risere parentes.*'

I take the interpretation of the beginning of the passage adopted by Conington and Mr. T. E. Page from the note of the latter. '*risu cognoscere matrem*' with a smile to recognise thy mother'; the next line gives the reason why he is to do so, namely, to reward his mother for the 'long weariness' for the ten months of pregnancy. Observe the skill with which the repetition of the last word of one clause at the beginning of the next (*matrem, matri*) is used to link the clauses together instead of some mechanical connecting particle.' A good note and, with the substitution of '*a reason*' for '*the reason*,' a flawless one. Everyone must recognise the picture as a natural and appropriate one; and many will be reminded of the charming scene in Catullus 61. 212 sqq. 'Torquatus uolo paruolus | matris e gremio suae | dulce rideat ad patrem | semihante labello.'

But there is another interpretation. 'Many render 'to recognise thy mother by her smile'; if so, the next line must give the reason why she smiles, viz. because her long weariness of travail is over (cf. John xvi. 20)' (Mr. Page). This interpretation Conington and Mr. Page rightly reject on the grounds that 'the command to recognise the mother by her smile is very flat' that the construction '*risu cognoscere*' is 'harsh' and that 'the reason is very obscurely expressed.' Now why should these 'many' commentators have refused a forcible and natural interpretation in favour of a weak and unnatural one? The sequel will show.

The first mentioned commentators proceed as follows. 'The poet bids him smile AND SO LURE HIS PARENTS TO SMILE IN RETURN; for he says 'on whom parents have not smiled, him neither god has deemed worthy of his

board nor goddess of her couch.' It was because they did not venture to foist upon Virgil the interpolation which I have printed in small capitals that the 'many' interpreted as they did. And why did their courage fail? They saw that the passage contained a command (60-62) and foreshadowed a penalty (63) and that common coherence required that the penalty should be levied for disobedience to the command—that the infant should be punished for his own default, not for his parents', or, more correctly, his mother's.

This analysis of the conflict of the commentators reveals an *impasse*. We must retrace our steps and seek a guide from elsewhere.

A writer who is centuries older than any witness for the vulgate text has the following comment on the passage (Quintilian Inst. Or. 9. 3. 8):

'Est figura et in numero: uel cum singulari pluralis subiungitur: *gladio pugnacissima gens Romani*: uel ex diuerso:—*cui non risere parentes, nec deus hunc mensa dea nec dignata cubili est*; ex illis enim *qui non risere*, hic quem *non dignata*.'

Thus stands the quotation in the manuscripts of Quintilian. But it is obvious that he knew better than to attribute to Virgil the expression *risere parentes* '*laughed at their parent*': and that, in addition to *qui* with Politianus, *parenti* must be emended with Bonnell. It is due to Quintilian to inquire if we can accept the quotation in the form in which he gives it, and with the interpretation that he assigns. It is said that, if the transition from plural to singular did not trouble Quintilian, it need not trouble us. The history of scholarship might teach us better. Quintilian found the shift in question in his text of Virgil. He was not on the hunt for blemishes to remove; and if he had been, many things as bad or worse have passed muster with critics far more exigent. But it does not follow that Virgil wrote everything which Quintilian did not suspect; and I am on the side of the many scholars who hold that, without apparent motive or temptation, Virgil would not have written *qui risere, hunc* when he could have written without detriment *qui risere, hos*, as Schrader justifiably but improbably proposed. It follows then that the text of Virgil as vouched for by this witness of the end of the first century A.D.

is corrupt, though much less so than the one in which all our manuscripts agree. But the corruption is not a difficult one to remove. We have but to elicit from the *hunc* of the tradition the sense of the grammarian's *ex illis*. An *i* for *v* will give us all we want.

qui non risere parenti,
nec deus HINC mensa dea nec dignata
cubili est.

The use of *hinc*, *inde*, *unde*, *illinc* in the sense of *ex* with *his*, *iis*, *quibus*, *illis* is fairly well known. I had collected a certain number of instances in illustration of this passage. As however I find them all in Henry's *Aeneidea* I. p 145, on 'genus unde Latinum,' *Aen.* 1. 10, I merely give some references: *unde*, Ter. *Eun.* prol. 11, 1. 2. 35, *inde*, *Ad.* 1. 1. 22, *hinc*, *Aen.* 1. 234, Ter. *Ad.* 3. 3. 7.

J. P. POSTGATE.

THE CODEX TOLETANUS OF TACITUS' AGRICOLA.

AFTER the repeated but futile efforts made by Dr. R. Wuensch, and subsequently by myself, to secure a collation of this new MS., Dr. O. Leuze, of Tübingen, unexpectedly succeeded, during two visits to Toledo, in the autumn of 1900 and the spring of 1901, in getting access to the long hidden treasure, for such it has turned out to be.

As many of the readers of the *Classical Review* will not have the original article, which has just appeared in *Philologus* Supplem. vol. viii. 4 pp. 515-556, within easy reach, a hasty survey of the interesting and valuable results of Dr. Leuze's paper may not be unwelcome.

From indications in the MS. itself, which, besides the *Agricola*, also contains the text of the *Germania* and some letters of Pliny, it was written between December 5, 1471, and June 1, 1474. It is, therefore, virtually contemporaneous with the two other MSS. of the *Agricola*.

Certain corruptions, which AB and T share in common, prove that they were all descended from the same archetype; on the other hand, as T is pitted against AB in about 114 instances, preserving in many cases the original reading, the supposition that AB is one grade farther removed from the parent copy, *i.e.* that T and a lost MS. *y*, the prototype of AB, are brothers, has much in its favour. Of the 198 readings, in which A and B disagree, T is on the side of A in no fewer than 185 instances; in six others, where T and B agree, as against A, the latter is corrupt; in the remaining seven T gives entirely new variants, four of which are decidedly superior to AB. This proves beyond a doubt that the *Toletanus* is wholly independent of A or B, a fact confirmed by the marginal glosses of A and T. Neither can the MS. of Puteolanus, though his readings are frequently confirmed, nor the

'codex Vetus' of Ursinus, granting its real existence, have been identical with or even closely related to this new MS.

But what greatly enhances the value of T is the surprising discovery that it has preserved in a great many instances the *only correct*, in others, *highly satisfactory* readings, where both AB have admittedly gone wrong, either confirming the conjectures of modern scholars or offering wholly novel variants. The most important of these are: 3, 17, *servitutis* (AB: *senectutis*); 6, 15 *certior* (= AB) or *rectior*, which latter would favour my conjecture *rector*. Editors generally read *tenor*, the suggestion of Rhenanus; 13, 12, *auctor operis* (AB: *auctoritate*, modern texts after Wex: *auctor iterati operis*. The reading of T is, however, well defended on p. 525 f.); 13, 15, *domitiae gentes* (AB: *Domitiae gentis*); 17, 8, *subiti sustinuitque* (AB: *sustinuitque*. The reading of T thus confirms Halm's conjecture which he himself abandoned for *sustinuit*); 18, 19, *subitis* (AB: *dubiis*, T confirms the emendation of Gronovius); 19, 2, *iniuriarum* T Puteolanus (AB: *incuriarum*); 19, 16, *luere*: T Wex (AB: *ludere*); 27, 7, *virtute se victos... ducis rati* (modern editors read with Brotier: *virtute se... ducis: victos rati*, *se* and *victos* being omitted in AB); 31, 4, *ager atque annus*=*ager atque annus* (AB: *aggrat annus*); 36, 4, *Agricola quatuor... cohortes* (modern editors accepted Rhenanus' insertion of *tres*); 42, 22, *rei publicae* (AB: *rei post*); 46, 10, *formamque*: T Muretus (AB: *famamque*).

Of the thirty or more new readings of T in which the text furnished by AB was not open to objections, the superiority is not invariably on the side of T, and in two instances it is demonstrably wrong, viz. 12, 16 *pecudrumque* (*fecundum* is, however, given in the margin) and 38, 3 *notare* for *vocare*.

I cannot here enter upon a discussion of the relative merits of the variants, from which we must now choose, nor shall I criticise some of the conclusions of Dr. Leuze, which I find myself unable to accept, but I shall content myself with an enumeration of those readings which seem to me to represent the ipsissima verba of the author: 9, 21 *in hoc ipsius sermonibus* (AB: in hoc suis sermonibus); 26, 8 *nonanis rediit animus* (AB: Romanis r. a. Undoubtedly the lectio palmaris of T); 30, 10 *nec ulla servientium* (AB: nec serv.); 30, 15 *fluctus ac saxa et* (AB: fluctus et saxa et); 41, 8 *totis cohortibus* (AB: tot cohortibus) and highly attractive, if not certainly genuine: 13, 2 *munia* (AB: munera); 21, 5 *promptos* (AB: promptos et); 25, 17 *cedendum* (AB: excedendum); 33, 15 *vocem* (AB: voces); 39, 8 *principis*, so Nipperdey (AB: principem); 43, 6 *intercepti* (AB: interceptum).

The manifest corruptions of T, those

which it has in common with A or B or with both, as well as others which it has alone, including omissions and transpositions, are few in number and mostly *easy of explanation*, so that the verdict will be justified that we possess in the new codex the *best MS.* of the Agricola. It thus constitutes the most valuable accession to the MS. history of a classical Latin author vouchsafed to us for generations.

In conclusion, I may add that an examination of all the variants of the Toletanus, conveniently collected by Dr. Leuze in a conspectus lectionum (pp. 543-555), has left no doubt in my mind that the copy was made from *dictation* and that the prototype was written in *uncial* characters, for only on this assumption can we explain some of the orthographic vagaries and corruptions which the MS. exhibits.

ALFRED GUDEMAN.

THE COMET OF CALPURNIUS SICULUS.

SINCE the publication of Moriz Haupt's dissertation *De carminibus bucolicis Calpurnii et Nemesiani* 1854, reprinted in his *Opuscula* i, pp. 358 *sqq.*, it has been usual to refer the second bucolic poet of Rome to the age of Nero. Dr. Richard Garnett, however, in his article on Calpurnius in the ninth edition of the *Encyclopaedia Britannica* advanced considerations to show that he should be assigned to the time of Gordian the Third: and after the publication of Mr. C. H. Keene's edition, he reasserted his hypothesis in the *Journal of Philology*, xvi, pp. 216-219. Dr. Garnett's argument raises questions of general interest; and, so far as I know, it has not yet been answered,¹ and as I have found that it has been disquieting to others as once to myself, I do not deem it superfluous to examine it in some detail.

The first question regards the comet mentioned in the opening eclogue of Calpurnius. The relevant chronological facts are the following. Nero succeeded to Claudius on October the 13th, 54. A comet appeared at the end of the reign of Claudius, and its appearance was regarded as a presage of his death (Suet. *Claud.* 46,

Dio Cass. 60. 35, Pliny, *N.H.* 2. 92). According to Dr. Garnett, referring to Williams's 'Observations of Comets extracted from the Chinese Annals' (1871), this comet is the one recorded in these Chinese Annals for June of that year.² Gordian the Third became emperor in the latter half of 238; and the same annals record a comet as seen in 'September 238, about two months after Gordian had ascended the throne.'² The chronology of the later period is a thorny subject: but fortunately we are not obliged to enter upon it until the possibility of the Neronian date is finally disposed of.

The comet is introduced in the following way. Two rustics, Corydon and Ornytus, are talking together and in the opening lines of the eclogue which give the assumed date of the incidents described, Corydon says—

Nondum solis equos declinis mitigat aestas
quamuis et madidis incumbant prela racemis
et spumant rauco feruentia musta susurro.

That is to say 'summer has not yet begun to wane nor its heat to moderate, although

¹ Prof. M. Schanz, *Geschichte der römischen Literatur* (ii² p. 74), simply dissents. The article of Sig. Pompei in the Transactions of the Institute of Venice (1880) there referred to I have not seen.

² I have mentioned these alleged appearances of comets in China that nothing might seem to be omitted. They have no real importance so far as we are concerned here. Prof. Bury tells me that Gordian's accession probably took place in July or August, 238.

the vintage is in progress.' Or in other words 'The vintage is unusually early: for summer is not yet in its decline.' The rustic writer Columella says the earliest days for the vintage in hot districts were Sept. 1-11, the latest date for cold ones Oct. 14. In the present case the language used clearly assigns the date to, at latest, a day early in September. The heat drives the rustics to take shelter in a grotto sacred to the god Faunus; where they find a number of verses fresh cut on the 'sacred beech' 'sed quanam sacra descripta est pagina fago | quam modo nescio quis properanti falce notavit? | cernitis, ut uirides etiam nunc littera rimas | seruet et arenti nondum se laxet hiatu' (20 sqq.). In these verses the comet is referred to as having already been visible for three weeks 77 sq. 'cernitis ut puro nox iam uicesima caelo | fulgeat et placida radiantem luce cometem | proferat?' It must then have been seen in Italy for some time before the end of August. The comet is, as usual, a sign from heaven: in this case a sign that a new golden age was to begin with the accession of the young prince about to ascend the throne. What would happen and what would not happen under his principate is described with precision and detail; and the prophecy, which (v. 33 sqq.) is definitely attributed to Faunus, the prophetic god (*fatidicus* Virg. *Aen.* 7. 82), is obviously inspired—at least in the official sense. It is of course only a prophecy in form; in substance it is a compliment for which the poet hoped for his reward at court ('forsitan Augustas feret haec Meliboeus ad aures' 92). I do not suppose Dr. Garnett to doubt this, though his words now to be quoted are certainly susceptible of being so interpreted.

Dr. Garnett says *l.c.* p. 217 :

'We know from himself (i.e. Calpurnius) that when he composed, or more probably published, his poem, it had only been seen for twenty days: a space of time surely insufficient for the prognostication of the Emperor's death, the fulfilment of the prophecy, the installation of his successor and the composition and publication of so finished and elegant a poem.'

It seems to me that Dr. Garnett over-estimates the time required for the production of this poem of 94 lines. We know that Lucilius could rattle off 200 verses in an hour while he stood on one leg (*Hor. serm.* 1. 4. 10) and classical undergraduates who may be assumed to have much less fluency in Latin verse composition than an ancient Roman, can produce in an examination from forty to fifty original Latin hexameters in three hours. There is no reason

then why the poem in its original shape (it may not have been quite so 'finished and elegant' as we have it) should not have been written and despatched within forty-eight (or twenty-four) hours of the arrival of news that a new Emperor was on the throne. Self-interest is a wonderful spur. Publication we need not consider: that would come later.

These, however, are small matters. But to say that when Calpurnius wrote, or more probably published, his poem, the comet had only been seen for twenty days, is a serious misrepresentation. Calpurnius says nothing of the kind; he puts the words in question into the mouth of the prophesying Faunus—an entirely different matter. By this unfortunate transference Dr. Garnett makes of the prediction that a prince was coming to the throne who would inaugurate a new era a forecast that the policy of a ruler already on the throne would be of such and such a character—thus turning a compliment into something very like an impertinence. Calpurnius assuredly did not commit this mistake. He ascribed the *so-disant* prophecy of Faunus to a date when its utterance would have been really prophetic, and made the god deliver it some weeks before the death of the Emperor's predecessor. We need hardly consider this objection of Dr. Garnett's any further; but conclude that the date of the comet furnishes no obstacle to the view that the comet of Calpurnius is the Claudio-Neronian comet which was visible for a considerable time (ἐπὶ πλείστον ὀφθεῖς, Dio Cass. 60. 35) before the death of Claudius and the accession of Nero.

Dr. Garnett draws another argument from the appearance of the comet.

'It further deserves to be noted, Calpurnius' description of his comet is quite at variance with Pliny's. Pliny calls it *sidus terrificum*. Calpurnius expatiates on its mild lustre, its perfect orb, free from gaps or rents (*sine vulnere plenus*, contrast Webster's "rough-bearded comet" and Milton's "horrid hair"); its general unlikeness to comets ominous of ill.'

Pliny's words, however, do not warrant the use which Dr. Garnett puts them to. They are as follows: 'cometes nunquam in occasura parte caeli est, *terrificum magna ex parte sidus* atque non leuiter pium ut ciuili motu Octauio consule iterumque Pompei et Caesaris bello, in nostro uero aeuo circa ueneficium quo Claudius Caesar imperium reliquit Domitio Neroni ac deinde principatu eius [*sc. Neronis*] adsidium prope ac saeuum,' *N.H.* 2 § 92. It is easily seen

that the words *sidus terrificum* are a characterization of comets in general and that it is illegitimate to fix upon it a special description of our comet in particular. That our comet was to the Romans of its day a *sidus terrificum* may well be admitted. Even a mild lion is a terrifying object if you meet him unawares. But this does not make Pliny and Calpurnius inconsistent. For Calpurnius may well mean to make Faunus say 'Do not malign this comet, my friends; it is not like the one which heralded the civil wars on the death of Julius: it is a very different brand. Look at its "mild and magnificent" light.' This would be a conceit not unworthy of a poet and a courtier.

Nor do Dr. Garnett's remaining arguments (*Encyclopædia Britannica*, repeated in the *Journal of Philology*) bear examination any better.

'The first eclogue is indirectly dedicated to a sovereign complimented as the auspicious successor of a lawless tyrant by whom a large proportion of the senate had been executed or imprisoned (ver. 60-62, 69-73). This censure is inapplicable to Carus... It is almost equally inapplicable to Nero's predecessor Claudius who was popular with the senate (Suet. in *Claudius* 12, 46).'

The question, however, is not whether the censure was applicable or inapplicable to Claudius: but whether it was applied to him. History, even contemporary history, teaches us that this is a very different thing. Now we know that at the time of the accession of Nero the word had been passed round to hold up his predecessor to obloquy as a bloodthirsty tyrant. We learn this from that strange squib, the Apocolocyntosis of Seneca; see c. 14 § 1 'Ducit illum [Claudium] ad tribunal Aeaci: is lege Cornelia quae de sicariis lata est quaerebat. postulat nomen eius recipiat. edit subscriptionem, occisos senatores xxx equites R cc, ceteros ccxxi. * ὄσα ψάμαθός τε κόνις τε.' This was the court view; and a would-be courtier, like our poet, had to take it.

Another argument is that

'The accession of the new emperor is hailed as the termination of war (*Ecl.* l. ver. 46-50), and the harbinging of a durable peace (i. 54, iv. 127, 131 and other passages). But Nero's accession took place at a period of profound peace.'

This gives a wrong impression. What is the immediate subject of Calpurnius' complaint about the reign which had just expired is not its wars but its hollow peace, 'omne procul uitium simulatae cedere pacis | iussit et insanos Clementia contudit enses' (58 sq.). The prognostication of universal peace is a commonplace in descants upon a return to the Golden Age. And for the Romans whose national memory was far more retentive than our own, the miseries of 48-31 B.C. were not yet events of a buried past in 54 A.D. No difference of any moment is discernible between the language of Calpurnius upon these topics and that of another flatterer of the youthful Nero, about the same time: Lucan l. 61 sqq. 'tunc genus humanum positis sibi consulat armis | inque uicem gens omnis amet, pax missa per orbem | ferrea belligeri compescat limina lani.'

Dr. Garnett appears to have dropped his argument from the supposed absence of a reference to Agrippina in the poem. And in face of the *maternis* of ver. 45 this is wise. And we know too little about the circumstances of the games which Nero exhibited at the beginning of his reign to make any inference from the seventh eclogue of Calpurnius anything but most precarious.

We may conclude then that there is nothing to justify our deserting the accepted view that Calpurnius wrote his first poem at the beginning of Nero's reign, in favour of which there are other circumstances pointed out by Mr. Keene in his Introduction, for a paradox that would make a poet of the third century A.D. write like a poet of the first.

J. P. POSTGATE.

THE BRITISH MUSEUM MSS OF JUVENAL.

In the British Museum are 59 MSS of Juvenal, inclusive of florilegia and commentaries; in none of them can I find any traces of the new lines of the Bodleian MS: but as Add 15,600 is the only one which has been collated, I have examined in each a few points to serve as test-passages and

of the best of them I have collated a representative satire. In 23 of the 46 places I examined the reading of P finds no support; i 143, 161; iii 18, 78, 141, 168, 218; iv 3, 4; v 4, 38, 80, 116 (spumat); vi 159, 455, 511, vii 156; viii 148, 155; xi 91; xv 75, 145; xvi 23. Noticeable readings are iii

218 et fecasianorum, Harl 2596, viii 148 sub flamine multo consul, Burn 192; several transpose consul and multo; viii 155 trouumque, Add 11,969, xv 145 rapiendisque, Add 11,998.

. In 7 of the other cases the reading of P is quite commonly found: i 68, 157; ii 93; iii 61; iv 9, 135; xv 27; nor is it by any means uncommon to find animo ante tubas (i 169), either in the text or as a variant.

i 2 cordi is only found in Add 11,997.

106 purpure amator, Add 30,861.

157 aut...q ducit, Burn 192 is noteworthy.

iii 37 cum libet, Add 30,861.

210 erumne est, Harl 2730.

322 auditor, Add 18, 156.

v 116 Tradentur, Harl 2595, 3936, Burn 190. radentur, as Duff's T, is quite common.

vi 13 compositiue, Burn 191, 193, 195, Royal 15 B xii, Add 17, 407.

vii 100 nullo quippe modo, Add 30, 861.

139 fidimus eloquio, Harl 3596 (Add 25, 482).

viii 147 lateranus, Add 30,861 (25,482).

x 72 turba Remi, Harl 3354, Burn 191. (Add 25,482).

150 alios Harl 3872, Royal 15 B xii, Add 30,861.

xi 106 uenientis, Harl 3872, Add 30,861.

xiv 2 haesuram (Royal 15 B xii), Add 11,672.

208 repentibus asse, Royal 15 B xii, Add 11,672, 12,148, 30,861 (repentibus Add 17,418, 18,146).

asse, Harl 3872, Add 22, 158).

In the following list I mention the places in which each of the MSS agrees with P, and any other reading of interest which I noticed.

The descriptions of the MSS are taken from the catalogues.

Harl 2555 chart. s. xv., iii 61, achine, iv 9 uictata, post vi 190 reliqua pagina, xi uersus, uacat, xiv 208 pueris uetule repentibus assem, xv 27 iunco.

2576 chart. s. xv. iii 61 achaeae, iv 9 uictata, v 116 om tradentur, vii 100 modis, xi 91 ridique, xv 27 iunco.

2595 chart. scriptus per Jac. de Balbis a^o 1473. i 68 fecerit, 169 animante tuba, habent aliqui textus sic hec animo ante tubas, iii 61 archiue, iv 9 uitata, v 116 tradentur, xv 27 iunco.

2596 memb. s. xv. iii 61 achaeae, 218 et fecasianorum, iv 9 uitata al'. uittata, v 38 inaequalesque berillos, vii 139 fidimus eloquio, xiv 63 furit, (208 pueris uetulae) xv 27 iunco.

2611 chart. s. xv. iii 61 achee, iv 9 uittata, v 38 et inaequalesque beryllos corr. in illos 80 distentat, 116 radentur, xiv 2 atque rugam 208 pueris uetulae, xv 27 iunco al'. iuno vel iunio).

2638 membr. s. xv. iii 61 achaeae, iv 9 uittata, v 80 distentat, viii 33 prauam at paruam, xv 27 iunio.

2648 s. xv. iii 61 achaeae, 217 polierati at poliereri, iv 9 uictata, v 38 inaequalesque berillos, 116 traduntur, viii 148 consul

sufflamine multo, xiv 63 uox domini fremat al'. uirgam

instantis baculumque tenentis, xv 27 iunco 75 fuga celeri praestantibus omnibus illis.

2649 a^o. 1410. cod eximie elegans. in fronte Pandulphi insignia, i 169 animo ante tubam al'. animante tuba, ii 165 indulgere tyranno al'. tribuno, iii 61 achiaue 226 mouendus al'. trahendus, 233 indigestus al'. imperfectus 257 ligustica al'. ligurica, iv. 9. uittata (xiv 208 pueris uetulae) xv 27 iunio.

2714 memb. s. xv. i 169 animante, in marg. animo ante, MS. A animante MS. B alia manu adscriptum, iii 37 quodlibet, in marg. quemlibet MS. A et B. 61 achiaue, in marg. Achaeae MS. A. B Achaeae al'. sub-scriptum Achiaue, iv 9 uictata, v 116 radentur, xiv 208 assem (ss in ras), xv 27 iulo.

2730 s. xv. iii 61 achiaue, 210 erumne ē, iv 9 uitata, xiv 208 pueris uetulae, xv 27 iunco (c corr. in i).

2772 s. ix. Versus aliquot satt. xi xii xiii xiv (xiv 2 ac rugam).

3354 s. xvii. sententiae ex Juv. x 73 turba Remi.

3754 s. xv. sat. i ad v 151.

3872 chart. et memb. s. xiv. i 68 fecerit, 169 animo ante tubas, iv 9 uictata, 135 tegule, v 116 radentur (Finis primi libri signatur), vii 156 diuersa a parte, viii 147 lateranus, x 150 altosque elephantos, xi 106 uenientis, xiv 200 pueris uetule poscentibus asse, xv 27 iunio, 63 fuga...omnes.

3896 memb. s. xv. i 68 fecerit, iii 61 achee, iv 9 uictata, v 38 et inaequalesque berillos, x 73 turba fremens, xiv 208 axem, xv 27 iunio.

3936 chart. cum glossis s. xv. sat. in libros quinque diuisae sunt. iii 68 achiaue, 218 fecianos in marg. fecasianorum, iv 9 uitata, v 116 tradentur, vii 100 modi/ (s erasa), 139 ut ueteres redeant, 156 diuersa e parte sagiptae, xv 27 iunco.

5027 memb. s. xv. sat. in libros quinque diuisae sunt. iii 61 achee, iv 9 uictata, vi 455 om uiris, xiv 208 pueris uetulae poscentibus axem, xv 27 iunco.

5300 memb. s. xv. iii 61 achiue, iv 9 uictata, v 4 galba in marg. al. Gabba MS. Pyth., v 80 distendat al. distentat al. distinguat MS., in MS. Pithei hic versus abest, 116 radentur, vii 156 diuersa parte, al. diuersae forte, xv 27 tempore nostro. Alia quae in margine adscripta: notauit sunt haec, v 15 rarum al. raro, 16 adhibere al. accire, 24 succida nollet al. nolit, 26 iurgida proludunt al. iurgia MS. B al. procedunt, 41 obseruet acutos al. obseruet amicos, 84 constructus gamarus al. constructus cammarus, 91 atris al. afiris in MS. Pitthoei hic v. abest, xii 3 cedimus agnam al. duimus, 73 mirabile al. miserabile, 81 ubi al. ibi. In Persii prologo v 14 credas al. cernas, melos al. nectar.

6549 excerpta Nihil notavi.

Lansdowne d836 s. xv. in Italia scriptus In imo fol iii sunt insignia Matthiae Cornuini. Insunt nomina aliorum possessorum 'Mr. Bridges of Lincoln's Inn' 'Dr. Taylor' 'Lord Macclesfield' 'Dr. Askew.' sat. in libros diuisae sunt, iii 61 achiuae, iv 9 uittata, xiv 208 pueris uetule, xv 27 iunio.

Arundel 362 chart. in fol. minori s. xv. notis marginalibus et interlinearibus, iii 61 achiue, iv 9 uittata (corr. ex uitata), v 116 radentur, xiv 208 puer. uet. xv 27 iunco.

Burney 190 membr. in fol. min. s. xv. olim familiae de Tedaldi, postea Caroli Hedges, equitis aurati, iii 61 acheae, iv 9 uictata, v 38 inaequalesque berillos, v 116 tradentur, vii 100 modis, 139 ut uet. red, 155 diuersa a parte, viii 148 consul sufflamine multo, xiv 208 axem, 242 horrendaque at et horrida, xv 27 iunco.

191 chart. in 4°. anno 1464 descriptus; notulis glossisque instructus In fol 2 decem versus in laudibus Francisci Ducis de Monte St Angeli, filii Ferdinandi I regis Neapolitani, i 68 fecerit, 158 uehetur, 159 despiciet, 169 animo ante tubas, iii 61 acheae, iv 9 uictata, vi 13 compositiue, viii 148 consul sufflamine multo, x 73 turba remi (in ras, ut videtur, uerbi 'tremens'), xv 27 iuno.

192 chart. 4to s. xv. ordine uersuum hic illic aliquantum turbato. iii 61 acheae, iv 9 uittata, v 38 et inaequalesque berillos, v 116 radentur, vii 100 nam oblita, viii 148 sub flamine multo consul, xv 27 iunco.

193 membr. 4to s. xv. i 157 aut...q ducit (aut et q in ras), 159 despiciat (a in ras), iii 67 achiuae, 168 negabit, iv 9 uittata, v 38 et inaequalesque berillos, 80 distentet, 116 /raduntur (t erasa), vi 13 compositiue, vii 139, et, xv 27 iunio (i et c erasis).

194 chart. 4° xv. notis nonnullis instructus, iii 61 achee uel achiue, 78 si iuxeris, iv 9 uittata (v 38 et aequalesque berillos), 80 distendit, xv 27 iunco.

195 chart. 4° xv. ordine sat. ultimarum inuerso: cum glossis notisque quibusdam, iii 61 achiue, iv 4 ergo, iv 9 uictata, v 38 et inaequalesque barillos (corr. in ber.), 116 tradentur, vi 167 uesinam, viii 148 nullo sufflamine collo, x 73 turba fremens, xv 27 iunco.

196 chart. in fol xv. quondam monasteriae Sanctae Mariae Gratiarum Comegliani PP reformatorum. sat. duae ultimae transp. commentarium marginale et glossae ad p. 28, iii 61 achee, iv 9 uittata, v 116 radentur, xv 27 iunco.

197 memb. 4to xv. sat. duae ult. transp. marginalia. Anno 1594 peculium erat Ludovici Gabrielli, qui Petro Martinotio, avo suo, dono dedit. i 68 fecerit, iii 61 achiue, 141 agris, iv 9 uittata.

Royal 15 A iv commentarium s. xvi. ἀκέφαλος et characteres paene evanido. Cornutum hic illic citat. Nihil notauit praeter i 169 animante tuba. quidam libri anima ante tubas.

Royal 15 A xv com in Juv. chart. a. 1453 Cornutum hic illic citat. i 169 animante tuba. quidam libri anima ante tubas.

15 B xii cum glossa s. x., i 169 animante, ii 93 tactum al's. tinctum, iv 9 uittata, vi 13 compositique corr in compositiue, x 150 aliosque elephantos, xiv 2 hexumam, 208 pueris uetule poscentibus asse, xv 27 iunio.

15 B xvii cum glossis s. xi. Finis libri primi notatur. ii 93 tinctum, iii 61 acheae, iv 9 uittata (mut in uict.), v 116 radentur, vii 155 diuersa parte, xv 27 iunco.

15 B xviii cum glossis s. xi. ii 93 tinctum, iii 61 acheae, iv 9 uittata, xiv 208 assem (ex assae), xv 27 iunio.

Kings 28 ii 93 tinctum, iii 61 achee, iv 9 uittata, v 80 aspiciet...discendat..., v 116 traduntur, xiv 208 axem, xv 27 iunco.

29 i 68 fecerit, ii 93 tactum in marg. tinctum, iii 61 achiue, iv 9 uittata, xiv 208 pueris uetule poscentibus axem, xv 27 iunio

Add 11, 672 Membr. s. xiii. 8vo sat. ix-xvi cum gloss. interlin., xiv 2 hesuram, 208 pueris uetulae repentibus asse, xv 27 iunco, 75 omnibus instant in ras.

Add 11, 966 vellum: large folio, very finely written and ornamented in 1391 by a certain Stephanus. It belonged shortly after to Magister Johannes de Travesis of Cremona, and was examined by Henricus Drury Harroviae MDCCCXIX. sat. in libros diuisae

sunt. ii 93 tinctum, iii 61 achiue, iv 9 uitata, v 116 post radentur hunc, vii 156 diuersa fronte, viii 155 trouumque. x 73 turba fremens, xiv 208 pueris uetule, xv 27 iunio, 145 capientibusque.

Add 11,997 paper. a^o 1441. fol. cum schol. et gloss. Olim Johannis de Sofuli

Pelegri. i 2 cordi, ii 93 tinctum, iii 61 achee, iv 9 intacta (in marg. uittata), v 116

radatur, vii 100 demi modi, xiv 208 puer. uet., xv 27 iunio.

Add 11,998 vellum; written at Rome in 1452; small 4to. Sat. in libros diuisae sunt. ii 93 tinctum, iii 61 achiue, iv 9 uittata, v 38 et inequabiles berillos, 80 distendant, xiv 2 atque rugam, 208 puer. uet., xv 27 iunio, 145 rapiendisque.

Add 11,999 paper; written at Panormus in 1456 by Jacobus Martinus. 4to; schol. et gloss. ii 93 tinctum, iii 61 achee, iv 9 uittata, xiv 208 puer uet., xv 27 iunio.

Add 12,000 small quarto written in 1459 by Johannes Leonardus de Pontexelo in the school of Bartolomeus de Belmiseris, de Pontremulo. Sat. in libros diuisae sunt: glossae in tres primos. ii 93 tinctum, 106 barbarici l. bebrici, iii 61 achiue at. achee, iv 9 uittata, v 38 et inequalesque berillos, viii 155 iumentum (in marg. iuuenum), xi 91 rigidique catonis, xiv 208 puer. uet., xv 27 iunio.

Add 12,002 vellum xvth cent.; small 4to. ii 93 tinctum, iii 61 achiue, iv 9 uittata, v 80 distentat, 116 radentur (In margine sat. vi scripti sunt versus semper aquas etc.). x 73 fremens, xiv 208 puer. uet., xv 27 iunio.

Add 12,003 paper; xvth cent.; small 4to. Satt. i-xiii (xii et xiii fragm.) cum schol. et gloss. in octo priores. (ii 93 tactum) iii 61 acheae, iv 9 uittata, v 116 radentur.

Add 16,380 vellum; xiiiith cent.; small 4to English. Commentarium in Juv. Sat. ad ix l. 70; deinde a sat. ix l ad 173 fol. 92. Cornutum hic illic citat. i 169 animante: quidam libri habent animo ante, iii 61 achee, iv 9 uittata, v 80 distentat.

Add 17,407 paper; xvth cent.; 4to; Italian. Formerly belonged to 'Gabriele de Antonio Matteo de Roma.' i 68 fecerit,

159 despiciat, ii 93 tinctum, iv 9 uictata, v 116 tradentur, vii 100 modis (s erasa), 155 diuersa e parte, xiv 2 et rugam, 208 puer. uet., xv 27 iunio.

Add 17,413 vellum: 1467 A.D.; 8vo; Italian. i 161 deducat (in marg. deducit), ii 93 tinctum, iii 61 acheae, 78 si iuseris, iv 4 spernatur, 9 uictata, xiv 208 puer. uet., xv 27 iunio.

Add 17,418 vellum and paper; xvth cent.; small 4to; Italy. Sat. i and the

beginning of ii is omitted. ii 93 tintum iii 61 achiue, iv 9 uictata, v 38 inequalesque berillos, 156 diuerse parte, xiv 208 pueris uetule repentibus axem.

Add 18,136 vellum; xvth cent.; small 4to; coat of arms at the beginning. ii 93 tinctum, iii 61 achiuae, 322 auditor, iv 9

uictata, v 38 et inequales berillos, x 73 fremens, xiv 208 pueris uetulae repentibus assem, xv 27 iunio.

Add 18,459 vellum; xiiiith cent., 12mo. Flores Juv. Nihil notauit.

Add 19,048 paper; xvth cent.; small 4to.; sat. xiv cum glossis. Nihil notauit.

Add 22,158 paper; xvth cent.; 8vo. Omniboni Leonicensi commentarium. Cornutum hic illic citat. iii 61 acheae, iv 9 uittata, v 80 distentat, xiv 208 asse nutrices etc., alii legunt assem.

Add 24,638 vellum; xvth cent.; small fol.; Italian. Arms of Este Ferrara. i 1-37, vi 562-611, viii 245-275, ix 1-13, 103-137, x 1-4, 356-366, xi 1-33, xii 120-130, xiii 1-13; excised for illuminating. The satires are headed by hexameters and divided into books. i 68 fecerit, ii 93 tinctum, iii 61 achiue, iv 9 uictata, vii 139, at., xiv 208 nascentibus assem, xv 27, iunio.

Add 25,482 paper; xviiiith cent.; small 4to. Beginning imperfectly at vi 225 and ending at x 207; with variants from 6 MSS. 'Castratae sat. in usum Colleg. S. J. Brunsergensium colon.' vii 139 ut redeant ueteres. fidimus eloquio? ed. Henninia, 156 diuersa parte, diuersae forte ed. Hen., viii 147 Damassipus, Lateranus. Hen., x. 73 turba Remi c.c. 'turba tremens. Ald. Plant., quattuor MSS et Frob.; amici et familiares Sesani.'

Add 30,861 vellum; xith cent.; 4to; scholia and glosses. Lines viii 113-144, 273-5, ix 1-28, 61-93, x 91-93, xiv 157-188, 262, 278, xv 146-174 and the whole of xvi are omitted. On f. 31 in a contemporary hand is written

Presul Eberhardus Christi famulamine
parcus
Hunc tribuit librum Christi genetricis ad
usum

From the library of Ambroise Firmin Didot, 1850. The sat. are divided into books, i 68 fecerit, 206 purple maior (corr. ex amator), 169 animo ante, iv 93 tinctum, iii 37 cum libet (c in ras. scripta et littera ante libet erasa), iv 9 uittata, 13 figulae (fi in ras), v 38 inaequalesque berillos mut, ex et inaequales, v 80 distentat, vii 100 nullo quippe modo, 156 diuersa a parte, viii 147, lateranus x 150 altosque, 301 irati debent, xi 91
I. fulgentis
seueros al'. serenos, 106 uenientis xiv 208
poscentibus assae, xv 27 iuno.

Add 31, 842 vellum; Italy, A.D. 1452; 8vo; coat of arms, a fox on a field azure; ii 93 tinctum, iii 61 achaeae (168 negabit), iv 9 uittata, x 93 turba frequens, xiv 208 puer. uet., xv 27 iunio.

Add 33, 795 commentarium expressum per me Johannem Alues in profesto Sancti Johannis Bap(t)istae a.d. MCCCCXXXIII in studio Louaniensi; the names of former possessors in it are G. Geshart of Neshall (f), 1543 A.D., R. Brorthe, G. Herpone, and Obadiah Brokesley, A.M., Vicar of Beaksbourne, co. Kent. Cornutum hic illic citat; sat. in libros diuisae sunt. i 169, animante tuba, quidam libri habent animo ante tubas etc., iv 9 uittata, xv 27 iunco.

Sat. viii. Harl 3852. Contuli cum ed. Bücheleri, 1853 2 vultus 3 nasumque 5 coruini, 7 post hec, 8 famosos, 11 ortus, 25 iusticiae, 27 sullanus, 29 osyri, 32 athlanta, 33 cignum parvam, 36 tygris, 38 sis, 39 hiis...tecum mi, 42 iulli, 51 eufraten, 59 eruet, 61 ante daees alios, 62 corythe, 65 preciis, 66 et trito, 62 nepotis, 68 primum, 75 ut tu nichil, 76 aliene, 77 collapsa...

columpnis, 84 et uitam propter, 89 ponet, 90 regum, 93 tutor...dampnante, dampnatio, 95 choerippe, 96 nata relinquet, 97 nudum, 98 volnus, 100 acervos, 101 clamis conchilia choa, 102 parrasii...mironis, 103 policleti, 104 raro, 105 anthonium, 109 eripiuntur, 110 ipse, 113 inbelles rodios...choriton, 117 illiricum, 122 umquam, 123 seutumque, 125 om. est, 126 sibille, 131 tunc, 132 Tytanida, 133 penas, 137 betetes, 140 uicium, 148 multo sufflamine consul, 149 sydera, 152 nusquam, 154 hordea, 155 toruum, 157 ypponam, 159 udus, 160 ydymee, 161 affectu, 162 lagena, 163 dicit, 164 desiste, 168 termarum...scriptaque linthea, 170 reno

atque hystro, 171 hostia, 176 resopinati, 181 an, 182 rutilumque, 186 siphario, 195 pone, 196 ut sic, 197 zelotypus timeles... colle, 198 haud...natus, 200 mirmillonis, 201 graccum, 202 et dampnat, 203 frontem,

204 pendencia recia, 209 ignomi am, 210 gracco, 212 populo dentur, 215 agamem-
n
nodide, 220 horestes, 223 quid nero cum, 224 haec sunt, 228 domici, 229 sirma uel antigones tu personam menalippes, 233 parastis, 235 tunica liceat, 236 cohereat, 241 non leudade (in margine leucade), 242 Tessalie, 255 hii, 257 diis, 258 detur quam qui, 264 codice mutius, 269 Therestes, 271 quam Thresi te.

Sat. viii Add 30,861 (contuli cum ed. Friedländeri). 4 nasumque, 5 coruini, 6

tabula/ iactast capace, 7 post haec, 8 famosos, 11 ortus, 14 erculeo, 17 squalentes, 18 fra-

genda, 19 cere, 20 palus uel tossus, 25 justicie, 26 a/gnosco (? doruna), 26 getulico, 27 syllanus, 29 osyri, 32 athlanta, 33 cignum paruum, 38 sis ereticus, 39 mi, 42 iu/li,
pro iniqui/bus.

43 //aere (ag plane erasa), 44 inquit/ 46 ceteropides, 50 nod/s (i erasa), 51 eufraten,

53 ceteropides, 54 quod, 62 corithē posteritas et /// (nos uel uos uidetur erasum esse, 66 et trito, 67 nepotis, 68 primum, 69 preter, 75

nichil, 78 ubi, 81 incestae, 83 praeferre (corr. ex per), 84 uitam propter, 90 regum (corr. ex rerum), exucta (glossator lineam per ucta duxit et superscripsit sicca), 93 tutor, 93

damp nate// senatu (se erasa), 95 chorippe...

pannas, 96 relinquet, 100 acervos, 100 spar-

thana clamis concilia choa, 102 pharrasii... mironis, 103 policleti, 104 raro, 105 atque

/// hinc, 109 eripiuntur. omissi sunt uersus ab despicias tu (112) ad tempora (145) (147 I. damasippus lateranus), 148 multo sufflamine consul, 149

sydera, 150 oculos, 152 nusquam, 155 lan/atas (i erasa), 157 ypponam, 159 assiduo

syrophenis udus (I. unctus), 160 idimee

syrophenix, 163 dicit, 166 rescentur, 168

termarum... scripta ad 170 hreno, 174 fugitius, 182 rutilum, 183 quod (quod corr.

inquit), 185 damasipse, 186 siphario...plasma,

189 fron, 191 audet, 195 pone, 197 Thimeles

...carinthý, 189 citbaredo...natus, 200 mir-

millionis, 201 ^agræcum, 202 et...et, 203
^{al'. frontem} faciem, 205 ^{erat}effudit, uultum, 210 gracco,
 217 patris ⁱepsi///meda inter poccula, 229
^{al'. ille}scena...horestes, 224 atque hē, 226 graiēq///
 apium, 228 tjestē, 230 cŷtharam, 233 parastis,
 234 ⁿsenorum, 241 no/minis...non, 245 arpinus,
^{l'. plebe}256 bube, 264 codice mutius, 266 occulte,
 268 efficiunt, 269 therēsites, 271 therēsītē.
 post 272 deficit ad ix 29.

sat xiv

Royal 15 v xii (contuli cum ed. Bücheleri,
 1893) De institutionibus ad fusinum quod
 institutio in naturam uertatur 2 hesuram

figencia 4 ^vpres 5 bullatis 6 propinco 7
 concedit 8 natantis corr. in es 10 gila 11
 non//dū (erasa dū) 16 ^vprecipit etque (corr
 in at) 18 seuire 20 trepiduare ac poli-

phemus (u corr. in il et es in is) 21 tun...
 quociens 23 catēne 24 efficiunt 25 rus-
 ticus· expectas 27 tā//cito (n erased
 and last limb of m corr. in c) 29 puella
 30 moechos dat^c hisdem ferre cŷnēdōs 31

cicius 33 subeant 37 ^htrait 38 dampnis
 huius///enim (in margine recentissima
 manu vulgo damnis huiusce hic emendatum
 est damnandis huius) 39 ratio 43 usquam
 44 uisus//que (m erasa) 45 ac 47 re-

verencia 49 ^{si}obstat 51 quandoque///('q;?
^{al'. ac}ex qdem) 55 aut 58 capud 59 cessaret

61 descendit 62 leuet (corr in lau) 63

fremet 67 semodi/o (c erasum) scobis 70
 patrie///ciuem (? filium erasum) 71 patrie
 72 ^ragendis 76 pennis 78 foetus...partem
 (a corr. ex o uel e) 79 u/ulturis (u erasa)
 83 leuabit 86 cetronius 87 Kaiete
 Tŷburis 88 ^hprenestrinis (r erasa) 89

petetis 90 erculis 91 uinceba/ t. 92 cetro-
 nius inminuit rem (it in ras. litterarum at?)
 99 ⁱpraepucia, 100 ⁱcontempnere, 102

archano...moses, 107 caetera, 108 auara-
 ciam, (a corr. in i), III laudatur 113 si //
 (t erasa) fortunas, 114, esperidum, 115 atque
 nerendi, 118 assidua, 120 mirantur, hŷq
 (qui corr. ex hi), 121 putant, 122 pergant,

124 imbuat.../// ⁱnimas (mi erasa, 125
 insaciabile, 127 unquam, 130 differe ...

caene, 131 concham...^rpa te (corr. ex patre),
 135 per hēc, 136 fremens, 139 cresit, 152
 fede, 153 hoc, 158 post hēc, 164 ea, 165

nullis (s erasa) // ^taud, 166 saturauit (corr. in
 bat) glebula, 167 ^ofeta, 171 ⁿgrades, 174

crassatur, 176 indomiti, 181 uestnus (corr
 ex uesinus), 184 homines, 186 submouet,

187 preregrina ignota (?), 191 ^sexi//tat
 (s erasa) 192 vigil. ac causas 194 capud, 195

lelius (corr. ex del), 196 adtegiās 198 a t

199 soluit, 202, ^hsueant, 205 ^utuoē sententia.

206 diis ... poete, 207 pueris uetule ^{re}///

^ptentibus (corr. ex petentibus) asse, 209 alfa,
 211 possum, 213 abi, (mut. ex rei ??) ut ///
 aiax, 214 uincit, 217 longi, 219 exiguet (?)
 227 precepit, 228 leuo, 229 versus omisus

est et postea insertus, 231 ^rcuriculo ... nesit

235 ducis, 236 propinqui (?) at propinquum,

238 diuicias, 240 minoeceus (i), 242 ^horrida,

245 et late rapientem, 248 ^agrue, 250 ^pabruto,

255 aut pater aut, 263 cibeles aulea, 265 ^b

olectant, 267 tu in corricia, 268 choro ... aet,

269 a siculis 271 lagoenas, 277, uorarit, 279

longue, 281 ^cprecium, 289 una (? n ex d) in

margine uda, 293 coempti (postea corr. in or)

295 at, 296 prehetur in marg. premetur, 291

modo (corr. ex is), 299 arena, 300 sufficiunt

(corr. in ent) uelantes, 305 ^ahumis, 310 aut,

315 sed te nos, 319 ⁱsuffecet, 320 coeperunt,

321 sapiencia, 322 cludere, 327 ⁱⁿtercia.

sat xiv. ^{l'. atque rugam}Add 11,672 (contuli cum ed.

Bücheleri) 2 ^rhesuram, 7 concedit, 8

natantes, ad imam paginam infra versum

nonum adscriptum est et quod maiorum

uicio sequiturque minores, 11 puero, 16

precipit/atque, 17 paribus ut, 18 rutulus, 19

sŷrena, 20 comparat, poliphemus, 24 in-

scripta ergastula. carcer rusticus, 30

moechos (ultima o in ras. ? ex u factum),

30 cynedis, 31 cicius, 33 subeant, 38 damnis

huiusce etenim, 43 usquam, 45 hac, 48

contemseris, 49 obsistat, 52 cum, 62 lauet,

63 fremet, 64 neq, 66 neq, 71 patrie, 76

pennis, 78 foetus...affert, 82 tunc, 83

leuabit, 86 cetronius, 89 grecis, 91 po/sides

pretio, 149 habeant, 150 uix, 153 hoc, 158 post hæc, 162 prelia uel pýrum...molosos, 164 ea, 164 unquam...haud, 168 quatuor, 175 uicium, 176 indomiti, 184 homines, 186 submouet, 198 afferrat (corr. ex ad.), 199 trepido, 206 diis...poetæ, 208 pueris
 l. poscentibus assem
 uetule repentibus asse, 209 alfa, 211 affari, 216 om est, 217 longi, 219 om et, 229 om,

243 tanquam, 247 caueam, 252 metridates, 255 aut pater aut, 264 negocia, 267 coritia, 268 choro, 269 a sculis, 270 pingui, 271
 l. hac
 lagoenas, 287 lacertis, 289 una, 293 at, 300 uelantes, 309 cinici, 315 / abē / (h et s erasæ) sed te nos, 317 consulit, 322 claudere, 326 tertia, 328 unquam.

E. O. WINSTEDT.

THE EMENDATION OF THE TEXT OF NONIUS.

To Nonius Marcellus, a citizen of Thubursicum in N. Africa, who composed, perhaps in the fourth century A.D., a dictionary of Republican Latin for the use of his son, we owe most of our knowledge of the lost Republican writings. His dictionary, to which he gave the title of 'Compendiosa Doctrina,' i.e. a text-book of the words, forms and constructions sanctioned¹ by the usage of the 'antiqui scriptores,' and which he divided in very inartistic fashion into twenty² books, contains a huge number of quotations exemplifying the words treated. The text unfortunately is anything but certain, for all our MSS. come from one archetype, written possibly as late as the eighth century; and the work of emending is made difficult by our lack of information regarding the writings from which a large proportion of the quotations come.

Suppose that a thousand years hence all that was known of Tennyson's 'May-queen' was a single line, preserved in a 'Dictionary of Nineteenth Century English' under the heading 'blackthorn':

'the blossom on the blackthorn, the leaf upon the tree';

¹ Sentences like this: 'remos remiges Vergilii auctoritate possumus dicere' (381 M., 15; cf. 460, 23 and 28; 461, 22 etc.) illustrate the purpose of the *Compendiosa Doctrina*.

² In the title which our MSS. prefix to the whole work: Nonii Marcelli Peripatetici Thubursicensis de compendiosa doctrina per litteras ad filium, the words *per litteras* are generally regarded as a later (perhaps mediaeval) insertion from the headings of those books (viz. II, III, IV) which are actually arranged 'per litteras,' i.e. in alphabetical sections, an A-section, a B-section, a C-section, and so on. There is also the possibility that Nonius himself gave the title this form, having the intention of arranging Book I and Books V-XX in the same fashion as Books II-IV, an intention frustrated by his death. The phrase can hardly imply merely that the twenty books were designated by the twenty letters of the alphabet (with exclusion of K, Y, Z).

suppose further that through printers' errors the line appeared in the dictionary in this guise:

'the blessen on the blackthorn, tho laf upon the tree';

and imagine what editors would make of it: 'thy blessing on the blackthorn, thy love upon the tree,' 'the blessing of the blackthorn though left (that laughs) upon the tree,' and so on. This will give an idea of the task of emending the text of Nonius.

Prof. Lucian Mueller, author of the standard critical edition of the *Compendiosa Doctrina*, who has done more for the text of Nonius than any scholar since the seventeenth century, shews an audacity in emending these stray quotations that is scarcely warranted by the nature of the material. Under the heading or, to use the technical word, lemma *ferus* in Book IV (p. 307 M.) the statement of Nonius, that *ferus* was found with [the sense of *equus*, is supported by two quotations, one from Virgil (*Aen.* ii 51 *inque feri curvam conpagibus alvum contorsit*) and one from the *Medea* of Accius. The latter appears in our MSS. thus: *perite in stabule (-lae) frenos inmittens feris*. Mueller boldly emends 'perissem in stabuleis frénos inmittens feris,' with the note: *verba sunt Iasonis*. . . 'feris' non 'equis,' ut Nonius putat, sed 'tauris.' Now considering that Nonius had before him the whole text of the *Medea* of Accius, which we have not, and expressly cited this line as an example of the use of 'feris' in the sense of 'equis,' Mueller's boldness in contradicting him is even more unwarranted than the change of 'perite' of the MSS. in a line of which the context is utterly unknown. We shall never arrive at a certain text of Nonius, if we proceed in this reckless fashion.³

³ Another unwarranted departure from the reading of the MSS. is the substitution of *urguntur* for

What then can we substitute for this uncertain, imaginative style of emendation? How far can we find fixed signposts to guide our path?

One thing that is of immense service is our newly acquired knowledge of the method followed by Nonius in compiling his dictionary. We now know that Nonius drew his materials partly from Grammatical or Lexicographical works, one of which, the *Noctes Atticae* of Gellius, is still extant, partly from the writings (in some cases certain portions of the writings) of certain authors, and that these sources (some forty in all) were utilised by him in a definite, unvarying order.¹ This knowledge enables us to detect interpolations and transpositions and to restore miswritten names of authors or titles of books. It occasionally throws light on the text of Nonius or of the authors used by him. For example, one of the sources was a Glossary of Verbs arranged in strict alphabetical order (ABCD—). In the first section of Book II, comprising words beginning with the letter A, the batch of lemmas taken from this source is (pp. 74–76 M.) *accepso, adauctavit, adaxint, adfectare, adiugare, aedituor, aeternare, albicatur, apscodit, attigat, augificat, atrox*. From Nonius' use of this source in other books (see my 'Non. Marc.' p. 43 *s.v.* *expetunt*; p. 45 *s.v.* *fastidiliter*, p. 22 *s.v.* *adfari*) we can infer with a fair amount of certainty that Nonius found the word *atrox* in a quotation supplied by this glossary in illustration of some verb which stood later in the alphabetical series than *augificat*. Nonius' quotation illustrative of *atrox* is from Naevius' *Bellum Punicum* Book III or IV (the MSS. vary): 'simul atrocia porri- cerent exta ministratores.' It does not contain the verb required. But elsewhere (p. 468, 30), in the book that deals with the use of Active and Deponent forms, Nonius has taken, apparently from this Alphabetical Glossary of Verbs, a quotation illustrative of *auspico* for *auspicor*, viz. Naevius *Bell. Pun.* Book IV (so all the MSS.): *virum (verum edd.) praetor adveniet (-neit edd.), auspicat auspicio prosperum*. This suggests the possibility that these two quotations belong to the same passage of Naevius,

arguemur in a line, apparently of Ennius (ap. Non. 418, 12): *qua inurum fieri voluit, arguemur in unum*. Since the context is unknown, what variant is there for the change? Suppose, for example, the words to be uttered by Remus. Would not *arguemur* be perfectly natural?

¹ Full details, along with an analysis of the *Compendiosa Doctrina*, are given, in my 'Nonius Marcellus' (Oxford, 1901).

since the appearance at different parts of the *Compendiosa Doctrina* of different pieces of one passage is perfectly common. An interesting example is the partition of those pretty verses of Varro about the mother-bird and her nestlings:

- (1) (*s.v.* *fritinnire*, p. 7)
et pullos peperit fritinnientis,
- (2) (*s.v.* *levare*, p. 336)
quos non lacte novo levata pascat,
- (3) (*s.v.* *cogere*, p. 264, *s.v.* *legere*, p. 332)
sed pancarpineo cibo coacto
libamenta legens cadauca victus.
- (4) (*s.v.* *limen*, *omnis ingressus*, p. 336,
s.v. *vile pro frequenti*, p. 529)
ad quos cum volucris venit putillos
usque ad limina †nidica (nitida)† vilis.

Buecheler's emendation of the last line *nidi amica vilis* is not satisfactory. Since the line occurs in two separate parts of the *Compendiosa Doctrina* and has been miswritten in a different way on both occasions, the requisite words must be such as would naturally lend themselves to these miswritings. Now it is unlikely that *nidi amica* would be miswritten *nitida* on one occasion and *nitida* on another. I propose:

usque ad limina nidi Educa vilis,

with *Educa*, another form of which was *Edula*, derived from *edo* as *manducus* from *mando*. The word is suitable enough to the context and the conglomeration of similar syllables *-di, -du* (miswritten *-di*!), *-ca* (miswritten *-ta*!) would be likely to lead to confusion.

Other instances may be given, in which our new knowledge of the source from which Nonius derived each of his quotations helps to settle the text. A line of Pomponius:

et ubi insilni in côleatum éculeum, ibi
tolútum tortor,

appears in our MSS. in three different parts of the *Compendiosa Doctrina*. In its first (4, 15) and third occurrence (182, 16) it is undoubtedly genuine and has been taken by Nonius from an alphabetical Glossary of Adverbs and from another Glossary,² possibly to be identified with the lexicon of Festus or its original, the great lexicon of Verrius Flaccus. In its second occurrence (105, 12) it may possibly be an

² The similar treatment of the verb *grundire* by Nonius in a lemma taken from this glossary (465, 1; cf. 114, 26–29) and by Diomedes is noticeable.

interpolation; but, even if it is genuine, since the first and third quotations come from different sources, the 'consensus' of the MSS. in 4, 15, and 182, 16, with their *coleatum* or *cocleatum* is so important as to minimize the importance of their variant in 105, 12 *culeratum* or *culenarum*. At 16, 28 Nonius illustrates the word *succussare* with a Lucilius quotation which he has taken from his own copy of Lucilius i-xx; *succussatoris tardi taetrique (rarique MSS.) caballi*. In 86, 11 (*s.v.* *caballus*) the same line is quoted, the quotation having been found by Nonius in a note in his copy of a small collection of Varro's Menippean Satires. Since quotations in ancient commentaries are notoriously inaccurate, the variant here, *taetri tardique*, should not be preferred by an editor of Lucilius to the other arrangement of the words. A line of the Bacchae of Accius appears at 244, 20 (*s.v.* *accommodatum*) and at 458, 11 (*s.v.* *exuvias*). In the first passage Nonius has taken it from his alphabetical Glossary of Verbs, in the second apparently from his own copy of Accius. The knowledge of this difference of source will help us to appreciate the variety in the form of the two quotations. At 88, 12 (*s.v.* *contenturum*) and at 382, 31 (*s.v.* *rumpere*) Nonius quotes, in both cases from his own copy of Lucilius xxv-xxx, the lines:

tu Lucilium
crédis contentúrum, cum me rúperint, summa
omnia
fécerim?

Since both occurrences must be genuine, how can Mueller be justified in neglecting the 'consensus'¹ of the MSS. and reading *summa omnia fecerim ima*? The phrase *summa omnia facere*, 'to do one's best' is good Latin. Another example of the same kind is the Varro quotation at 49, 7 and 106, 15, a quotation evidently taken by Nonius on both occasions from his own copy of Varro. Similarly the line of Naevius' Lycurgus quoted at 124, 32 and at 485, 5 has on both occasions come from Nonius' copy of this play. The readings of the MSS. (*ignotae iteris* 124, *ignoti iteris* 485) cannot therefore be regarded as divergent readings of different editions of Naevius. They must be harmonized. Since the MSS. of Priscian, who quotes the same line

(i. p. 229 H), shew *ignoti*, we should probably read in Nonius:

ignotei iteris sumus,

which would readily be changed in one direction to *ignote (-tae) i.* in another to *ignoti i.*

The *compulsus* of the MSS. in a quotation from Cicero's 'Republic' at 125, 13 must be a mere scribe's error for *impulsus* (534, 14; cf. 318, 17), since both quotations come from Nonius' own copy of this work of Cicero.

The variety in the Sallust quotation at 398, 7 and 553, 25, on both occasions taken by Nonius from his copy of Sallust, should be effaced. On the other hand we need not harmonize the divergences in the Lucilius quotation at 181, 30 (*s.v.* *tenta*), taken from the 'Festus' (?) glossary, and at 385, 33, taken from Nonius' own copy (cf. 264, 12, *s.v.* *contentus*). Nor need we hesitate to print the same line of Varro with *sed ut* at 4, 12, where Nonius took it from his own copy, but with *nam ut* at 105, 29, where he found it in a note; although we should in an edition of Varro accept *sed ut* and reject *nam ut*. In an edition of Varro's Letters we should probably prefer *quodsi* to *nam si* in the fragment of the Epistula ad Varronem (ap. Non. 26, 10 and 167, 20); for the citation with *nam si* was taken by Nonius apparently from a note in his copy of Lucilius xxv-xxx. The misquotation of Varro R.R. i 52, 1 (ap. Non. 228, 29) comes from a note, or, at least, not from Nonius' own copy of Varro R.R. i, and may be left unaltered. But since Nonius' quotation of Plaut. Capt. 769 (ap. Non. 146, 7) comes from his own copy, *offert* is likely to be a mere scribe's error for *offers*.

In regard to all these examples of inferences from the construction of the *Compendiosa Doctrina* I need hardly say that absolute certainty is scarcely attainable. Further research by new workers in this field is much to be desired.² I add more cer-

² The analysis of Book III is made difficult by the shortness of its sections. Still we get in many parts of the book so clear indication of Nonius' regular use of his ordinary sources that I can see no ground for supposing Nonius to have borrowed his material for this particular book from a Grammarian. At the same time the treatment of a word by a Grammarian often helps us to emend the text of a corresponding passage of Nonius, not merely in this book but in others. Thus Charisius (201 K. 17) says that *ilico* was used by Plautus, etc. for *in loco*. Nonius in Book IV 'De Varia Significatione Sermouum' gives several meanings of *ilico*, each illustrated by quotations. At 325, 4 the MSS. offer: *ilico*, *illo*. Turpilus Leucadia: 'sed quam longe est cum isti ilico.'

¹ Prof. Havet (Mél. Graux, p. 804) thinks it possible that mediaeval scribes may have adapted a line in one passage to its form in another, even widely removed, passage. I doubt whether mediaeval scribes would be likely to be so painstaking.

tain examples. In Book II (p. 165) the verb *repuerascere* is illustrated by two quotations from Cicero which have become misarranged in our MSS. Since the one comes from the *de Oratore*, Bk. ii, and the other from the *de Senectute*, and since Nonius regularly draws from the *de Sen.* earlier than from the *de Orat.*, we can with confidence restore the true arrangement. At 122, 18 Mueller should not suspect the reference to Cic. Tusc. It is the natural entry that Nonius would make when he came to utilize the materials which he had taken from his copy of Cic. Acad., Tusc. At 262, 7, since the lemma *confidentia* appears to come from Nonius' copy of Lucilius i-xx. (not of Turpilii), and since a quotation from Lucil. ii precedes and one from Lucil. x follows, the lacuna must, I fancy, have been originally filled by a quotation from an early book of Lucilius' *Satires* (ii-ix) containing the Adj. *confidens*. At 92, 6 the addition of *Histor. lib. I* is possibly right, but not necessarily, since this quotation has not been taken by Nonius from his copy of Sallust.

At 155, 12-15 the quotation from Cic. Off. iii holds its proper place before the quotation from Cic. Hort., and should not be bracketed by Mueller. Quicherat's ingenious theory about the Sisenna lemma *nolitate* (p. 481) loses all probability when we know that Nonius regularly utilized Sisenna (*Hist.* iii-iv) subsequent to Varro (*Bim., Man., Mod., Oros.*). So read *mirari* (481, 1).

Another 'signpost' for us is our new knowledge of the relationship of the MSS. Mueller, with other scholars, assigned great importance to the uncorrected text of the Harleian codex (H¹). We now know that in Books I-III H¹ is a copy of the Florence MS. (F) and that the good readings which gave it importance are the readings introduced into F by a corrector (F³) who had access to a lost 'codex optimus.' In Book IV H¹ is a copy of the Geneva MS. (Gen.). In Books V-XX H¹, along with the Escorialensis (E) and Parisinus (P), forms a group related, but inferior, to the Leyden

codex (L). For the first four books accordingly the testimony of H¹ must be ignored, and such readings as these of Mueller must be discarded: 28, 31 quam in; 29, 27 haec; 40, 10 accusanda; 41, 7 quam coniugem; 42, 3 tuten; 44, 10 naugas; 58, 12 queidam; 59, 21 manu suetum; 64, 8 occassio; 73, 2 fortitudine; 72, 19 convenam; 151, 8 fluvius Hiberus oritur; 175, 23 propterea; 110, 21 fulgoreivit; 255, 21 increpe; 449, 1 lib. IV; 455, 19 [et]; 477, 28 Amicis; 518, 35 Rerum Romanarum. In 97, 22 Mueller substitutes *at e re* for *patiere* merely because the scribe of H has happened to omit the first letter of the word.

Editors of Nonius have with great unanimity accepted as a guiding rule of their emendations the rule that each quotation must exhibit a complete, rounded off sentence or clause. But if we examine Nonius' quotations from poetical authors whose works are preserved to us, we find that he often gives us a complete line with incomplete sense. Thus Virg. Aen. xi 541 'Infantem...belli Sustulit exilio comitem' appears (*s.v.* bellum et proelium, 437, 19) as 'infantem fugiens media inter proelia belli.' If this were a line from a non-extant work, what a shower of emendations there would be, 'infandum! fugiens,' 'infandi,' 'instantis,' 'is fatum' and so on! Plautus Capt. 569 'Pol...vanitudine Qui convincas' appears (*s.v.* vanitudo, 184, 3) as 'pol ego, ut rem video, tu inventu's vera vanitudine.' Less frequently we have incomplete lines of poetry with incomplete sense,¹ e.g. Virg. Aen. iii 58 (*s.v.* monstra, 435, 28) 'primumque parentem Monstra deum refero,' where the words 'delectos populi ad proceres' are required for the sense at the beginning of the quotation. Nor is this form of quotation confined to poetry. Cic. Tusc. v 89 qui...angunt melius se habent quam Epicurus' is curtailed (*s.v.* grandiloqui, 115, 26) to 'qui tandem isti grandiloqui contra haec duo quae maxime angunt.' The fundamental principle of Mueller's emendation of quotations is shaken by considerations like these. They make us inclined to acquiesce in the defective sense of any quotation which has abundant manuscript evidence, being, let us say, repeated by

¹ Plaut. Aul. 15-17 is broken up by Nonius in this way:

(*s.v.* observare, 360, 1)

ubi est obiit mortem, qui mi id aurum credidit, coepi observare,

(*s.v.* honor, 320, 18)

ecqui maiorem filius mihi honorem haberet quam eius habuisset pater.

The statement of Charisius suggests the emendation: Ilico, in loco, Turp. Leuc.:

A. Sed quam longe? B. Ecce iam isti Ilico, retaining *longe* in its sense of place, not of time. This, however, involves too violent a departure from the MSS. to be convincing. If Nonius' use of Gellius in this book begins at p. 195 with the lemma *cor*, it may be that not merely the following lemma *cupressus*, but also the next, *carra* come from the same source. If so, this is a striking confirmation of Scaliger's emendation *pectorita* in 195, 27 (cf. Gell. XV 50).

Nonius in different parts of the *Compendiosa Doctrina*, especially if it be a complete line of poetry.

We need not add *obicitur magis* in 412, 21, nor *durus amor* in 418, 38, nor *striduntque cavernis* in 524, 3.

Another principle tacitly accepted by Mueller and others seems to be that a poetical quotation should generally be 'emended' into the form of a complete line. The word *senium* (3, 1) is exemplified by a quotation from Pacuvius' Periboea 'metus, egestas, maeror, senium, exiliumque et senectus.' This does not form a complete line; so editors change it, Onions to 'exiliumque et grandaevitas,' Mueller very cleverly to 'exilium, queis enectu' sum.' But what a number of quotations we have from Virgil, Plautus, Terence and other known authors, which form incomplete lines or portions of two lines! Surely we may retain the reading of the MSS. and print an incomplete trochaic Octonarius:

.. metus, egestas, maeror, senium, exiliumque et senectus.

Occasionally a fragmentary line of a Dramatist, which seems to admit of more than one scansion or arrangement, may be fixed in its proper shape by a consideration of the normal ictus of a current phrase. It is by this time fairly demonstrated that current phrases in the verses of the Republican Dramatists retained as a rule, not merely the arrangement and quantitative pronunciation of everyday speech, but an ictus that followed the accentuation of everyday speech. To give the phrase *quod ille dicit* (-xit) any other arrangement of words or quantity of syllables would be as irregular as to give it any other ictus than *quod ille dicit*. So the line of Pomponius quoted to illustrate *datatim* (96, 18) may be arranged, with Ribbeck, as an Iambic Septenarius:

sed quod ille dicit, cum datatim in lecto tecum
lusi,

or as a Trochaic Tetrameter:

quod ille dicit, cum datatim in lecto tecum
lusi { *ego*
quondam

(The words in italics are added merely² to

¹ The formula used for Latin 'Wellerisms,' *c.g.* Plaut. Cist. 14:

Quod ille dixit, qui secundo vento vectus est tranquilló mari,
Ventum gaudeo.

² The actual words would probably be words quite

exhibit the metre), but not in any form like 'quod ille dicit.'

In treating quotations from prose writers (or poets) of the Republic, we may occasionally get help from observing the syntax or vocabulary that these writers affect. Varro, for example, uses *praesto*, 'to excel,' with the Accusative (Keil ad R. R. i, 17, 6). So read *Diogenem* (not 'Diogeni' with Mueller) in 69, 14 (*s.v.* *aquilex*) and 371, 21 (*s.v.* *praestare*): an hoc praestat Herophilus Diogenem? (-ne, -nis *codd.*). The loose construction of the sentence of the same author quoted *s.v.* *pandere* (44, 4): 'hanc deam Aelius putat esse Cererem; sed quod in asyllum qui confugisset panis daretur, esse nomen fictum a pane dando,' is quite in the Varronian manner. The reading of the MSS. need not be altered.

And a consideration of Nonius' own vocabulary and syntax will often prevent us from following Mueller in his contempt of the MSS. In Book V De Differentia Similium Significationum, *i.e.* on Synonyms, Mueller adopts in his edition a uniformity of phrase where Nonius seems to have indulged in variety. Passages like 428, 26 DOCTVM ET PERITVM, cum simile videatur, a M. Tullio discretum est, ut sit peritum, etc.; 443, 14 INVIDIA ET INVIDENTIA. Cicero Tusc. lib. iii, etc.; 443, 21 AEGROTATIO ET AEGRITUDO. Cicero Tusc. lib. iii, etc., prevent us from regarding as impermissible the reading of the MSS. in passages like 426, 21 CIVIS ET CIVIATIS. haec est differentia (Inter CIVIS, etc., Muell.); 434, 11 QVAERERE ET REQUIRERE. hoc differt (differunt, Muell.); 437, 23 VETVSTISCERE ET VETERASCERE. quid intersit, Nigidius Comm. Gramm. lib. x deplanavit (Inter VET., etc., Muell.). The predilection of Nonius for verbal forms like *notefacere* (352, 5), *aturefacere* (82, 8), *purefacere* (114, 16), *rarefacere* (369, 23; 403, 1; not to be altered in 36, 25), etc., commends the reading *nigrefit* in 144, 8: Nigret, nigrefit, where the best MS. has *nigrea fit*, the others *nigra fit*. The archetype

had *nigrefit*. The subjunctive may be retained in 10, 10 (vivat); 18, 25 (obiciant); 44, 26 (infestent), and the loose construction of 34, 4: interpolare . . est tractum ab arte fullonia, qui . . mutant.

§ Mueller's contempt of the MSS. is equalled by his contempt of the author. He has invented an abbreviated symbol '*n.v.*'

unconnected with the meaning of the part quoted. Otherwise Nonius would be likely to have included them in the quotation. This consideration has been strangely neglected by editors (see Ribbeck's *Dramatic Fragments* passim).

to lessen the expenditure of space required by the constant recurrence of the phrase 'nugatur Nonius' in his notes. He does not hesitate to saddle Nonius with a blunder which is patently due to the marginal adscript of a late, perhaps Carolingian reader at 49, 17 :

TONIVS positum sonamus cum modo, a tono.

Varro Eumenidibus :

tibi typana, non inanis sonitus, matris deum

tonimus [TIBINOS a tibiis modos. Varro Eumenidibus : sonitus matris deum tonimus]

tibi nos, tibi nunc semiviri ;

and unfortunately *tibinus*, a supposed Adj. from *tibia*, has passed into our dictionaries and from these into our handbooks of Latin linguistics, where it is paraded as a type of the formation of Adjective NO-stems from Noun IĀ-stems.

Our new knowledge of the structure and the MSS. of the *Compendiosa Doctrina* relieves Nonius from a great many of these imputations. The unsuitable quotation to illustrate *iuventus* at 433, 17 'ibique . . exercuit' is clearly an interpolation, as a glance at the passage will shew. So is the explanation of *sportae* (177, 17) : Sportas aut ab spartu quasi sparteas aut ab sportando, which some Carolingian interpolator took from Isidore Etym. xx, 9, 10. It was not in the archetype and does not appear in the better MSS. But no doubt there were many similar interpolations in the archetype, which the 'consensus' of our MSS. prevents us from discarding. Whether the absurd *Viriatum . . magnarum virium* (186, 32) is a case in point, or is a scribe's miswriting of *V. magnarum viriarum*, occasioned by the proximity of *viraciam magnarum virium* (187, 15), I cannot say. But just as Nonius has taken from the notes in his copy of Virgil the strange explanations of *imago* as *vagina* in Virg. Aen. vii, 179, of *fatigant* as *fatigantur* in Aen. viii, 94 (cf. Servius ad locc.), so he has taken his quotation of Ter. Eun. 780 at 61, 5 from a note in his copy of Cic. Orat., de Orat., his statement about *popularis* (39, 31) from the Alphabetical Glossary of Verbs, his misquotation (*s.v.* *vetustas*, p. 184) of Ter. Hec. 848 from a note in his copy of Accius.¹ He may have erred in reproducing these erroneous statements of early commentators ; but he is not himself the author of them.

Mueller's readiness to apply his favourite formula '*n.N.*' leads him to declare that

¹ Unless it is in reality a mediaeval interpolation.

Nonius' statement (198, 5) '*Canalis . . feminino Lucilius ἡροκοριστικῶς canaliculam dicit*' is based on a misapprehension of the word *canalicolae*, which is explained by Paul. Fest. 32 Th. 13 (from *canalis* and *colo*). Mueller shuts his eyes to the fact that Varro makes *canalis* feminine (cf. Keil ad R.R. iii, 5, 2).

Undoubtedly much that offends us in the *Compendiosa Doctrina* must be put down to its unrevised state. There is abundant evidence that the work, whether through the death of the author or some other cause, was published in its first, rough draft. This, while it elucidates for us the manner of the construction of Nonius' dictionary, detracts from its reputation. We can detect the hasty, unconsidered construction of such a lemma as *liquidum* (p. 334), where instances of *liquerit* (from *linquo*) are thrown in as supplementary quotations, a piece of carelessness that is pardonable in a rough draft, but unpardonable in a published work. Similarly instances of *appellere* are thrown together with instances of *appellare* (p. 238) ; instances of *extollere* and *efferre* are joined under one lemma (p. 297), of *plāga* and *plāga* (p. 368), of *passum* from *patior* and *passum* from *pando* (p. 370). Under instances of variety of gender in Book III we find a rough-and-ready inclusion of a quotation with *victus* under the formula '*vita* used as masculine' (p. 232). *Arbitratus* appears as '*arbitrium* used in the masculine gender' (p. 190), and so on.

Mueller is unduly severe upon the misleading forms of lemma in Book IX (on peculiarities of case-forms and constructions), such as 495, 7 : '*Accusativus numeri singularis positus pro genetivo pluralis*' (*i.e.* *deum* for *deorum*, etc.). They are surely due to the necessity of brevity. Servius is certainly more accurate in his language (ad Aen. i 40) : '*Argivum*' pro '*Argivorum*.' videtur autem specie accusativi singularis pro genetivo plurali usus. But how would this phrase have suited a heading?

Nonius, I take it, was neither much better nor much worse than the average grammarian of his time. But without attempting to gauge exactly his merits and defects, this at any rate we can say with confidence, that his illustration in Book IV and elsewhere of the different meanings of Latin words is often admirable, *e.g.* of *defendere*, '*depellere*' (p. 277) by Enn. Ach. 1 R. : *serva cives, defende hostes* (cf. the whole paragraphs *lustrum* p. 335, *haurire* p. 319, *induco* p. 330). We cannot afford to 'emend' a corrupt quotation so as to make it pointless.

The interchange of *incedo* and *incendo* is so common in MSS. that we need not scruple to substitute the one for the other in 429, 1: Inter VRBEM ET CIVITATEM hoc interest, urbs est aedificatio, civitas incolae. Vergilius Aen. lib. i:

urbs antiqua fuit.

Ennius Telepho:

sed civitatem video Argivum incedere (*incendere* MSS.: *incendier* edd.).

Of the form and script of the Archetype and the corruptions thereby introduced into the text of our MSS. I have written elsewhere (*Amer. Journ. Phil.* xxii, pp. 29 sqq., *Philologus* lv, 168). Here it may be mentioned that the unusual contraction *at* (with suprascript stroke) for *autem* may have occasioned the substitution of *alterum* for *autem* in 77, 5. Read *melos autem in cantibus est bipertitum*. From the reading of the MSS. at 56, 17 we should infer that *quisquam* originally stood in the text and that *quicquam* is a conjectural emendation by a 'corrector': (*s.v.* infans) Varro Eumenidibus:

postrémo nemo aegrótus quicquam sómniat
[an quicquam somniat]
tam infándum quod non áliquis dicat philo-
sophus.

The recognition of the true nature of the metre, especially in quotations from Varro's Menippean Satires, often vindicates the reading of the MSS., e.g. in the quotation at 336, 34. If we keep by the MSS. in another of these quotations, we get an alternation of trochaic and bacchiac metre which admirably suits the sense (7, 25, *s.v.* frigère, cum sono excitari):

sáepe totiús theatri tíbiis crebró flectendo
commútari méntes, frigi ánimos eórum.

It is possible that Varro in his 'Bimarcus' both justified and adopted an experiment in metre, the Iambic Dimeter Seazon (229, 16):

ne me
pedátus versuúm tardor
refrénet, arte cúm ríythmon, etc.

(168, 10):

mihíque dividúm nostro
stiló papyrinó lévi
scapúm †scapitio† novó partu
poeticon. W. M. LINDSAY.

GHOST-RAISING, MAGIC, AND THE UNDERWORLD.

I.

THE design of this study is not to exhaust the subject but to include and illustrate some passages of literature.

Broadly speaking, Greek divinities and spiritual powers may be divided into two classes, Blacks and Whites; and it is most important, for understanding Greek, to keep in mind this great Antithesis. They were as different in fact as Darkness is from Light or Night from Day. Night is the representative of the one, as Apollo of the other, and as the Upper Gods abhor the powers of Darkness (*Eur. Alc.* 62), so the Nether in their shadowy places hate the Sun. Both were worshipped on their due occasions; but the details of their worship were throughout opposed. The Nether powers are black themselves, black-winged, or stoled in black; mankind put on such raiment in their worship; and if victims were offered to them, it was proper that the colour of them should be black.

This is the meaning of the Danaids in Aesch. *Supp.* 160 when they say 'If we fail to win the Olympian Gods, then we, a black

sun-smitten race, μελανθές ἡλιόκτυπον γένος, will petition τὸν γαῖον Ζῆνα τῶν κεκμηκότων'. As they are 'black' themselves, they will appeal to the black Zeus,—just as a maiden prays to Artemis, κόρα κόρα, ὡς ἐπεικέες—trusting in their dark complexion as a bond of sympathy.¹ In Nonn. *D.* 31. 173 Iris, disguised as Νύξ, uses precisely the same argument in beseeching "Υπνος: γηγενέων δ' ἐλάαιρε γονὴν μελανόχροον Ἰνδῶν· δὸς χάριν ἡμετέρης γὰρ ὁμόχροός εἰσι τεκούσης· ῥύεο κνανέους, κνανόπτερε.

Prayers to the Οἰράνιοι were made before the Sun was in mid-heaven; to the χθόνιοι after it declined; and it would seem as if the graver and blacker was the business, the more near midnight was the hour.

It was owing, I should imagine, to the

¹ Without this there is of course no point in the mention of the detail here. But Prof. Tucker, who re-writes it altogether—as if a scribe would write μελανθές ἡλιόκτυπον γένος by an error!—makes the very daring assertion that the Danaids are not black or even very swarthy. Why then does Pelasgus say they look like Libyans, and Egyptians, and Cyprians, and Amazons, and (Indian) Nomads near the Ethiopians? 'Egyptian' was proverbial for 'black.'

same idea that σκυθρωποί or δύσφημοι ἡμέραι² were apt to be placed in the waning portion of the month. Plutarch thought so, *Aet. Roman.* 34 p. 272 c: what was the reason, he asks, that while the Romans generally performed their χροάς and ἐναγισμούς to the dead in February, Decimus Brutus performed them in December? πότερον, ὥσπερ ἡμέρας ληγούσης καὶ μηνὸς φθίνοντος εἰώθασιν ἐναγίζειν οἱ πολλοί, λόγον ἔχει καὶ τοῦ ἐνιαυτοῦ καταστρέφοντος ἐν τῷ τελευταίῳ μηνὶ τιμᾶν τοὺς τεθηγότες; κτέ.—The 30th was sacred to Hecate and the dead: Bekk. *Anecd.* 308. 5 τριακάδας: τὴν τριακοστὴν τῶν νεκρῶν: Leutsch and Schneidewin *Paroem.* i. p. 312 on Diogen. viii. 39 τὰς ἐν Ἄιδου τριακάδας: Hemsterhuis *Lucian* i. p. 330: Lobeck *Aglaoph.* p. 432 note c (I have corrected his reference to Hemsterhuis).—In *C.I.* 523. 15 i. p. 482 Boeckh we have a sacrifice to Ζεὺς Γεωργός (including πανκαρτίαν νηφάλιον) on the 30th of Μαυμακτηριῶν.—The Διάσια to Ζεὺς Μελιχίος were held μηνὸς Ἀνθεστηριῶνος ἢ φθίνοντος schol. *Ar. Nub.* 408.—The εἰκάς itself was of course a day of joy, in honour chiefly of Apollo; but days following the εἰκάς were specially set apart as ἀποφράδες, *dies nefasti*, and called ἐπεικάδες: *Et. Mag.* 131. 12, Zonaras 240, *Paroem.* ii. p. 298 Leutsch (from whom the meagre notice in the *Thesaurus* s.v. ἐπεικάς may be supplemented): Ἀποφράδες ἡμέραι: αἱ ἀνεπιτήδειοι πρὸς πράξεις, ἐν αἷς καὶ τοῖς κατοικοιχομένοις χροάς ἐπέφερον. ἃς δὴ καὶ ἐπεικάδας καλοῦσι, φθίνοντος τοῦ μηνὸς τετράδα, τρίτην, δευτέραν. In the *Inscriptions of Cos* 39, Paton and Hicks p. 90, sacrifices by the three Dorian tribes to their eponymous heroes are prescribed ΤΙ ΕΙΚΑΔΟΣ, τετράδι ἐξ εἰκάδος ('twenty-fourth?') Mr. Paton conjectures. In Herodas v. 80 the 24th is the date of another hero-sacrifice: ἀλλ' ἐστὶν εἰκάς, καὶ Γερήν' ἐς πέμπτην.

To the Gods of Heaven they stood and prayed with hands uplifted; in appealing to the Terrene powers they knelt or grovelled and beat and drummed upon the ground: *Hom.* i. 566³ Althaea θεοῖσιν πόλλ' ἀέουσ' ἥρῃτο κασιγνήτοιο φόνου, πολλὰ δὲ καὶ γαῖαν πολυφόρβην χερσὶν ἀλόια κυκλήσκοντο' Ἀΐδην καὶ ἐπαινὴν Περσεφόνειαν, πρόχην καθεζομένην,⁴

² ἡμέρα δύσφημη καὶ ἀπαισίῃ *Lucian* iii. 175, the opposite of εὐφημον ἡμῶν in *Aesch. Ag.* 641.

³ Quoted by Musgrave on *Eur. Tro.* l. c. But in the other passage he refers to, *Stat. Theb.* l. 54 where Oedipus comes forth and calls on the infernal powers, ἵνανα σόλημ means the empty sockets of his eyes (*Gronovius*), ὁρραὰ ἔδη: 53 tunc vacuos orbes... oriental caelo manibusque cruentis pulsat ἵνανα σόλημ.

⁴ So Medea calls upon the powers of Night in *dura submisso poplite terra* *Ov. Met.* 7. 191. Mourners

δεύοντο δὲ δάκρυσιν κύλποι, παῖδι δόμεν θάνατον. *H. Apoll.* 332³ Hera ἥρῃτο . . . χειρὶ καταπρηνεῖ δ' ἔλασε χθόνα καὶ φάτο μῦθον 'κέκλυτε νῦν μοι Γαῖα καὶ Οὐρανὸς εὐρὺς ὑπερβην, Τητινὲς τε θεοί, τοὶ ὑπὸ χθονὶ ναιετάοντες Τάρταρον ἀμφὶ μέγαν . . . ' 340 ὥς ἄρα φωνήσας ἱάσατο χθόνα χειρὶ παχείῃ, κινήθη δ' ἄρα γαῖα φέρεσβιος. *Eur. Tro.* 1292 *ΕΚ.* ἰὼ γὰρ τρώφιμε τῶν ἐμῶν τέκνων. *ΧΟ.* ἔξ. *ΕΚ.* ὦ τέκνα κλύετε, μάθετε ματρὸς αἰδάν. *ΧΟ.* ἱαλέμῃ τοὺς θανόντος ἀπνεῖς. *ΕΚ.* γεραί γ' εἰς πῆδον τιθεῖσα μέλα καὶ χερεσσι γαῖαν κτυποῦσα δισσαῖς. *ΧΟ.* διάδοχα σοὶ γόνυ τίθηναι γαῖα τοὺς ἐμούς καλοῦσα νέρθεν ἀθλίων ἀκοίτας. *Plut. Mor.* 774 B³ ἀνατείνων πρὸς ἥλιον τὴν χεῖρα, αὐθὺς δὲ τὴν γῆν τύπτων ἀνεκαλεῖτο τὰς Ἐρίνας, appealing for their vengeance. *Val. Flacc.* 7. 311 Medea—not as a witch, but imploring the infernal powers to grant her death, *questu superos questuque fatigat Tartara: pulsat humum manibusque immurmural uicinis noctis eram Dilemque ciens, succurrere tandem morte velint.* *Diog. Laert.* vii. 28 relates the death of Zeno: he stumbled and broke his finger, whereupon παῖσας τὴν γῆν τῇ χειρὶ he exclaimed, quoti ng from the *Niobe*, ἐρχομαι· τί μ' αἰεῖς; and committed suicide by stifling himself: in 31 he turns it into verse (*A.P.* vii. 117) οἱ δ' ὅτι προσκόψας ποτ' ἔφη χερὶ γὰν ἀλοήσας 'ἐρχομαι αὐτόματος: τί δὴ καλεῖς με;'

The Upper Gods were worshipped often on 'high places': the way to reach the Nether Powers was by scooping out a hollow (βόθρον) in the ground, to receive the offerings, and the blood of the jugulated victim, if there was one: for ἐναγίσματα to the dead, *Orph. Arg.* 569, Clitodemus in *Ath.* 410 a, *Lucian* i. 519. So in Evocations, to excavate a trench, βόθρον ὀρύξαι, was the first proceeding always: *Hom.* κ 517, λ 25, 36, *Apoll. Rhod.* 3. 1032, 1207, *Lucian* i. 469, iii. 42, *Heliod.* vi. 14, *Ov. Met.* 7. 243, *Stat. Theb.* 4. 451-69, *Sen. Oed.* 550, *Sil. Ital.* 13. 427.

The fire also for their ἔμπυρα was made low upon the ground, and the grammarians distinguish ἐσχάρα in this sense from the built-up βωμός: *Ammonius* (in *Harpocreat.*) 'ἐσχάραν φησὶ καλεῖσθαι τὴν μὴ ἔχουσαν ὄψος ἐστίαν, ἀλλ' ἐπὶ γῆς ἰδρυμένην κοίλην.' *Schol. Phoen.* 274 ἐσχάρα μὲν κυρίως ὁ ἐπὶ γῆς βόθρος, ἐνθα ἐναγίζονται τοῖς κάτω ἐρχομένοις βωμόν δὲ ἐν ὧ θύουσι τοῖς ἐπουρανίοις θεοῖς. *Porph. de antro Nymphi.* vi 7 makes further lay prone or sat and moped: Lobeck *Aglaoph.* 646 note c, *Aesch. Ag.* 422 ἄλλιστ' (?) ἀφνέμων, *Homer* δ 538, κ 497, π 145, ο 106, ρ 208, *Apoll. Rhod.* i. 1286.

distinctions: τοῖς μὲν Ὀλυμπίοις θεοῖς ναοὺς τε καὶ ἔδη καὶ βωμοὺς ἰδρύσαντο, χθονίοις δὲ καὶ ἥρωσιν ἐσχάρας, ὑποχθονίοις δὲ βόθρους καὶ μέγαρα. 'Some of the poets' Pollux i. 8 remarks 'apply the term ἐσχάραν even to τὸν τῶν θεῶν βωμόν': but ἐσχάrai are appropriate to the Eumenides in Aesch. *Eum.* 108, 809.

The sacrifices to all Chthonic powers—including the dead—consist of the same elements with slight variations. There is nothing unusual about the sacrifice in the *Persae* 614–621 except the number of items that are mentioned: but it may be compared with the Persian sacrifice to Water (made in a βόθρος) Strabo 732. Wine was interdicted in some cases—dating, perhaps, before the use of wine; and often they were ἄπυρα⁵—dating, it may be, before the use of fire. But if burnt-sacrifice was offered, it was proper that the victims should be black. And they were sacrificed downwards: schol. Apoll. Rhod. i. 587 ἔντομα κυρίως τὰ τοῖς νεκροῖς ἐναγίζόμενα διὰ τὸν ἐν τῇ γῇ αὐτῶν ἀποτέμεσθαι τὰς κεφαλὰς: οὕτω γὰρ θύουσι τοῖς χθονίοις, τοῖς δὲ οὐρανίαις ἄνω ἀναστρέφοντες τὸν τράχηλον σφάζουσιν' Ὅμηρος 'αὐτέρυσαν μὲν πρότον' (A 459).

Circe sends Odysseus to the sunless place of the Cimmerians beyond the Ocean: 14 λῆθα δὲ Κιμμερίων ἀνδρῶν δῆμός τε πόλις τε, ἥ ἐρι καὶ νεφέλῃ κεκαλυμμένοι: οὐδὲ ποτ' αὐτοὺς ἥ ἥλιος φαέθων καταδέρεται ἀκτίνεσσι: because there are the ἄλσέα Περσεφονείης and fruitless trees, where Pyriphlegethon and Cocytus flow into Acheron: there he will be able εἰς Ἄϊδω ἰέναι δόμον εὐρώεντα. Pausanias i. 17. 5 says 'Among the things most worth seeing in the Thesprotian land is a sanctuary of Zeus in Dodona and an oak sacred to the god. Beside Cichyrus is a lake called the Acherusian lake, and the river Acheron, and there too flows Cocytus, a joyless stream.'⁶ It appears to me that Homer had seen these things, and boldly modelled his descriptions of hell on them, and that in particular he bestowed on the rivers of hell the names of the rivers in Thesprotis'. Another favourite theory identified the place of the Cimmerians with Avernus near Cumae (Strabo 244): there used to be an established νεκρομαντεῖον there, abolished since, and transferred elsewhere (Strabo 245, Diod. iv. 22, Max. Tyr. xvi., Sil. Ital. 8. 533). It was a natural site for one to be; probably estab-

lished νεκρομαντεῖα were always at a στόμιον Ἄϊδου communicating with the underworld; thus there was one in that Thesprotian place; where Periander summoned up his murdered wife (Hdt. v. 92); and where Orpheus had endeavoured to recall Eurydice (Pausan. ix. 30. 6 'that he went to Aornum in Thesprotis, where there was of old an oracle of the dead'); there was one at Taenarum (Plut. *Mor.* 560 f). It is at Avernus, under the direction of the Sibyl, that Vergil A. 6. 237 lays his necromantic scene; and Silius, copying him, 13. 395. Lucian's Chaldaean i. 468 makes Menippus cross the Tigris ἐς τὸ ἔλος καὶ τὴν λίμνην into which the Euphrates disappears; περαιωθέντες δὲ καὶ ταύτην ἀφικνούμεθα ἐς τι χωρίον ἔρημον καὶ ὑλῶδες καὶ ἀνήλιον, and there they make their βόθρον. The place selected in the Roman writers is always of this character: Lucan 642–8 a steep depression near *Ditis cavernae*... *Phoebo non pervia tacus opacat*: Stat. *Theb.* 4. 420 *silva...pervia nullis solibus*: Sen. *Oed.* 530–47 *lucis et Phoebi inscius restagnat umor*: dark, gloomy, stagnant places, such as were haunted by nocturnal powers (Verg. 6. 136, Ov. *Met.* 7. 74, 198, *Heroid.* 12. 67, Lucian iii. 50), *loca senta situ* like the infernal regions, θεῶν διχοστατοῦντ' ἀνηλίω λάπα Aesch. *Eum.* 389, δυσήλιον κνέφας *ib.* 399, *sunless* always, like the house of Death (Eur. *Alc.* 451, 864, *H.F.* 606).

So in Aesch. *Theb.* 839 the mourning Chorus say:

ἀλλὰ γῶν, ὦ φίλοι, κατ' οὖρον
ἐρέσσει⁷ ἄμφι κρατὶ πόμπιμον χερσὶν
πίπλον, ὅς αἰὲν δι' Ἀχέροντ' ἀμείβεται⁸
τὰν ἄστονον (or ἄστολον)⁸ μελᾶγκροκον
ναῦστολον⁸ θεωρίδα
τὰν ἄστιβῃ Ἀπόλλωνι, τὰν ἀνάλιον,
πάνδοκον εἰς ἀφανῇ τε χέρσον.

'O come then, on the tide of lamentation speed with measured falling plash about the head (of raining blows) the mourning black-sailed mission-barge (or on the black-sailed mission) to the shore untrodden of Apollo, to the sunless all-receiving obscure shore.' The funeral is contrasted with the white-sailed mission sent to Delos, the island of Apollo and the Sun—Δῆλον ἡλιοστιβῇ it would be natural to call it, as ἀντολὰς φλογῶπας ἡλιοστιβεῖς in

⁵ θυσίαν ἄπυρον παγκαρπείας in the Evocation, Eur. fr. 912: the sacrifice in Soph. fr. 366, in which there is a παγκάρπεια, should also be a Chthonic sacrifice; the play is *Μάντεις ἢ Πολύιδος*.

⁶ See Mr. Frazer's description ii. p. 160: see also iii. p. 347.

⁷ To understand what is meant by this common metaphor in the case of mourning gestures, see the plate in Wilkinson's *Ancient Egyptians* vol. iii. facing p. 449 (ed. 1873): opposite p. 447 is a representation of a funeral passing over the Lake of the Dead.

⁸ I am not vouching for the readings.

P.V. 817.⁹ The dead go ἀκτὰν πρὸς ἐσπέρου θεοῦ Soph. O.T. 178.

And in Soph. O.C. 676 where the grove at Colonus is described with the epithets φυλλάδα μυρτόκαρπον ἀνήλιον ἀνήμερόν τε πάντων χειμώνων I cannot doubt they are meant to indicate a haunt of Chthonic powers. For not only were they worshipped in the absence of the sun, but the most propitious time for appealing to them was a still and silent night; betitting Chaos et Phlegethon, loca nocte silentia late Verg. A. 6. 265; see Fritzsche on Theoc. 2. 11; Apoll. Rhod. 3. 1201 χῶρον ὅτις πάτον ἔκτοθεν ἦεν ἀνθρώπων, καθάρησιν ὑπεύδλιος εἰαμεῖσθιν for the evocation; Stat. Theb. 4. 423 subter opaca quies vacuumque silentia servat horror, like the infernal regions 477 loca muta et inane severae Persephones.

Evocations always had the nature of a magic practice. I agree with M. Bouché-Leclercq¹⁰ when he says 'La nécromancie n'est, en effet, possible qu'avec le concours de la magie, et c'est là l'unique raison pour laquelle Varron la disait importée de la Perse, le pays des Mages (Varro ap. Aug. Civ. Dei vii. 35).' He points out that in the celebrated νεκία of the Odyssey 'the hero executes to the letter the prescriptions of the magician Circe' and that 'the poet clearly indicates thereby the magic character.' In literature always, when necromancy is performed, it is through the agency of one possessing magic powers.¹¹ Aeschylus wrote a play called Ψυχαγωγός and Phrynichus Bekk. An. 73. 13 says οἱ ἀρχαῖοι meant by the word τοὺς τὰς ψυχὰς τῶν τεθηνηκότων γοητείας τισὶν <ἀν>άγοντας: τῆς αὐτῆς ἐννοίας καὶ τοῦ Αἰσχύλου τὸ δράμα Ψυχαγωγός: cf. Schol. Eur. Alc. 1128. In later fiction it is done by Circe, or under the patronage of Hecate and Circe or of the Cumaean Sibyl, by the wizard Teiresias and his daughter Manto, or by witches like Medea and Erichtho. In Heliod. vi. 14 it is an old Egyptian woman; in Lucian iii. 39, as in i. 464, a Babylonian Mage of the Chaldees; a Hyperborean μάγος in iii. 40. When Nero endeavoured to evoke and appease the ghost of Agrippina, he had recourse to *facto per Magos sacro*, Sueton. Vit. Neron. 34; Caracalla ordered Maternianus μάγων τοὺς ἀρίστους ζητήσαντα νεκρία τε χρησάμενον μαθεῖν περὶ τοῦ τέλους τοῦ βίου αὐτοῦ, Herodian. iv. 23

⁹ It is strange to find that all the editors, and even Mr. Housman in his verse translation of the passage, take τὰν ἀσπιβῆ Ἀπόλλωνι, τὰν ἀνάλιον to refer to θεωρίδα.

¹⁰ *Histoire de la Divination* i. p. 332.

¹¹ So it must be in that remarkable fragment of Euripides (Clem. Al. p. 688), 912 Nauck.

(ἐψυχαγωγῆσε κτέ. Dio Cass. 77. 15). In Tac. Ann. ii. 28 it is implied that *infernas umbras carminibus elicere* must be done by *magorum sacra* (27): Lucan 6. 431, Lucian iii. 41.

Egyptian incantations had this power (cf. Lucian iii. 57, 60); the Roman poets attach it commonly to Thessalian witches (and cf. schol. Eur. Alc. 1128); but if there was one region with which it was markedly associated, it was the region of the Persian¹² μάγοι, from whom the name of magic was derived: Strabo 762 παρὰ δὲ τοῖς Πέρσαις οἱ μάγοι καὶ νεκουμάνται. 'I determined' says Menippus in Lucian i. 463 'to ask one of the Magos among the disciples and followers of Zoroaster,'¹³ having heard that by means of ἐπωδαὶ and τέλεται they could open the gates of Hades and take any one down and bring him up again in safety.¹⁴

There remains one famous case of necromancy—in the Persae of Aeschylus, where Darius is called up to give advice and help, and does so. It will be conceded that the Chorus, whom Atossa bids perform the evocation, are supposed to be endowed with the magic powers of Persian Magi—as the Greeks in general conceived them. The act is characteristic of the people Aeschylus is representing; one among many other points which are appropriate in the play.

How unfamiliar Persian things have been to editors may be seen from their remarks on Persae 580 where the Chorus bemoaning the drowned Persian corpses say σκύλλονται πρὸς ἀνάνδων παίδων τὰς αἰμάτων. Though Hermann suspected something Oriental in the phrase τὰς αἰμάτων, they have been unable to discover any special allusion in it. Yet the propriety lies upon the very surface. I quote from Darmesteter; speaking of the Magian dogmatical conceptions, he says: 'The new principles they introduced, or rather, developed into new consequences, was that of the purity of the elements. Fire, earth, and water had always been considered sacred things, and had received worship: the Magi drew from that principle the conclusion that burying the dead

¹² Circe herself—what other is she but a Persian? Her dwelling is the distant East, and she is the daughter of the Sun and Πέρση or Περσῆς.

¹³ This, of course, is unknown to the *Zend-Avesta*.

¹⁴ The infernal regions were made visible with their inhabitants; but whether you went down, or they came up, was not so clear: *nam quamvis Thessala vultu rim faciat fati, dubium est, quod traxerit illuc, adspiciat Stygias, an quod descenderit, umbras* Lucan 6. 651. In Homer's account Odysseus goes down, but the Shades are also spoken of as coming up. They are generally brought up by later writers.

or burning the dead was defiling a god.¹⁵ 'Water was looked upon in the same light. Bringing dead matter to it is as bad as bringing it to the fire. The Magi are said to have overthrown a king for having built bath-houses, as they cared more for the cleanness of water than for their own.'¹⁶ He refers to p. 80 'Can he be clean again, O holy Ahura Mazda! who has brought a corpse with filth into the waters, or into the fire, and made either unclean?' Strabo 732 in their sacrifice to water, the Persians *βόθρον δρύξαντες εἰς τοῦτον σφαγιάζονται, φυλαττόμενοι μὴ τι τοῦ πλησίον ὕδατος αἵμαχθεῖν, ὡς μανούντες*. *ib.* εἰς γὰρ ποταμὸν οὐτ' οὐροῦσιν οὔτε νίπνται Πέρσαι, οὔδε λούονται, οὔδε νεκρὸν ἐμβάλλουσιν οὐδ' ἄλλα τῶν δοκούντων εἶναι μυσαρῶν. *Hdt.* i. 138 εἰς ποταμὸν δὲ οὔτε ἐνούρεονσι οὔτε ἐμπνύουσι, οὐ χεῖρας ἐναπνίζονται... 'That Tiridates was a Magian priest (Magus) appears from Tacitus' testimony, *Ann.* xv. 24 *nec recusaturum Tiridatem accipiendo diademati in urbem venire, nisi sacerdotii religione attineretur*; that he was a Zoroastrian is shown by his scruples about the worship of the elements. When he came from Asia to Rome to receive the crown of Armenia at the hands of Nero, he wanted not to come by sea but rode along the coasts (he crossed only the Hellespont), because the Magi were forbidden to defile the sea (*Plin. N.H.* xxx. 17 *navigare noluerat quoniam exspuere in maria aliisque mortalium necessitatibus violare naturam eam fas non putant*). This is quite in the spirit of later Zoroastrianism, and savours much of Mazdeism. That Vologeses himself shared the scruples of his brother appears from his answer to Nero, who insisted upon his coming to Rome also: "Come yourself, it is easier for you to cross such immensity of sea" (*Dio Cass.* lxxiii. 4). The answer was mistaken for an insult by Nero, and as it seems, by Dio himself.¹⁷

The Chorus in the *Persae* express mere fear and hatred of the sea 110 *sqq.*, and of ships 562 *sqq.*; ¹⁸ but in τὰς ἀμιάντου we may surely see their horror at the defiling of that element by corpses. There is no need to suppose that Aeschylus is translating any Persian phrase; but it seems it would have been possible for him to do so; this is Darmesteter's note on 'the sea

Paitika,' *Zend-Avesta* i. p. 53: 'The sea where waters are purified before going back to their heavenly seat, the sea Vouru-kasha (the sea above, the clouds). *Paitika*, 'the clean,' is very likely to have been originally a name or epithet of the sea Vouru-kasha. When the mythic geography of Mazdeism was reduced into a system, the epithet took a separate existence, as it gave a ready answer to that question, which, it may be was raised first by the name itself: 'Where are the waters cleansed which have been defiled here below, and which we see falling again to us pure and clean?'

The nature of the sacrifice in Evocations we have seen to be the same as in other sacrifices to the *χθόνιοι*: it was in the incantation that the efficacy of the process lay. Even when magic herbs are used, they are themselves enchanted, and we are often told that the charms are far more potent. I shall quote the epithets with which they are described. *Lucan's* is the most extravagant, 6. 685 *tum vox, Lethaeos cunctis pollentior herbis excantare deos, confudit murmura primum dissona et humanae multum discordia linguae. latratu habet illa canum gemitumque luporum; quod trepidus bubo, quod strix nocturna queruntur, quod stridunt ululantque ferae, etc. tot rerum vox una fuit*. At last she breaks into speech, *mox cetera cantu explicat Haemonio penetratque in Tartara lingua*; 'Eumenides, etc. *Sen. Oed.* 561 *carmenque magicum volvit et rabido minax decantat ore quicquid aut placat leves aut cogit umbras*. *Lucian* i. 469 ὁ δὲ μάγος ... οὐκ' ἡρεμαῖα τῇ φωνῇ, παρμέγεσθε δέ, ὡς οἷός τε ἦν, ἀνακραγῶν δαίμονάς τε ὁμοῦ πάντας ἐπεβοᾶτο καὶ Πουῖας καὶ Ερινίας 'καὶ νυχίαν Ἐκάτην καὶ ἑπαιρὴν Περσεφόνηαν', παραμυγνὺς αἶμα καὶ βαρβαρικά τινα καὶ ἄσημα (unintelligible) ὀνόματα καὶ πολυσύλλαβα¹⁹; before with an ἐπωδὴ this same Mage ἐπίτροχόν τι καὶ ἀσαφὲς ἐφθέγγετο, apparently summoning some δαίμονας: he repeats it in a purifying ceremony, ὑποτονθορίας, p. 465-6. *Sil. Ital.* 13. 428 *arcanum murmur anhelaus*. *Ov. Met.* 14. 56 *obscurum verborum ambae novorum ter novius carmen magico demurmurat ore*. 365 *concipit illa preces et verba precantia dicit ignotosque deos ignoto carmine alorat*. 405 *longis Hecaten ululatus orat*. 7. 190 *ternis ululatus*. *Am.* i. 8. 18 *longo carmine*. *Ars Am.* 2. 102 *mixtaque cum magicis neria Marsa sonis* with *Heinsius'* note. *Stat. Theb.* 4. 418 *longo murmure*

¹⁵ *Zend-Avesta*, i. p. liv.

¹⁶ *ib.* p. xv.

¹⁷ *ib.* p. xxxiv.

¹⁸ In διδυμώπτεροι κυανώπιδες *vases* the natural meaning of the epithet would be 'with two-fold fledge of ears,' the double παρσός: *I. T.* 1314, *Polyb.* i. 46. 11, *Plut. Ant.* 63 τοὺς παρσούς τῶν νεῶν ἐχείρας καὶ πτερσάς ἐκατέρωθεν

¹⁹ Like the celebrated *abracadabra* (see *Burmman Poet. Lat. Minor.* ii p. 364 on *Samonicus de medicina* 944). In *Lucian* iii. 45 an Arabian charm is ἐπωδὴ πολυνύμμος.

purgat. Val. Flacc. 7. 184 *cantu trilingui.* Burmann's note on 389 *magico sono.* 464 *septeno murmure.* 488 *tacitis cantibus.* S. 69 *Medea carmina barbarico fundens pede.* The old Αἰγυπτία in Heliod. vi. 14 πολλὰ πρὸς τὴν σεληναίαν βαρβάρους τε καὶ ξενίζουσι τὴν ἀκοὴν ὀνόμασι κατεξαμένη. . . ἐπαδουσα makes a corpse stand up and questions it. It answers in a husky voice. Eur. *I.T.* 1335 ἀνωλόλυξε καὶ κατῆδε βάρβαρα μέλη μαγεύουσ', ὡς φόνον νίζουσα δῆ, says the Egyptian messenger.²⁰ Among other things, we see they are described as *various, long, lugubrious, unintelligible, barbarous.* Add Wyttenbach's Plutarch vi p. 1009, Nonn. *D.* 4. 272.

To the Greeks, all the prayers of Magi were ἐπωδαί, that is, *magic spells*; and their *length* was characteristic of them: Strabo 733 οἱ Μάγοι in the Persian sacrifice to water τὰς ἐπωδὰς ποιοῦνται πολλὴν χρόνον, ῥάβδων μυρικίων λεπτῶν δέσμην κατέχοντες: and in Cappadocia (πολὺ γὰρ ἐκεῖ τῶν Μάγων φῖλον) πῆρ ἄσβεστον φυλάττουσιν οἱ Μάγοι· καὶ καθ' ἡμέραν δὲ εἰσόντες ἐπαδόντων ἄρα σχεδὸν τι πρὸ τοῦ πυρὸς τὴν δέσμην τῶν ῥάβδων ἔχοντες. Lucian's Chaldaean Mage, i. 465 ῥῆσιν τινα μακρὰν ἐπιλέγων.

In the *Persae* the Chorus in answer to Atossa say in quiet anapaests σύ τε πέμπε χροῦς θαλάμους ὑπὸ γῆς, ἡμεῖς θ' ὕμνοις αἰτησόμεθα φθιμένων πομπῶς εὐφρονας εἶναι κατὰ γαίας.—ἀλλὰ χθόνιοι δαίμονες ἄγνοί, Γῇ τε καὶ Ἑρμῇ, βασιλεῦ τ' ἐνέρω, πέμψατ' ἔνερθεν ψυχὴν εἰς φῶς· εἰ γάρ τι κακῶν ἄκος οἶδε πλεόν, μόνος ἂν θνητῶν πέρας εἴποι. Then, in our text, their hymn begins, and the first words it opens with are these:

ἦ ῥ' αἶε μου μακαρίτας
ἰσοδαίμων βασιλεῖς
βάρβαρα σαφινῇ
ιέντος²¹ τὰ παναίολ' αἰ-
ανῇ δύσθροα βάγματ', ἦ²²

²⁰ The grammarians derived γόγης from γόος: Suid. p. 1127 Bernhardt, Γογτεία δὲ ἐπὶ τοῦ ἀνάγειν νεκρὸν δι' ἐπικλήσεως. ὅθεν ἐρρηται ἀπὸ τῶν γῶων καὶ τῶν θῆρῶν τῶν περὶ τοὺς τάφους γινομένων. Eustath. 1147. 8 τὸ 'θρηνεῖν ἐπωδὰς' ταῦτ' ἐστὶ τῷ γοεῶς ἐπαδεῖν, ὃ καὶ γόγης ποιεῖ. Liddell and Scott say 'γόγης, properly a wailer, howler, and so (from the howl in which spells were chanted, barbaricus ululatus Seneca) a wizard, sorcerer, enchanter.' This however is only a plausible etymology; in usage γόγης never means a wailer.

²¹ Ιέντος M, which has other cases of *psilosis* in the lyrics of this play, 540 ἀπαλαῖς, 579 ἀλ' *prima manu*, 644 ἀγεμόνες, 679 ἀμάρτια: cf. 661 ἰκον. This may be a correct tradition; for, as I have pointed out, the language is Ionicised in a conventional degree. If the Persians must speak Greek at all, they will speak the dialect of Asia.

²² Dindorf for βάγματα. Cf. Stat. *Theb.* 4. 504, Lucan. 6. 744, quoted presently.

παντάλαν' ἄχῃ
διαβοάσω;
νέρθεν ἄρα κλύει μου;

Paley's explanation of βάρβαρα is 'To Darius Greek words were βάρβαρα': a truly monstrous view. It is only by a convention they are speaking Greek at all; you are to imagine they are speaking Persian. And Aeschylus to call Greek language barbarous to any one! The Persians speak of themselves as βάρβαροι in 9 places of this play. It should now be evident that what are meant are the *long-drawn, magical, outlandish incantations.*

But where are they? If the Chorus say ἦ ῥ' αἶε μου; νέρθεν ἄρα κλύει μου; that implies that there has already been some call he might have heard. In Lucan 6. 744 when Erichtho cries to the infernal powers *paretis? an ille compellendus erit quo nunquam terra vocato non concussa tremis?* it is after she has already made a passionate appeal; and so it is in Stat. *Theb.* 4. 500 *atque hic Teiresias, nondum adventantibus umbris, 'testor,' ait 'diuæ, quibus hunc saturavimus ignem, laevaque concussae dedimus carthesia terrae, iam nequeo tolerare moram. Cassusne sacerdos audior? an rabido iubeat si Thessala cantu ibitis? et Scythicis quotiens armata venenis Colchis aget, trepido pallebunt Tartara motu?'* But to Darius there has been no appeal at all; nor surely could the previous invocation have been described in these excessive epithets. I think we must understand that they begin by invoking Darius with ἐπωδαί in unintelligible jargon; then they break into their hymn: 'O does he hear me uttering in outlandish terms, but plain to him, this diverse long-drawn dismal-sounding speech? Or must I pierce the earth with yet more agonizing cries?' τὰ παναίολα, those they have just been uttering; though the article might, of course, imply 'the usual ritual,' τὰ νόμιμα. The refrain in 667, 675 βάσκε πάτερ ἄκακε Δαρίαν, οἱ probably represents the magic incantation.

The effect of the incantation was to rend and cleave the earth, making an open passage either for the operators to descend by or for the ascension of the ghost. This is definitely stated in half-a-dozen passages: Lucian i. 470 *Necyomant.* 10 εὐθὺς οὖν after the incantation of the Babylonian Mage ἅπαντα ἐκεῖνα ἐσαλεύετο καὶ ὑπὸ τῆς ἐπωδῆς τοῦδαφος ἀνερρίγητο and the infernal regions were discovered: we descended διὰ τοῦ χάσματος. Tibull. 1. 2. 45 *haec cantu fuditque solum manesque sepulcris elicit.* Ov. *Am. i.* 8. 17 *evocat antiquis proanos*

atavosque sepulcris et solidam longo carmine findit humum. Rem. Am. 253 *me duce non tumulo prodire iubebitur umbra; non anvis infamī carmine rumpet humum.* Lucan vi. 728 *perque cavae terrae quas egit carmine rimas Manibus illatrat.* This is the description of the result in Sen. Oed. 567: *canitque rursus, et terram intuens graviore Manes voce et attonita ciet. latravit Hecates turba; ter valles cavae sonuere maestum; tota succusso solo pulsata tellus.* 'audior' vates ait, 'rata verba fudi.' *rumpitur caecum chaos, iterque populo Ditis ad superos datur. subsedit omnis silva et erexit comam; duxere rimas robora, et totum nemus concussit horror. terra se retro dedit gemitūque penitus. sive temptari abditum Acheron profundum mente non aequa tulit, sive ipsa tellus ut daret functis viam compage rupta sonuit, aut ira furens triceps catenas Cerberus movit graves, subito dehiscit terra et immenso sinu laxata patuit.* Ovid makes the earth groan too when Circe calls, with deadly magic herbs, upon the Powers of Night and Hecate: *Met.* 14. 406 *exiluvē loco (dictu mirabile) silvae, ingemitque solum....et lapides visi mugitus edere raucos:* the same is among the effects of Medea's incantations *Met.* 7. 204-6. Apollonius of Tyana in Philostr. iv. 16 professes to have raised Achilles up οὐχὶ βόθρον Ὀδυσσεώς ὀρυζάμενος οὐδ' ἀπνῶν αἵματι ψυχαγωγήσας, ἀλλ' εὐξάμενος ὅποσα τοῖς ἥρσιν οἱ Ἰνδοὶ φασιν εὔχεσθαι 'Achilles, most men say that you are dead, but I do not agree, any more than Pythagoras my master; if I am right, then come and prove it to my eyes'; whereupon σεισμὸς μὲν περὶ τὸν κολωνὸν βραχὺς ἐγένετο, and Achilles ἀνέδωθ. Eucrates in Lucian *Philopseud.* 22 iii. 50 relates how Hecate appeared to him σεισμὸς τινος γενομένου καὶ βοῆς οἷον ἐκ βορρῆς.

In the *Persae*, when Darius is called up, he addresses the Chorus in these terms:

683 ὦ πιστὰ πιστῶν ἡλικίης θ' ἥβης ἐμῆς,
Πέρσαι γεραιοί, τίνα πόλις ποιεῖ πόνον;
στένει, κέκοπται, καὶ χαράσσεται πέδον
λεισσω δ' ἀκοῖν τὴν ἐμὴν τάφου πέλας
ταρβῶ, χοῦς δὲ πρηνεμῶς ἐδεξάμην.
ἡμεῖς δὲ θρηνεῖτ' ἐγγὺς ἐστῶτες τάφου,
καὶ ψυχαγωγοῖς ὀρβυίζοντες γόους
οἰκτρῶς καλεῖσθ' ἐμ' ἐστὶ δ' οὐκ εὐξέοδον
ἄλλως τε πάντως χοὶ κατὰ χθονὸς θεοὶ
λαβεῖν ἀμείνους εἰσὶν ἢ μεθίεναι·
ὅμως δ' ἐκείνους ἐνδυναστεύσας ἐγὼ
ἦκω· τάχυνε δ', ὥς ἄμπεπτος ὦ χρόνον.

What is the meaning of στένει κέκοπται καὶ χαράσσεται πέδον? In view of the passages I have adduced we may suppose, I

think, that it is the result of the ψυχαγωγοὶ γόοι: and the later scholia²³ explain it so: schol. A τίνα πόνον καὶ κακοπάθειαν πάσχει ἡ πόλις καὶ στενάζει καὶ οἷον ἐκ τῶν ὀδυρμῶν κέκοπται καὶ χαράσσεται ἡ γῆ κάτωθεν. τοῦτο δὲ εἴρηκεν, ὅτι ἐκ τῶν πολλῶν ὕμνων στεναγμῶν ἡ γῆ βαρεῖσα ἀνέδωκε μὲ. Schol. B χαράσσεται] διασχίζεται τοῖς θρήνοις. These are merely two expressions of one and the same view; but they have not appealed to modern critics, to whom the virtue of the γόοι has been quite unknown. Hermann took these scholia to be different explanations: 'Interpretationes in scholiis duae prostant, una, quae rupta tellus, ut Darius ab inferis exire posset, intelligitur, quae ab usu verbi abhorret et ad sensum absurda est; altera quae lamentis lacerari regio significatur.' Paley says: 'What is meant by the plain being 'cut up and ploughed,' i.e. whether by the violent gestures, impatient stamping, &c., of those who evoke Darius, or by the noise and turmoil of the army and war chariots, or even by an earthquake to give the ghost a passage to the upper world, is not clear. The later Scholiasts understand the θρήνοι and ὀδυρμοί, but the Greek words are as inapplicable to the mere sounds of grief as they seem peculiarly appropriate to the tramp of armies.....Hermann is so dissatisfied with the Scholiast's explanation, that he suspects the passage is in some way corrupt. Probably the effects of sorcery are meant.' Wecklein and Zomarides, taking (as some do) the subject of στένει, κέκοπται to be πόλις, understand by χαράσσεται πέδον the beating of the ground by the dancing of the Chorus: they say that χαράσσειν here is used in the sense of νύσσειν, which Hes. *Scut.* 62 applies to horses, χθόνα δ' ἔκτυπον ὠκείες ἵπποι νύσσοντες χρῆλῃσι. Well,—there is no reason whatever to suppose the Chorus here have any dance at all; in the second place no one ever raised a ghost by dancing; you might dance for a day without bringing a corpse up: and imagine these aged venerable men skipping and scoring the ground with their old hoofs! Schuetz, taking (as I do) all the three verbs to refer to πέδον, supposed them to be the result of that drumming on the ground which we have remarked above: 'solemne enim erat manes evocantibus terram manibus pulsare; adeoque Darius, gemit, inquit, pulsatur, ac tantum non scinditur solum.' This, though Hermann says 'Schützium interpretationem nemo elegantem esse sibi persuadet,' has found favour; M. Weil accepts it and Prof.

²³ No explanation is given in the earlier; in the later there is no alternative suggestion.

Tucker (*Choeph.* p. 78), quoting also the opinion of Dr. Verrall to the same effect. Dr. Verrall may have been influenced by a note of Mr. Frazer's (*Pausan.* iv p. 239-40) on smiting of the earth with rods,²⁴ a passage which Miss Harrison also uses (*J.H.S.* 1900 xx p. 107) for the interpretation of a painting on a lekythos and the title of Sophocles' Satyric play Πανδώρα ἡ Σφυροκόποι.

This explanation of *Pers.* 685 is far the most reasonable of those suggested; that it is the true one I find it difficult to believe in face of testimony. From Homer downwards we have many descriptions in detail of ghost-raising, and from Homer downwards many cases of drumming on the ground; but I can find no example (nor has one been quoted) where spirits are evoked by it; it is never used in necromancy; never part of magic ritual: whereas, on the other hand, the riving or convulsion of the earth is again and again attributed to the power of incantation. There is no mention in the *Persae* of hands drumming: only two instruments are mentioned by Atossa; she brings *χοάς* herself to propitiate the Earth-powers generally (612), and then calls upon the Chorus to evoke Darius with ἔμνοις, 622 ἀλλ' ὦ φίλοι, *χοαῖσι* ταῖσδε νερτέρων ἔμνοις ἐπενφημεῖτε τόν τε δαίμονα Δαρείον ἀνακαλείσθε. They reply 627, *σύ τε πέμπε* *χοάς* *θαλάμους* *ὑπὸ γῆς, ἡμεῖς θ' ἔμνοις αἰτήσομεθα* *φθιμένων* *πομπούς* *εὐφρονας* *εἶναι*. Then they begin, as usual, by imploring the Authorities to permit the rising of their subject, and work upon the feelings of Darius with their piteous plaints; his ascension is at length—and reluctantly, as usual—permitted. He accepts the *χοάς* (687) on ascending, but what have moved him to appear are the *ψυχαγωγοὶ γόοι* (688, 699). There is no mention of any beating on the ground; and the only passage I know on which that colour could be put is *Stat. Theb.* 4. 472 where Teiresias exclamant (*tremuere rogi, et vox impulit ignem*), 'Tartareae sedes, . . . solvite *pulsanti* loca muta et inane severae

Persephones. Here, if it were not for the other passages, it might be thought that *pulsanti* means 'at the beating of my hands'; but immediately before it his *voice* that produces the pulsation of the pyre and of the flame, and in *Sen. Oed.* 570, when *tota succusso solo pulsata tellus*, it is the *voice* of Teiresias that produces the effect.—Since the *χοαί* in this case would naturally be made in a βόβρος, *χαράσσεται* might refer to excavation of the earth, if there were any passage that could warrant it; perhaps the phrasing of the line implies that the actions of the lamentation—groaning, beating on the breast, and laceration of the flesh—are transmitted to the passive earth.

From the same note of Prof. Tucker's (*Cho.* p. 78) I learn that there is another passage which Dr. Verrall would refer to the suppliant's beating on the ground. He thinks that 'in this custom lies the explanation of *v.* 374,' and Prof. Tucker considers the explanation (which he quotes there) satisfactory. I do not know whether others will agree; this is the passage:

ἀλλὰ διπλῆς γὰρ τῆσδε μαράγνης
δοῦπος ἰκνέται· τῶν μὲν ἄρωγοὶ
κατὰ γῆς ἤδη, τῶν δὲ κρατούντων·
χέρες οὐχ ὅσαι· στυγερὸν τοῦτων
παῖσι τί μᾶλλον γεγένηται;²⁵

'However, the *thud* of this double scourge goes home—the champions of the one side are already under earth, while the side in power have hands defiled by murder: when has there ever been for children a case more abominable than this?' The double 'scourge,' by a common metaphor, is the double *taunt*, which is employed to enrage the spirit of their father; and the Greek shows clearly that the two lashes are the clauses joined by *μὲν* and *δέ*: they are the explanation, stated with *asyndeton*, of *διπλῆς*. It was the way of Greek, when giving the two details meant by *διπλοῦς, δίδυμος, δισσοῦς* and the like, to specify them by the particles *τε . . . τε, τε . . . καί, ἢ μὲν . . . δέ*: e.g. *Pers.* 169, *Theb.* 769 (read *κρείσσοτέκνων τ'*), *Agam.* 337, 826 ἄχθος *διπλοῖζει* *τῷ* *πεταμένῳ νόσῳ* *τοῖς τ' αὐτοῦ αἰτοῦ πῆμασιν βαρύνεται* *καὶ τὸν* *θυραῖον ἄλλον* *εἰσρωὴν στένει*. *Supp.* 1020 *οἰκησις δὲ καὶ διπλὴ πάρα· τὴν μὲν Πηλεργός, τὴν δὲ καὶ πόλις διδοῖ*. *Eur. Andr.* 506. If this usage had been recognised by critics, they would all have seen that in *Agam.* 645

²⁵ *χέρες οὐχ ὅσαι στυγερῶν τοῦτων παῖσι δὲ μᾶλλον γεγένηται* MS. I adopt the corrections of Schoemann; but *παῖσι* ought not to have been changed: it is from the children's point of view they are considering it.

²⁴ Since *βαβδομαρτεία* appears not to be included by M. Bouché-Leclercq in *La Divination*, I give here collected references to it. The *βάβδων δέσμη* mentioned by Strabo 733½ (quoted above) is 'the *batesma* (now called *barsom*), a bundle of sacred twigs which the priest holds in his hand while reciting the prayers. . . . The Parsis in India found it convenient to replace them by brass wires, which, when once consecrated, can be used for an indefinite period.' Darmesteter *Zend-Avesta* I. p. 22. For these and others see Phoenix *Coloph.* (Ath. 530 c), the rich schol. on Nicand. *Ther.* 613, Hdt. iv. 67, where Stein quotes Ammian. Marc. xxxi. 2. 24, 'Tac. Germ. 10. —But this was not to Mr. Frazer's purpose, for they were not used to beat the ground with.

πόλει μὲν ἔλκος ἐν τῷ δῆμον τυχεῖν, πολλοὺς δὲ πολλῶν ἐξαγισθέντας²⁶ δόμων ἀνδρας διπλῇ μάστιγι τὴν 'Αρης φιλεῖ, the two lashes of the double scourge are the two clauses specified by μὲν and δέ, the public and the private blow.—δοῦπος ἰμάσθλης Nonn. D. 10. 13.

In ordinary parlance μάγος, γόης and ἐπωδός were synonymous in scorn (μάγος καὶ γόης Aeschin. 73. 13, γόης ἐπωδός Eur. Bacch. 227, ἄρ' οὐκ ἐπωδός, οὐ γόης πέφυχ' ὅδε; Hippol. 1035), suggesting 'sorcerer', 'quack', 'wizard', 'juggler', 'charlatan'; and a common sneer at them was 'mercenary' and 'avaricious.' In Soph. O.T. 388 Oedipus in his anger calls Teiresias μάγον τοιόνδε μηχανογράφον, δόλιον ἀγύρτην, ὅστις ἐν τοῖς κέρδεσιν μόνον δέδορκεν: and in Antig. 1034 Creon exclaims οὐδὲ μαντικῆς ἀπρακτος ὑμῖν εἰμι, τῶν δ' ὑπαὶ γένους ἐξημπόλημαι κάμπεφόρτισμαι πάλοι. κερδαίνειτ', ἐμπολάτε τὰπὸ Σαρδεῶν ἤλεκτρον, εἰ βούλεισθε, καὶ τὸν Ἰνδικὸν χρυσόν: and at 1155 taunts the prophet with venality to his face, τὸ μαντικὸν γὰρ πᾶν φιλάργυρον γένος, 1061 κίνει, μόνον δὲ μὴ 'πὶ κέρδεσιν λέγων: and everyone will remember Adeimantus' description in Plat. Rep. 364b-365a of the mendicant quacks who go to rich men's doors, ἀγύρται καὶ μάντις ἐπὶ πλουσίων θύρας ἰόντες, professing to have power obtained from heaven to procure by sacrifices and incantations the healing of their sins, or promising to harm their enemies, whether good or bad, at a small expense, μετὰ συμικρῶν δαπανῶν ὁμοίως δίκαιον ἀδίκῳ βλάψειν ἐπαγωγὰς τισι καὶ καταδεσμούς,²⁷ τοὺς θεοὺς, ὡς φασι, πείθοντές σφισιν ἐπιηρετεῖν.

In Aesch. Cho. 815 after praying the Gods to speed Orestes' hand, the Chorus with sly humour say:

815 καὶ τότ' ἤδη —
δωμάτων λυτήριον
θῆλυν οὐρίοστάταν

818 — κρεκτον γοήτων
νόμον μεθήσομεν

²⁶ Driven out, as it were as ἐξαγιστους, excommunicate and banned, ἀγῆλατῳ μάστιγι συνθραύσας κάρα Lycophr. 436 (with Bachmann's note): the critics miss the point. It seems probable that in Cho. 288 we should read διώκεισθαι πόλεως χαλκηλάτῳ (or ἀγῆλατῳ) μάστιγι λυμανθέν δέμας: see Wecklein's textual note. Thus Christ drove out the money-changers from the Temple with a scourge (John 2. 15), as defilers and polluters of it.

²⁷ So I punctuate; the usual punctuation is at βλάψειν, but surely the καταδέσεις defixiones bind the human victim. See for instance Legg. 933 A, D, Theocr. ii. 3, 10 sqq. For ἐπαγωγὰς see Ruhnken Timaeus, p. 114 = 96.

820 'πλεῖ τὰδ' εὖ

ἐμὸν ἐμὸν κέρδος αὔξεται τόδ', ἅτα δ'
ἀποστατεῖ φίλων'.

'And then at last our voice will vent, for deliverance of the house and wind set fair, the wizards' strain, 'The vessel speeds! Evil is removed from my friends and my own gain, my own, increased withal'. This was a very natural view for slaves to take: remember in the Agamemnon, when the beacon-fire shines out, how the Watchman dances a *pas seul*,²⁸ remarking to himself in a colloquial metaphor 'I shall score by my masters' luck; this beaconing has turned up trumps for me'. He will see the return of Agamemnon; be released from his long sentry; and doubtless also receive a reward for his good news, for this was the regular Oriental custom: 'The herdsman came, and standing before me said, O my master, I will tell thee a thing which shall gladden thy soul and shall gain me the gift of good tidings' Burton's *Thousand Nights and a Night* (ed. 1894) i. p. 27, where he observes 'Arabic "Al-Bashárah", the gift everywhere claimed in the East and in Boccaccio's Italy by one who brings good news. Those who do the reverse expose themselves to a sound strappado'. So it was in Greece; if messengers bring bad news, it is with apprehension; but for good news they receive largesse or entertainment, and have no scruple in suggesting it: see Soph. O.T. 190 ἀπῆξ' ὅπως τοι πρῶτος ἀγγέλλας τὰδε πρὸς σοῦ τι κερδάναιμι καὶ κτῶμην χάριν, 492-6, O.T. 230, 1002-6, El. 797-802, Eur. Hel. 1280-3, Ion 759, Heracl. 789, 888: cf. Ag. 591. Since γόητες, while delivering others, were proverbial also for an eye to their own pockets, the Chorus here look forward humorously to 'the wizards' strain'.

But if you consult the editors, you will find a very different notion. Since Blomfield and Hermann they have all assumed that γοήτων is an error for γοατῶν or γοατάν, 'wailers', 'wailing'.—πλουτῶν in 815 is an error for some adjective; κλυτὸν Bamberger; perhaps πλυντῶν 'the cleansed house'. 818 ὁμοῦ κρεκτὸν (with ὁμο in erasure) is a corruption of some compound adjective. οὐρίοστάταν is a metaphor derived from wind, like δέμα προσταγήριον καρδίας ποτᾶται Ag. 967 (cf. Cho. 390); it applies both to the fortune of the house and to the οὔρος ὕμνων (Pind. P. iv. 3).—πλεῖ is Kirchhoff's correction of πόλει: it is a colloquial phrase like Plaut. Bacchid. 797 *pulcre haec confertur navis*, Ov. Fast. 4.

²⁸ The editors do not notice this. It stands for a little interval before the Chorus appear at the summons of Clytemnestra.

18 *dum licet et spirant flamina, navis eat*, Plat. Legg. 813 D πάντα ἡμῖν κατ' ὀρθὸν πλεῖ, Liban. iv. 12. 34 τοῖς γὰρ οὕτω γνώμης ἔχουσιν ἐξ οὐρίας φλεῖ τὰ πράγματα φέρεσθαι Lucian ii. 698 ταυτὶ μὲν ἤδη κατὰ ῥοὴν προχωρεῖ τῷ Δάμει, καὶ πλησίστιος ἐπὶ τὴν νίκην φέρεται.—ἐμὸν ἐμὸν as in Pratinas Bergk iii. p. 558,

Eur. H.F. 1179, El. 1149.—One of the scholia has τὸν τῶν γόητων, οἶον, ὡς ἄδουσι περιόντες (corrected by Victorius for παριόντες) τὴν πόλιν: for this word in its special application to γόητες and ἀγύρται, see Rubnken *T'im.* pp. 10 and 180 = 213.

W. HEADLAM.

REVIEWS.

HORACE AND A MONASTIC RIVAL.

Odes Choiesies d' Horace. Par B. BAELEDE et M. LEGRAIN. Brussels: Desclée, De Brouwer et Cie.

Proses d' Adam de Saint-Victor. Par M. L'ABBÉ LEGRAIN. Same publishers.

Proses d' Adam et Odes d' Horace. Par B. BAELEDE, M. LEGRAIN et L. GUILLAUME. Same publishers.

THESE three volumes are intended to be used together as text-books for a course in the comparative study of literature. They appear to form part of a series issued under the general direction of Canon Guillaume of Namur, and approved by the Bishop of that see. The first book above-named contains a selection from the Odes and Epodes of Horace with an Introduction and Notes by two gentlemen who are professors in Roman Catholic schools in Belgium. The notes are sufficient for the purpose in hand, which is, to make a tolerable sense of the Latin, and to show that Horace was not a Christian and that he had many tricks of style. The only novelty that I observe is the reading, at *C.* iv. 2. 49, *tuque dum praedicis* 'io triumphe,' but there are other signs that M. Baelde or M. Legrain is a very peremptory editor. The second book gives a selection of the *Proses*, or rhymed Latin hymns, of one Adam, a Breton, who was a monk in the Abbey of Saint-Victor at Paris in the twelfth century. Here also there are an Introduction and Notes which I found extremely useful. The third is the complement of the other two, and contains a longer and more detailed account of *Proses*, and of Adam's style: then a translation of the selected *proses* and odes, with suggestions of literary parallels: and finally, many close comparisons of *proses* with odes, the criticisms of each being ranged under the heads of *vérité*,

moralité and *art*. It need hardly be said that in the matter of *vérité* (which means 'the fact conveyed': e.g. that Drusus conquered the Rhaeti, or that St. Paul was converted by a vision of Christ), and in *moralité*, the monk has much the best of it. But it is open to doubt whether, in respect of *art* (which is taken to include inspiration as well as style), Horace is so frequently inferior as M. Guillaume and his coadjutors would make him out to be. I have tried to approach this question with candour: to dismiss from my mind the prejudice which a reader trained to classical Latin may easily feel against ecclesiastical Latin of the twelfth century: to allow that pious devotion is in itself a sort of inspiration, and to think it possible that a writer who, as M. Guillaume admits, has been forgotten for nearly four centuries, was nevertheless a poet of the first order. But, after all, I am wholly unable to agree with M. Guillaume in his appreciations. He contends, in the main, that, whereas Horace is frigid, imitative, a courtier, out of touch with the people, Adam is inspired, inventive, popular. He was certainly copious and may have been inventive in the matter of rhythms: he was popular in his use of rhyme and alliteration and short sentences: he can pray with fervour: but his language is quite lacking in distinction, and his thoughts are either popular in the worse sense, that is to say, common-place, or else obscure with a singular monastic pedantry. His verse is, in great part, a sort of Hebrew Latin, a mosaic of tags from the Prophets and Canticles applied, by a mysterious symbolism, to Christ and the Virgin. It is easy to prove this point, for M. Guillaume has considerably provided a dictionary of Adam's usual symbols, from which I take the following short specimens.

'ROSA.—D'après la *Clef* de St. Mélon : *Rosae martyres, rubore sanguinis*. Adam n'a pas employé cet emblème, que nous trouvons déjà dans le *Cathemerinon* de Prudence. Il a plutôt fait de la rose un symbole de la patience de Marie, *Rosa patientiae*: symbolisme rare, car la rose, dans les idées chrétiennes comme dans celles du paganisme, indiquant l'ardeur de l'amour, a été appliquée à la Vierge, à cette *Rose mystique* des litanies, qui, autour d'elle, répand ses parfums : 'Quasi plantatio rosae in Jericho' (Eccl. xxiv.). Dans la Prose de l'Epiphanie, Adam s'écrie : *Orta rosa est ex spinis*, designant ainsi Marie, qui sortit du peuple Juif.

FERAE.—Adam appelle de ce nom les persécuteurs. En particulier Saul est symbolisé par le loup.

JACOB.—Jacob, petit-fils de Sara, représente les enfants de l'Eglise, supplantant les enfants de la Synagogue représentés par Esau. Cf. *Pr.* iii. 42 et 47.

There are about 120 such explanations. How necessary they are may be judged from the following extracts from a *Prose* for Easter-day :

Lex est umbra futurorum ;
Christus, finis promissorum,

Qui consummat omnia.
Christi sanguis igneam
Hebetavit rompheam,
Amota custodia.

Puer, nostri forma risus,
Pro quo vervex est occisus,
Vitae signat gaudium.

Joseph exit de cisterna :
Christus redit ad superna
Post mortis supplicium.

Anguem forat in maxilla
Christus, hamus et armilla;

In cavernam reguli
Manum mittit ablactatus
Et sic fugit exturbatus

Vetus hospes (?hostis) saeculi.

Can it be that all these allusions were familiar to the people of the twelfth century? Did everybody know that there were cherubim with flaming swords at the Gate of Paradise; that *Isaac* means 'laughter' and that *regulus* is a basilisk or cockatrice? I cannot believe it. Such writing must always have been obscure except to a small circle of enthusiasts. Or, suppose the allusions to have been well-known, since symbolism plays a large part in mediaeval mural decoration. Then such writing is mere frigid plagiarism, without even the merit of

invention. In either case, it is condemned as poetry and it constitutes about a third part of the *proses* here collected. Another third is much more readily intelligible but is downright doggerel. Here is a passage from a poem on the martyrdom of S. Victor (killed by Datianus at Valencia, A.D. 304):

Non communi sinit jure
Virum tradi sepulturae:
Legi simul et naturae
Vim facit malitia.
In defunctum iudex saevit:
Hinc defuncto laus accrevit,
Nam, quo vesci consuevit,
Reformidat bestia.
En cadaver inhumatum
Corvus servat illibatam
Sicque sua sceleratum
Frustratur intentio.
At profanus
Datianus
Quod consumi
Nequit humi
Vult abscondi
Sub profundi
Gurgitis silentio.

The remaining third part is better than the other two, and is certainly both fervid and spontaneous: e.g.

Consolator alme, veni!
Linguas rege, corda leni;
Nihil fellis aut veneni
Sub tua praesentia.
Nil jocundum, nil amoenum,
Nil salubre, nil serenum,
Nihil dulce, nihil plenum,
Sine tua gratia.

* * * * *

Tu qui dator es et donum,
Nostri cordis omne bonum,
Cor ad laudem redde pronum,
Nostrae linguae formans sonum
In tua praeconia.

If Adam had always written as well as this, I could read him with pleasure: but not the Holy Inquisition itself should induce me to say that I preferred his poetry to Horace's. Fortunately there is no prospect of an *auto da fé* in this matter. M. Guilaume says that the Renaissance put Adam out of fashion, but strangely omits to mention that the Council of Trent finally banished him. The Committee appointed by that Council to revise the liturgy apparently did not think that Adam's *proses* were the best of their kind and preferred, rightly as I think, the *Dies irae* of Thomas de

Celano, the *Stabat Mater* of Jacopone de Todi, the *Lauda Sion* of Thomas Aquinas and other compositions.

Nevertheless, though I cannot fall in with M. Guillaume's literary judgments, I have read his books with interest and profit. They throw light on the arts and studies of the mediaeval cloister and on the history of modern literature. His account of the origin of *proses*, or *sequences*, for instance, contains matter which I have not seen elsewhere. In the service of the Mass, the gradual (*i.e.*, the anthem following the epistle) was succeeded, except in Lent, by an Alleluia. In order to give time for the priest to go to the ambo and find the Gospel, it was customary to prolong the final vowel of the Alleluia in a series of notes which were called strictly the *sequentia*. As the

performance of these notes involved some difficulty, the practice arose of setting words to them and these words were originally called the *prosa*. The first *proses* were composed in the Abbey of Jumièges, which was destroyed by the Normans in the ninth century. A fugitive from Jumièges brought to the Monastery of St. Gall an antiphonary which contained some specimens of *proses*. These were seen by a Swiss Monk named Notker who adopted the idea but improved the diction, making the sentences rhythmical. In the course of the next two centuries *proses* gradually became versified without losing their original name. This bald outline suggests to the imagination a hundred moving pictures.

J. Gow.

GOETZ'S *THESAURUS GLOSSARUM EMENDATARUM*.

Thesaurus Glossarum emendatarum edidit GEORGIUS GOETZ. Pars prior, fasc. i, ii. Pars posterior, accedit index Graecus GUILIELMI HERAEI, fasc. i. Pp. x., 754, 438. Teubner, 1899-1901. 60 M.

PROFESSOR GOETZ has now accomplished the greater part of a very useful work. To praise the learning and the diligence of so well-known a scholar in a subject so peculiarly his own would be well-nigh an impertinence. One might almost have expected nothing to escape him. He does, however, seem to have overlooked a fragment of a Latin-German glossary discovered by Prof. G. C. M. Smith in the library of University College, Sheffield, and published in the *Journal of Philology*, vol. 24, pp. 238-242, which contains some interesting glosses. Nettleship's and Mr. Housman's contributions to earlier volumes are however used. The material is of course in the main that published in the four issued volumes of the *Corpus Glossariorum Latinorum*; and its collection into the convenient alphabetical form forms a work of interest to investigators in every period of Latin from the archaic Latin to Romance. The student of the pre-classical period will for example welcome new compounds of *endo-*: *endoclosa*; *endodecarit* *μηνόραι*; *endofestabat* *ἐσάειν ὀπύλλερο* (where *ἐσάει* Vulc. *ἐσάει* Ribbeck; but read *ἐσάει* *ὀπύλλεν* transposing the terminations): *endogenia* naturalitas amoena; *endo-*

riguum. The collector of domestic Latin will be interested in *sissiat κάθηται* *ἐπὶ βρέφους* (I have added the colon to preserve the infant from the fate celebrated in the popular song) and hardly less so in *siat*, another word of the nursery. Those who study the common Latin will note that *pectit pexus* are glossed by *pectinat pectinatus* whereas these words are glossed only by Greek equivalents. The student of Latin texts will find indications that he must not neglect; *e.g.* the textual critic of Propertius will note the glossing of *dapes* by '*cibi uel diuitiae*' and again by '*cibi diuitiae*' for use when he comes to deal with the reading of 4. 4. 76 '*cum pagana madent fercula deliciis* (*edd.*, *diuitiis* MSS).' Lastly those who study the mediaeval mind will rejoice in an entry like this: '*Ennius. nomen doctoris cui pau per uisionem in ore introiuit et altera die surrexit grammaticus: fuit autem cultor idolorum.*'

Prof. Goetz calls his book a '*Thesaurus of emended glosses*' and in his praefatio says '*Glossas non modo collegi aut collectas exhibui sed pro virili parte emendavi.*' And he explains his practice further in regard to alternative writings or forms: '*eam omnino mihi normam esse volui, ut meras sordes erroresque librariorum abicerem, formas uero latinas sive vetustas sive recentiores sive vulgares et romanenses praeter tritissimas vilissimasque, quas ubi-*

que recoquere taedium esset, ne obsecurarem.' I confess I am not clear what his aim has been. Even a slight examination of this Thesaurus will show that it contains a number of copyists' errors which might, and I think should, have been removed. Amongst those that I have noticed are the following: '*Geomantia* qui de terra diuinant.' (Read *geomantici*, a form like *geometrici*). '*Palin* iteratum.' Read '*iterato*' or '*iterum*'. '*Offibebant* (uel *officiebant* ubi *offi*. Buech.) claudabant asseris (seris).' Read *offibulabant*. '*Perproclius* plus proclue' and '*Perproclius* plus procline (*l.-ue*)' are two glosses evidently of the same origin and should be combined. *perprocluius* would satisfy the indications, but we should probably strike out the *per* as a dittograph.

On the other hand it is not clear that in '*sic uoluere Parcae sic cogitauere fata*' '*cogitare*' should be emended. It may be a case for the note of admiration which is used for such entries as '*telluerunt*: genuerunt feruerunt (!),' the glossator having mistaken the form for a perfect. I do not know what there is wrong with '*crurarium* (!) σκελόδεσμον.' The word is just such a one as a comic dramatist might have invented. Prof. Goetz I am glad to see gives *u* only when he transcribes the glosses, though he writes *u* and *v* in his own Latin. This inconsistency is matched by his printing of words with initial *i*, *j* together, but those with initial *u*, *v* separately.

J. P. POSTGATE.

BURY'S '*GIBBON'S DECLINE AND FALL*.'

Gibbon's 'Decline and Fall of the Roman Empire.' Edited by J. B. BURY, MA., London, Methuen & Co.

MR. BURY has benefited the whole world of scholars by his new edition of Gibbon, whose history touches at some point or other the pursuits of every student of the past. The editor has set himself the task of shewing what fruit has been gathered by later explorers of the vast territory in which Gibbon laboured. If English scholars had been called on to vote for one man to address himself to this undertaking, the selection of Mr. Bury would probably have been made with unanimity. Introduction, notes and appendices are replete with information and criticisms, partly supplementing, partly amending, the text and notes of the original. As concerns all matters of the first importance, and many minor topics, the student can, by the aid of the editor's additions, at once set himself right about antiquated or incorrect opinions. Naturally, not all minutiae in respect of which Gibbon has erred or is defective, have been touched upon by Mr. Bury. To bring Gibbon face to face at all points with the learning of to-day would call for the labour of a great syndicate of scholars, and it may be questioned whether the toil would be repaid. We may safely say that the present editor has achieved more than any one else could have accomplished, single handed. The want of further help will be more felt by

the reader in those portions of the work which touch on the early history of Christianity than anywhere else. Perhaps a general survey of Mr. Bury's additions to Gibbon will deepen an impression which is common among students of the earlier part of his period, viz. that the decay of the Roman empire is still, in the main, unexplained.

The editor's Introduction is full of interest. In the days of youth and haste, it is easy and common to see in the rise and fall and change of historical judgments little more than mystifying permutations and combinations of data. Here the young scholar may read of real progress. There are of course in this able Introduction things to which exception may, and will be taken. For instance, I should dispute the judgment that in Tacitus, as opposed to Livy, 'brilliance of style and accuracy of statement' are not 'conspicuously divorced.' Perhaps, however, the word 'conspicuously' may be taken to save the statement. By Tacitus, of a surety, the divorce is more subtly veiled than by Livy. A doctrine not easy to understand is that the philosophy of history has for its function 'not to solve problems, but to transform them.' How are insoluble problems 'transformed'? Why trouble to transform them if their solution is not thereby advanced? The words to which I have taken exception occur in a passage where doubt is thrown on the possibility of attaching any definite ideas to the terms

'progress' and 'retrogression.' The passage would have been read with pleasure by Sextus Empiricus. Sceptics in all ages have traded on the difficulty of defining relative terms. The delusion, if it be a delusion, of a better and a worse in human affairs is as necessary to the existence of history as it is to the continuance of society. Another matter which has given me pause, is Mr. Bury's description of Gibbon's attitude towards the Church. First there is mention of 'scorn for the Church emphatically expressed,' which 'spiced his book.' Then we hear of 'his classical moderation of judgment' and 'his temperate mood' in dealing with Christianity and Mahometanism. Soon, Dean Milman is very severely condemned for charging Gibbon with having made 'a bold and disingenuous attack' on Christianity. The condemnation of Milman is phrased far too strongly if Gibbon really did spice his book with scorn for the Church. After many readings, I am unable to see that he is open to this charge. He can describe with eloquence, and even with something approaching to ardour, the great virtues that displayed themselves within the Church, and the failings of the Christian and the secular worlds fare pretty much alike under his hand. His love for derogatory anecdotes (particularly when they are indecent) drawn from all sources, is conspicuous; it may be that the savour of malice is stronger when these happen to relate to Christian leaders, but here the unfairness seems to end. That there was much in the early history of Christianity which he failed to see goes without saying. Before passing away from the Introduction, I would specially call attention to the [able discussion of the authorship of the 'Secret History' attributed to Procopius. Also to the clever removal (by a change in punctuation) of a real difficulty in the text of Gibbon, which the editor has been the first to discover. The correction (p. xliii.) is one that merits the epithet 'palmary.' And this is not the only place where emendations of the text, more or less important, have been found to be necessary.

There are one or two matters of convenience concerning which I will permit myself to express regret. The references to ancient authors have been to a great extent modernized and brought into accordance with the divisions in recent texts. It is a pity that this has not been carried out with entire completeness. Prentice hands might have done the work under the editor's direction. The same applies to the verification

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of quotations, and of inferences drawn from them. Much has been done, but not all. Occasionally, changes made are in themselves not quite right, as in Vol. i. p. 2, where Tacit. *Annal.* l. ii, (an error for l. 1) is altered to l. 11. Still, many thanks are due for the verifications which have been carried out.

In the subjects on which Mr. Bury has had to touch in his notes and appendices, there is great diversity, and in many of them great complexity. His accuracy of statement is, all things considered, quite remarkable. The tests I have been able to apply have revealed very few, and almost no important errors. I will indicate some amendments that are needed in the first volume. There is no proof that Caesar enlisted the Alaudæ in the year 55 B.C. (p. 9). In speaking of Epicurus, Gibbon quotes Diog. Laert. 10, 10, as evidence to shew his reverence for the gods. Mr. Bury thinks this a misunderstanding of the passage; but a reference to it and its context proves Gibbon's inference from it to have been correct (p. 31). The destruction of the temple of Isis and Serapis at Rome, mentioned by Valerius Maximus, 1, 3, is referred by Gibbon to the year 50 B.C., whereas Mr. Bury supposes that Valerius speaks of a 'first demolition' in 219 B.C. (p. 32). Marquardt rejected this date as impossibly early, and supposed the consul Aemilius who destroyed the temple to be the conqueror of Perseus, a view condemned by Preller, who accepts the same date as Gibbon. The erection of a shrine to Isis and Serapis at Rome in 219, or even in 168 B.C. seems incredible. The name Tarantus, given by Gibbon as a nickname of Caracalla, should be corrected after the better texts to Tarautas (p. 127). Although the story of the campaigns of Severus in Britain, as given by Dion Cassius, is to a large extent fabulous, there is nothing incredible in the assertion that 50,000 men were lost in operations of the utmost difficulty, spread over three years (p. 129). It should have been mentioned that Dion Cassius, who was well placed for forming an opinion, regarded the extension of taxation as the aim of Caracalla's famous enfranchising ordinance (p. 157). The statement on p. 189 that after the time of Solon the ratio of the Euboic to the Attic talent was about 4 to 3 does not appear to be quite in accord with the view of the best authorities on the subject. In Appendix 10 several restatements are desirable. It is doubtless true that 'the view that the name *princeps senatus* held its

ground until a few years ago, when it was exploded by Mr. Pelham,' but it is not quite all the truth. Mr. Pelham's article in the *Journal of Philology*, vol. 8 (the reference is not given by Mr. Bury), extended and reinforced the arguments of Mommsen. 'Augustus discharged the functions of censor repeatedly; not, however, under that name, but as *praefectus morum*' (p. 455). Dion Cassius and Suetonius do tell us that Augustus accepted the office of *praefectus morum*, and also that of *praefectus legum*; but it has been shewn on the evidence of the 'Monumentum Ancyranum' that they are wrong. 'Augustus at first intended to found the principate as a continuation of the proconsular imperium with the consulate.' The word *continuation* here is an awkward Latinism, and it does not even quite correspond in sense with the Latin *continuatio*. Is it altogether accurate to say that in 23 B.C. the princeps 'replaced the consular power by the tribunitian (rather *tribunician*) power which had been conferred on him for

life in 36 B.C.'? This would seem to imply that he rested content with the *tribunicia potestas* as bestowed in 36; but it was in some manner placed on a fresh basis in 23. 'After this (i.e. 23 B.C.) he filled the consulship only in those years in which he instituted a census.' But Augustus was not consul in the two years later than 23, during which he carried out the census, although, as he himself tells us, the *consulare imperium* was exercised by him for the purposes of the census.

The later portions of Mr. Bury's work are even more valuable to the student than the earlier, in proportion as the sources of information become less accessible. The appendices to the seven volumes present the results of immense study and research. They deal with about 150 separate heads. Information and opinions are not merely compiled, but critically weighed, by one who is himself a most distinguished investigator of the period of which he here treats.

J. S. REID.

REPORTS

PROCEEDINGS OF THE OXFORD PHILOLOGICAL SOCIETY.—MICHAELMAS TERM, 1901.

On Friday, October the 25th, the PROVOST OF ORIEL (the Vice-Chancellor) read a paper on 'The Homeric infinitives in *μεναι* and *μεν*, and on the forms *μυορε* and *μυίας*.' The views expressed in the paper have appeared in the appendices to his recently published edition of the *Odyssey*.

Mr. POUNTON, of University College, read a paper on 'Sir Henry Savile and his transcript of the *Opuscula* of Dionysius of Halicarnassus.' Sir H. Savile was the scribe of Bodl. Gr. Misc. xxxvi so far as it contains fragments of Dionysius of Halicarnassus. He copied the MSS. of Dudiith at Breslau in the spring of 1581: the annotations and conjectures are by his hand and are not derived from Sylburg. The transcript shows that much in the text of Dionysius Halicarnassus which is ascribed to Sylburg was really due to Andreas Dudiith.

On Friday, November the 1st, notes were read by Mr. H. RICHARDS, of Wadham College, on 'Plato's *Thaetetus*, p. 152 E and p. 175c': and by Professor COOK WILSON on 'Nik. *Ethics* vii, xiv, 2.' [p. 23 sup.]

On Friday, November the 8th, the Society met to discuss certain recent theories on the Mycenaean question: the discussion, which was opened by Professor GARDNER, and carried on by Messrs. MYRES, G. C. RICHARDS, MACAN, and FARNELL, turned mainly on the question of the origins of Mycenaean culture, its connections with the North, with Egypt, and with the East, and on the possibility of the 'Mycenaean' period in Crete being coincident with the Hellenic.

On Friday, November the 15th, a paper was read by Mr. J. A. SMITH, of Balliol College, on the 'Classification of Greek Verbal Forms.' The paper was in effect a plea in favour of recognizing as a basis of syntactical discussion of Greek idiom the principle now fully established by Comparative Philology that no attempt was made in the Indo-Germanic verb system to indicate time. All suggestion of time-notation should, it was contended, be eliminated from our syntactical terminology. Such suggestion as is now contained in terms like 'tense,' 'present,' 'future,' originates from and perpetuates a misconception of the primary meaning of so-called 'temporal' and 'modal' forms. The separation between 'temporal' and 'modal' forms is itself in principle erroneous. Syntactical analysis should start with the principle that all variation of form in the verbal system had for its main purpose to signify different 'aspects' (to use a term of Slavonic grammar) of the general meaning of the verbal stem. Such 'aspects' are, e.g., momentariness, continuance, repetition, inception, &c. The only indubitable mark of time is the Augment, which is of late origin.

Starting thus we should avoid the necessity of explaining many constructions (as is frequently done at present) by the supposition of rhetorical artifice ('historic present,' 'gnomic aorist,' &c.), and should also possess the clue to the occurrence of different stems within the same verbal system (e.g. *δράω*, *ἵπνωρα*, *ἰδένω*). The consequences of this general principle have been partly worked out by Delbrück and Herbig, and have proved so enlightening that

the old syntactical analysis and the terminology which embodies it should be almost entirely abandoned.

On Thursday, November the 21st, notes were read by Mr. SOLOMON, of Balliol College, on the following passages and phrases: Plat. *Rep.* 520A *ἐν τῷ καθάρῳ*; 529B *συμμεμικώς*; 587E *καταπεφορηκός*; on Arist. *Ethics*, Book iv, the meaning of the terms *μεγαλο-*

πρέπεια and *μεγαλοψυχία*; vi, xi, 4 *αὕτη δ' ἐστὶ νοῦς*; vii, iv, 5 *Σάτυρος*; ix, iv, 4 *γενόμενος δ' ἄλλος κ.τ.λ.*; x, ii, 5 *τῶν μηδετέρων δὲ κ.τ.λ.*

The paper promised by Mr. A. J. EVANS for November the 29th, on 'New Discoveries and some Preliminary Analyses of the Knossian Linear Script,' was unavoidably postponed.

LEWIS R. FARNELL,
Hon. Sec.

THE YALE BICENTENARY ODE.

ΥΜΝΟΣ ΑΝΔΡΩΝ

ΤΩΙ ΕΝ ΝΕΠΙ ΛΙΜΕΝΙ ΠΑΝΕΠΙΣΤΗΜΙΩΙ
ΕΠΙ ΤΕΤΕΛΕΣΜΕΝΗΙ
ΤΗΙ ΔΕΥΤΕΡΑΙ ΕΚΑΤΟΝΤΑΕΤΗΡΙΔΙ

Μητρί φίλῃ τεχνῶν τέχνης ἀνέθηκεν ἀπαρχὴν
μνημόσυνόν γ' ἀποδοῦς εὖ μάλα πολλὰ παθὼν

THOMAS DWIGHT GOODSELL

στρ. α'

Οὐτιδανὸν μὲν καὶ βραχὺν ἀνθρώποισι βιον
Μοῖραί γ' ἐπέκλωσαν
ἂν δ' ἔργοισι καλοῖς σοφίᾳ θ' αὐτόν τις
ὑπέρτερον αὐτοῦ ἴηλη,
μῖμνει τοι Διὸς βουλᾷ τὸ καλὸν τ' ἐς ἔπειτα
καὶ αὐτὸς ὁ τεύξας
οὐ τέθνακε θανών. τὸν Ἀθάνας γὰρ φάτις ἐστίν
φαίδιμον οἶκον
κόσμον ἄριστον ἐπὶ ζῶντα φορέειν ἔτι γαῖαν
εὖ δ' ἐφύτευσεν ἑλαῖαν, ἄβρὸν Ἀθάνας θαλλόν,
ἐν πεδίῳ ποτ' ἄγροικος, μικρὸν ἐόνθ' ἀπαλόν τε,
οἷδ' αὐτὸς μὲν ἔμελλεν ἰδεῖν ἄρα καρποφοροῦσαν
τανῦν δὲ θάλλει περιτελλομένης ὥραις γενεᾶς
μέτα πολλάς,
εὐφραίνει δὲ κέαρ τε βροτῶν ἔθνη τ' ὀρνίθων
τῶν φύλλοισι μινυρομένων ὑπο γλαυκοῖς.

ἀντ. α'

Τοῖσι δ' ὁμοίως κείνος ἀποίκων βαιὸς ὄμιλος
τῷδ' ἐνὶ χώρῳ,
ἔνθ' ὄρμος ποθέουσι φάνη καινός, μύχου ἐντὸς
ἀλὸς βαθυκόλπου,
κρηπίδας καλῶν ἔργων ἐβάλοντο σοφάς
ἐνόουν γὰρ ἰδρύσσει
καλλίστοισι μαθήμασιν ἔδραν, ἐσσομένην
λαῶ ποτ' ὕνασιν,
κόσμον ἀκήρατον ἄστει καὶ μέγ' ἀμείνονα πύρ-
γῳ,
κτῆμα δὲ τοῖς ἀστυῖσι σωτήριον, ἔξοχον ὄλβου,—
μικροπολῖται ἔσαν τὰ δὲ μῆδεα γ' αὖ μεγάβου-
λοι,—
οἷδ' αὐτοῖς μὲν ἔμελλον ἰδεῖν μελιαδέα καρπὸν
τανῦν δὲ θάλλει γενεᾶς μέτα πολλὰς ἀμπελος
ἂν ἐφύτευσεν,
ἤξῃσεν δὲ θεὸς μύλα πολλόν· τοιγὰρ σεμνὰν
ἕμνοις εὐφροσύναισι τ' ἄγωμεν ἑορτὰν.

στρ. β'

Παλλάδος τόδ' ἄλσος ἱερὸν, ἂν πατὴρ
ἔзоx' ἄζεται, ξὺν αὐτᾷ δὲ μῆδετα παρέδ-
ρῷ φίλᾳ τὰ παντελῇ
ἀσμένα δ' ἄσμεναι κάσεις ξυνο-
κοῦσι Μοῦσαι τε καὶ
Χάριτες εὐφίλῳι
αἶδε γὰρ τρέφουσι κάλλιστα κού-
ρους ὁμορροθοῦσαι.

ἀντ. β'.

Εὖ δ' ἐὰν σέβῃ τις ἀδάματον σέβας
τῶνδ' ἀπ' οὐρανοῦ τέκνων, τοῦτον ἀσφαλῶς ὀδη-
γεί νόος τ' ἔρως θ' ἀγνός,
καρδίαν δ' εὐδία χαρὰ τ' ἰαί-
νουσιν· Αἰάτα δ', ὅς
κατεφρόνησ' Ἀθάνας,
βλάψεν αὖ τ' ἄνοια καὶ φθειρέ τοι
νῆλεϊς ἀνάγκα.

στρ. γ'.

Τοῦ δ' εὖ φρονεῖν καὶ πόλει τί λῴϊον;
πρὸσω μολεῖν δ' ἐς εὖ ζῆν ἴσον πέλει
ὅσον περ ἔν τ' ἐπιστήμα πλέον ζῶαν ἄγειν
κάλλει τε ποικίλῳ κατ' ἅμαρ αἰεῖ.
τοιαῦτα νόμιμα δὴ τίει
ἔργοισιν ἅ κοιροτρόφος
μάτηρ φίλα· τὴς τὸ πρὶν γὰρ δρέπουσα σοφίας
ἄωτον χαρίζεται κοινὸν ἐσθλὸν ἔμμεναι,
ἦβαν δ' ἀτάλλει φρενῶν ὀπώρας.

ἀντ. γ'.

Καὶ μὰν σοφῶν ἀφνεός, φθονεῖ δὲ ποῦ;
νοήματ' ἐξερευνᾷ τὰ θεία, καὶ
οὕτω φανέντ', ἐν ἔργοισιν δὲ κρυπτὰ δαιδάλοις,
ἐξήνρε δὴ ξὺν τῷ θεῷ, τύθεν τοι
πόλλ' ὠφέλησε καὶ καλά.
εὐεργετὴν γὰρ ἔμφυτον
νόσων φνυγὸς ὤπασεν, καὶ ῥυθμοὺς θεοδότους
διδάσκει τεχνῶν βροτῶν, καρτεράν τ' ἔριν βίον,
καὶ τὰς χθονὸς τ' οὐρανοῦ τ' ἀνάγκας.

στρ. δ'.

Ἀλλας δ' ἐτι καλλινάους κρήνας σοφίας ἀνέφωχεν,
τὰν Διὸς ἁρμονίαν ζητοῦσα φαίνειν·

ἀλλὰ τίς ἂν ποτ' ὀνάσεις τὰς ἀπ' αὐτὰς καὶ
λέγοι;
παντᾷ δ' ἀλαθείας φάος ἄγνὸν ἐρευνᾷ,
λάμπειν ἐν σκιαῖς
φαιδρὸν ἄλιον βροτοῖς.
καὶ θυγατρὲς δ' ἐστίας ταύτας ἀπο πῦρ ἔλαβον,
τηλεπόμοις δὲ στεφάνοισιν ἑπαῖνον
νῦν κλέουσιν τὰν φαεινὰν μητέρα.

ἀντ. δ'.

Καὶ μὲν ἔμολον πρὸς ἑορτὰν καὶ ξένοι ἄλλοθεν
ἄλλοι
πρόφρονες, οἱ μετὰ τῶν αὐτοῦ τραφέντων,
ὠκεανὸν ῥόον εἴτ' εἰρὴν πέρασαν, εἴτε που
ταύτας παρ' ἀπείρου μεγάλας, κελαδοῦσιν
δεσποίνας κλέος,
ὄμμα πατρίδος φίλας.
λαμπάδων δ' αἶγλαν ἐγείρουσιν φρένα τερπόμενοι
ἐσπέρας κούροι, τέμενος δ' ὑπ' αἰοιδᾶν
φέγγεται καὺλῶν τε καὶ χορδᾶν μέλει.

ἐπωδός.

Μᾶτερ ὦ κλεινὰ θεῶν γ' ἑρατεινὰν
ἐκ πάλαι θάσσοις¹ ἔδραν,
ἄγχι θαλάσσας ἂν φιλοῦσιν
ἀέλιός τ' ἀνέμων τε βία,
οὐδ' ἐκὰς δισσᾶν πετρᾶν ἡφαιστοτεύκταν,
ἐνθ' ὑπ' ἐυδένδροισι βάσσαισιν δροσεραῖ
παγαὶ θέρει ψῦχος πνέουσιν,
χαῖρε ταῖς εὐφαμίαις.
ὥς δ' αἶδε φηγοί, χάρμα Διός,
πολλὰς ἑκατοντῆδας ὥρᾶν
αἰὲν ἀκμαῖαι πρέπουσιν,
φυλλάδ' ἄμειβουσαι κατ' ἔτος χλωρὰν
βαφᾷ φοινικέᾳ,
ὥς καὶ σὺ θάλλοις ἐκπρεπῆς παίδων
ἀρεταῖς τροφίμω,
καὶ θεὸς πατρὸς ξυνήγῃ, πότνιά, σοὶ διὰ παντός,
εὖ δ' αἰεὶ διδοίῃ.

It has been suggested that, as the metrical scheme of the Hymn does not closely follow any one ancient model, readers may desire some explanation of its structure.

No complete ὕμνος for an occasion corresponding in any degree to such a celebration has survived; we therefore do not know what freedom was allowed, what restrictions were observed, as regards metrical form. The nearest analogy in extant Greek verse,

in sentiment and general character, is on the whole to be found in the choral odes of the drama. These were sung by participants in the action, at a great public festival. They were fundamentally religious; they often celebrated the great deeds of individuals, but their basis was much broader than that of Pindar's *epinikia*. This Hymn was intended to express the sentiments and reflections of past and present members of Yale University at their public festival. It was conceived as sung by members of the University. The writer desired to make it possible to set it to music which should be pleasing to a modern audience, yet sufficiently in the antique spirit to satisfy the scholar's feeling of what is appropriate to an ancient Hymn. It was of the essence of ancient music that the words were sung by a single voice or in unison; the modern ear demands a rich harmony. It was proposed therefore that the voice part should in the main be solo or in unison, and should follow the rhythm of the words, the element of harmony being furnished by the orchestra. Hence considerable metrical variety was needed, and also a certain degree of return at the close to the structure of the opening lines.

The parodos of the Agamemnon supplied a general model for the first three pairs of strophes, and the more distinctly festal tone suggested the dactylo-epitritic form of the closing triad. The writer's colleague, Professor Horatio Parker, well-known in England as in America for his *Hora Novissima* and other compositions, was able to adhere to this metrical scheme pretty closely—with far greater fidelity to the ancient spirit than any other well-known composer has thought possible—and yet has produced a noble composition, with a distinctly antique flavour, but no less satisfying to the audience than to the author of the words.¹

Perhaps the following notes are needed. In the first strophe readers will probably recognize Emerson's

Earth proudly wears the Parthenon,
As the best gem upon her zone.

In the first antistrophe is an allusion to the coat of arms of Connecticut (the subject of one of the painted windows in Battell Chapel), which contains three vines with the motto *Qui transulit sustinet*. For the epode it should be added that two cliffs of trap, East Rock and West Rock, included in the two largest city parks, are conspicuous features of the New Haven landscape; and that oaks (*quercus alba*, *coccinea*, *rubra*, and others) with their rich autumnal foliage, are abundant all around the city, and one scarlet oak is prominent on the college grounds.

T. D. G.

¹ The musical edition, piano and vocal score, with Greek and English words, is published by G. Schirmer, New York.

ARCHAEOLOGY.

RIDGEWAY'S *EARLY AGE OF GREECE*.

The Early Age of Greece. By WILLIAM RIDGEWAY, M.A. Cambridge, 1901. Vol. i., 8vo., pp. xvi. 684, with 154 illustrations. 21s.

PROFESSOR RIDGEWAY'S book has been expected for long, and will be widely read. It represents years of research, the main outlines of which have been foreshadowed from time to time in separate articles and lectures: it bears on every page the impress

of a vivid and suggestive treatment; and it presents a comprehensive theory of the Homeric Age, which, whatever defects it may be shown hereafter to betray, cannot be ignored by any student of Greek or indeed of European civilisation; and for many will be the stimulus to useful work in that wide field.

At the same time, there are aspects of the book which to many will seem obvious and avoidable defects. At this time of day a book on the 'Early Age of Greece' which, while it claims the Pelasgian aborigines of the Aegean as a Greek-speaking folk, ignores the great questions which are provoked by the Aegean Bronze Age, and begins its story with the irruption of the Homeric 'Achaeans,' can hardly be said to justify its title; for it deals in fact mainly with the single problem, 'Whence came the Achaeans?' And even so, the present instalment of 684 pages deals solely with the evidence of race, language, and material remains: proofs from institutions and religious beliefs (other than those which determine the disposal of the dead) being left for a second volume, which, if planned on the same scale, should be but little smaller than the first.

Even within these self-imposed limits, again, the book is a disappointment in more ways than one. Encyclopaedic as it is, and of more than Herodotean digressiveness, it omits more than one explanatory section which, considering the standpoint of the author, would have been wholly relevant. In particular, there is no clear account of the peculiar canons of evidence which the treatment of the literary date presupposed throughout; no chapter, complementary to that on the 'round shield,' to describe the genesis of those *offensive* weapons which form so important a link in the discussion of the Homeric evidence; no serious refutation of what many students regard as a most brilliant attempt to correlate texts and finds, the Reichelian interpretation of Homeric armour; no discussion of the current hypothesis of the growth of the Homeric poems as we have them; or of Prof. Bury's suggestive view of the connection between the names 'Ἀχαιοί' and 'Εἰαλην, J.H.S. xv.; and no treatment of what, on the author's hypothesis, is the most inexplicable problem of all;—how the copious Homeric imagery, and the graphic descriptions of masterpieces of decorative art, are to be reconciled with the utter poverty, in these very particulars, of the period which follows the downfall of the Mycenaean

régime. Professor Ridgeway equates the Achaeans of literature more than once with the representatives of the Dipylon period in art: is then the 'shield of Achilles' to be interpreted in terms of the bronzes of Olympia and of the vases of the Kerameikos? Or, if the armour of *Il.* xvii., like the palace of Menelaos in *Od.* iv. (p. 110), is to be regarded as a Mycenaean souvenir, what becomes of the argument that Mycenaean metal-work is unknown to the Homeric poet?

Less vital to the main thesis of the book, but still frequent and grave enough to be a real obstacle to study, are the untidy arrangement, and the want of concentration, which distract the reader from page to page; the frequent repetitions, and needless quotation-at-length of well-known passages, *e.g.* Thuc. i. 5 (on p. 85); and also, though the author professes to proceed only on the 'strictest method possible,' the frequent neglect to distinguish between arguments which are logically convincing, and considerations which establish at best a *prima facie* probability. Sheer logical fallacies and contradictions-in-terms are unduly abundant: for the first, see p. 307 (the italics are mine):—'To use *metal* so lavishly on the spear, indicates that people are abundantly supplied with it, and thus once more we get an unexpected confirmation of our doctrine that the Homeric life represents the fully developed *Iron Age*'; or p. 444, where an argument as to the Iron Age is based upon an implement of bronze. For the second, see p. 4, 'anhydrite limestone': and p. 5, 'the space to be treated is laid off into two *equal* parts: the upper and *larger* compartment is filled in with a spiral decoration,' etc.: the latter statement, by the way, not being true of all cases; see Schliemann, *Mycenae*, fig. 141.

In a book of this compass it is hardly fair to dwell too much upon minor inaccuracies, of which we have noticed a number,¹

¹ *E.g.* Abusis for Abusir p. 55; Inwallich for Sowallich p. 611; Andulasia p. 374; ἀλόντι for ἀλέντι p. 615 n; Villano p. 606 and Vilano p. 449, for Villanova; Lelegese p. 213; Gillan for Gillen p. 537; Lidenschmidt for Lindenschmidt p. 456; Loesche for Loeschke p. 16 and throughout; Wedgewood for Wedgwood p. 77; Hample for Hampel, p. 241. On pp. 5-6 a misplaced comma makes nonsense; p. 10 for 'grasshoppers' read 'cicadas'; p. 9 fig. 3-5 for 'buttons' read 'discs' as in the text; p. 52 fig. 28 for 'bronze read 'stone,' (cf. *Journ. Anthr. Inst.* xxvii Pl. xi. cf. p. 172, whence the figure is taken without acknowledgment; p. 25 'Proto-Corinthian' work is described as *preceding* 'Mycenaean'; p. 22 the bronze warrior from Tiryns is not 'naked'; p. 47 if the *swastika* on the leaden

and it is perhaps inevitable that individual sections should become antiquated before publication. But hardly sufficient acquaintance is shown with literature of two or three years back.¹

It would be easy to catalogue shortcomings in detail: but it is not so easy to estimate the contribution to knowledge which is effected by a book of this encyclopaedic sort; and it is impossible within the compass of a review to do more than summarize the thesis, which Prof. Ridgeway claims to have established; and to indicate briefly in each case, with but the briefest references to the evidence, what sections of it may be regarded as marking a real advance in our knowledge, and what is the strength or weakness of the reasoning.

The argument may be summarised in the following chain of propositions:—

(1) *The 'Mycenaean' civilisation is essentially indigenous to the Aegean; and its chief centres are round its western gulfs.* The

figure from Troy is quoted at all, reference should be made also to Hoernes' *Urgesch. d. Kunst.* p. 178, 344, or to v. d. Steinen *Prähistorische Zeichen* p. 7, n. 3; p. 171 the Argo in Od. xii. 69–70 does not pass 'Skylia and Charybdis,' but the Planktai; p. 198 Cyprus is not 'in the Aegean'; p. 206 the Cyprian Salamis is not the 'modern Larnaka'; p. 16 the statement that 'linear ornament, especially spirals, is found also in Cyprus, Phoenicia, Assyria, Thera, and Sicily' is utterly misleading; on p. 207 comes a similar misleading phrase about rosettes in Cyprus; p. 435, the helmet from Glasinatz is described as 'furnished with an *αὐλός*,' but the figure on p. 434 shows that its crown is missing altogether, and no proof is given that it is not, as Truhelka says, a Greek helmet of a common classical type: p. 365 what 'Aegean figurines' are known from the Baltic coast? the figurines published by Mr. Evans are of local manufacture; p. 172 as to Pelasgians at Larissa, the reference to *Il.* ii. 237, and the inference from *ματῆρας* are both wrong; the line is *Il.* ii. 841: the tense is the same as in *Il.* 824, 828–835, 853: in 853 should Prof. Ridgeway argue, from the tense, that the Paphlagonians had been recently expelled from the head of the Adriatic?

¹ *E.g.* p. 65, no reference to the discussion of the Khatana pottery, *J.H.S.* xvii 145 ff; p. 66, ('now generally recognized as Libyan'), to de Morgan's *Origines de l'Égypte*, 1896, and subsequent controversies: p. 118, to Belger's criticism of Tsountas' tumulus-theory, *Jahrb.* 1895. 114; p. 147 it is surely needless, in 1901, to discuss the Aegean theory of Montelius; p. 206, on the date-marks at Kurion, there is no reference to Petrie, *Trans. Roy. Soc. Lit.* 1897, 73 ff; most strange of all, the statements as to Hallstatt are all from von Sacken's book, published in 1868, three years before Schliemann's first campaign at Troy; there is not a single reference to the works of Hoernes, Undset, Worsaae, or Sophus Müller, in regard to the antiquities of Central Europe; and in matters of chronology the views expressed in Montelius' *Civilisation Primitive en Italie* are adopted without qualification: *e.g.* p. 606 'archeologists are agreed' that iron was introduced into Italy about 1000 B.C.

survey in Chapter I. of the distribution of Mycenaean remains is fairly complete, though meagre for Crete (p. 58) and Cyprus (p. 64); exaggerated for the Troad, p. 68; and both exaggerated and deficient for Italy and the west. No reference is given for the Mycenaean vases in Spain, pp. 70–73; and the finds of Cycladic vases in Sicily, in South Italy, and at Massilia are ignored; no clear distinction is drawn between Aegean imports, native imitations, and aboriginal fabrics, which have nothing to do with the matter; the bucchero vase from Falerii, Fig. 37, belongs to an orientalising school of quite post-Mycenaean date; and Fig. 36 to a Gaulish group under strong transalpine influences! In the Aegean itself there is no clear statement of the succession of styles (see especially p. 67 ff.); and this leads to a very weak point in the argument; for Professor Ridgeway quite underestimates the contrast, as regards the Greek mainland, between the rare remains of pre- and proto-Mycenaean civilisation and the great culminating outburst in the civilisation of Mycenae itself. As it is only in the islands and in Crete that the adolescence of Mycenaean civilisation can be traced in at all a continuous series, it is probable that the statement that it originates on the mainland must be modified; that the centre of *origin*, indeed, must be placed in the Cyclades and in Crete; and that some secondary cause must be sought for the subsequent transference of the centre of gravity from the islands (which, except Crete, which is really also the southern mainland of the Aegean, disappear from view in late Mycenaean and in Homeric times), to the Argolic, Saronic, Euboean, and Pagasaeon mainland. To the present writer, indeed, it has long seemed probable, for a variety of reasons, that this cause was something of the nature of a political and economic crisis; and that the sudden advent of copious tin (which Professor Ridgeway notes, but leaves unexplained, p. 74), of copious gold, of new and improved weapons (double axe, long-sword, and socketed spear, whose prototypes are not to be found in the Aegean area); of a new type of architecture (the Mycenaean palace); and of a new type of chamber-burial (the *θόλος*-tomb, which Professor Ridgeway treats, without proof, as a derivative of the proto-Mycenaean cist grave, p. 71–74) indicate just such an intrusion from the north-west, in the early middle of the Bronze Age, as Professor Ridgeway has made so probable at the point where bronze gives place to iron. Prof. Ridgeway himself, indeed, comes to the verge

of the same discovery in his parenthetic discussions of the source of the Aegean's knowledge of true bronze (pp. 50, 630), and of socketed implements (p. 608); while he seems to admit it without question in the case of Italy (p. 239). Yet it is only by ignoring all this series of data that he is enabled to follow Tsountas and Manatt to the conclusion that everything 'pre-Achaean' must be indigenous to the Aegean.

At the lower end of the Bronze Age, and at the beginning of the Iron Age, the situation becomes more complicated, and a number of transitional forms occur; but surely with the evidence from the Attic Salamis before him, Professor Ridgeway is hardly justified in describing the necropolis of Tschangli as of 'Dipylon,' i.e., full-blown geometrical character (pp. 192, 206): it is at all events in the same transitional category as the sub-Mycenaean tombs from Assarlik.

A good point is made (p. 78) as to the probable limits of date for the Mycenaean Age, by a new argument from the relative values of gold and silver; but too much tenderness is shown to the British Museum's heresy about date marks of the twenty-sixth dynasty.

(2) *The Aegean aborigines are of the dark-haired, long-headed race, which predominated there in classical times, and predominates now. Though repeatedly conquered by foreign immigrants, it has invariably absorbed its conquerors; and in Attica and Arcadia tradition records no such conquest at all.* The hypothesis of an aboriginal 'Mediterranean race' has been rapidly growing in probability and is generally accepted now. In regard to Spain and Italy it presents few difficulties; but in the Aegean the case is complicated by the existence in the Balkan highland on one side, and on the Anatolian plateau on the other, of a short-headed though likewise dark-haired type, which has left clear traces in modern Crete and Lycia, and seems to be the eastward counterpart of the brachycephalic 'Alpine' type. This 'Alpine' type Prof. Ridgeway admits for Liguria and the base of the Italic peninsula (p. 370) and also for the Balkan highland (pp. 351-441); but he ignores it in his analysis of the pre-Achaean population of the Aegean. Yet clearly this factor, whether indigenous, or intrusive from whatever quarter, must be recognised and discounted somehow, before everything pre-Achaean can be attributed to the Mediterranean *dolichocephali*: and the only Mycenaean portrait which has been recovered seems to Mr. Evans, who knows

Albania well, to reproduce the 'high brachycephalic head' of the Alpine-Anatolian type, rather than the long-headedness of Prof. Ridgeway's pre-Achaean (*Monthly Review*, March 1901, p. 124-5, fig. 6). Mr. Evans adds that this short-headed type survives in the Cretan highlands; and this I can confirm from independent observation in the west of the island.

(3) *This Mediterranean Race originated Mycenaean civilisation.* This should follow from (1) and (2); for if Mycenaean civilisation be indigenous, it must have been the work of the indigenes. But we have now two weak points in the argument: a possibility of non-Aegean origin for some elements of Mycenaean civilisation, such as the socketed spear (p. 608) and the long bronze sword (Evans, *Journ. Anthr. Inst.* xxx. 218); and also a possibility that one element in the melanochrous population may also be non-Aegean. It thus appears that though in essentials Prof. Ridgeway may very likely be right, he has assumed, rather than proved his proposition; and this is the weak point in his case against Montelius, who argues an Anatolian origin for things Mycenaean. But against other non-Aegean claimants, whether Phoenician or Gothic, and also against a Karian origin (in the sense that Mycenaean civilisation originated in *Karia*), his summary of the evidence is sound; though hardly any longer necessary in 1901. Note, however, that his method, as formulated on p. 92, is that of agreement merely; that his 'three tests' are insufficient, and in part inapplicable; and that in regard to the literary evidence his conclusions will be fallacious if there is any weak point in proposition (4).

(4) *It is this melanochrous dolichocephalic stock which was known to the Greeks by the name 'Pelasgian.'* This, if I may say so, is the *πρωτον κῆμα* of Prof. Ridgeway's book. Some of us learned, when we were young, that as the denotation of a term is increased, its connotation decreases; and the connotation of a term which denotes not only all the survivals of *Homo mediterraneus* in Greece and the Aegean islands, but also in the Troad (p. 179 ff.), in *Karia* (p. 184 ff.), in *Libya* (p. 207 ff.), in *Cyprus* (p. 205 ff.), in *Libya* and *Egypt* (p. 214 ff.), in *Cyrene* (p. 230-1)—not to mention *Sicily*, *Italy*, and *Sardinia*, and the oldest populations (p. 353) of *Thrace* and *Illyria*—must necessarily be of the vaguest. Nor is the evidence, in some cases, more substantial. Epapnos, the 'swarthy' son of *Io*, for example (p. 219), came down the Nile into Egypt, from the

country of the blacks, ten generations before the Trojan war *i.e.* about 1600 B.C.; so, about the same time, did King Sequenen Ra III., to judge from the 'swarthy' looks of his mummy (p. 220). The offspring (*not* 'swarthy') of a white cow was worshipped in Egypt under the name of Apis (p. 217); and there was a town called Apis, inhabited by Libyans (*ib.*). Danaos, grandson of Libye and of Epaphos, came from Egypt to Greece about 1400 B.C. (rather long generations! p. 220); and about 1400 B.C. Mycenaean vases went from Greece to Egypt. *Voilà tout!* Really, is there not also some connection between the 'false-necked' vases of Mycenae, and the false-bottomed vases of the 'swarthy' Danaides, Aesch. *Suppl.* 278 (p. 284)?

(5) *The language of the Pelasgians, though unintelligible to Greeks, was not on that account non-Aryan, or even non-Hellenic. Greek, in fact, is the aboriginal language of the Aegean.* It is a distinct gain, whether we accept Prof. Ridgeway's conclusions or not, to have the argument clearly formulated once more, that the fact that Greeks of the fifth century, or of the Homeric Age, called people *βάρβαροι* or *βαρβαρόφωνοι*, does not prove that those peoples did *not* speak an Aryan language, or even a remote dialect of Greek. But at the same time it is very far from proving that they *did*; and here too, Prof. Ridgeway seems rather to have formulated an ingenious and most suggestive hypothesis, than to have established the fact that either the 'Pelasgians,' who survived to the fifth century in the Hellespontine and Thracian areas, or the aborigines of Karia (p. 194) and Crete 'talked Greek' in any intelligible sense of that phrase. If they did, and if the Pelasgian race extended over the wide area which Prof. Ridgeway describes, we ought to be able to read into Greek those monuments of 'Pelasgian' *i.e.* pre-Hellenic speech which are preserved in Lemnos, in Karia and Lycia, and at Praesos in Eastern Crete. Further still, if the Tyrrhenians of Etruria are conquerors of a previous Pelasgian race derivative from the Aegean, p. 231 (if not themselves emigrants from Pelasgian Lydia); and if conquerors pick up the language of the conquered, p. 647; and if the Pelasgians of Etruria *were* Pelasgians, *i.e.* talked Greek, then Etruscan also, on Prof. Ridgeway's theory, ought to work out like Karian and Lycian (p. 195) as a dialect of Greek, which is notoriously not the case.¹ Quite apart from this absence of

proof, moreover, it is confusion worse confounded, if the very term which, as used by Greeks, definitely meant *non-Greek-speaking*, is to be revived and perverted so as to denote the original proprietors of Greek speech in the Aegean. If the term Pelasgian is inapplicable in the sense which it bears in Greek literature, surely it would have been better to drop it altogether, than to revive it in a sense so diametrically opposite.

In fact Prof. Ridgeway seems to have failed to see that in linguistics as in ethnology, there is a *tertium quid* in the Aegean basin, and particularly on its eastern margin, of which account must be taken in classifying its 'pre-Achaean' inhabitants.

(6) *Homeric civilisation is not that of the Mycenaean Age, but of the early Iron Age.* Here is the *δευτερον κῆμα*; and follows, according to Prof. Ridgeway, from a number of considerations—some new, some old arguments—restated. (a) Mycenaean civilisation is in the Bronze Age; whereas in Homer, *χαλκός* is conventionally used to describe weapons which were actually of iron. Is this, however, really a tenable theory? Prof. Ridgeway makes a comparison with Beowulf; but the weapons of the Saxons in Beowulf are not described line after line as being made of bronze. (b) Mycenaean swords are simply overgrown daggers, good only for thrusting: the Homeric sword is a true sword, and can deliver a cut as well as a thrust. This is true in the main; but ignores the fact that from the shaft-graves onwards there are two types of swords in the Mycenaean world, one an exaggerated dagger riveted into the front end of the hilt; the other with a flat flanged tang running the whole length of the hilt, and covered on either face by ornamental grip-plates riveted on. This sword, though still of bronze, can deal a very effective cut, and as the Mycenaeans had no armour for body or head, the danger of breaking or bending the sword on a cuirass or helmet did not arise. This type is probably of northern origin; and is carried over into the early Iron Age as a regular type, alongside of the spike-tanged sword of Prof. Ridgeway's northerners; than which, in the same metal, it is actually a good deal stronger. (c)

favour of the view that Karian and Lycian are akin to Greek. Kretschmer's conclusion in the passage cited (*Einleitung*, p. 376 *sqq.* Ridgeway, p. 195 n.) is exactly the reverse;—"dass das Karische so wenig wie das Lykische ein indogermanisches Idiom sein kann" (p. 383, cf. p. 375).

¹ It is perhaps worth noting that on p. 195n Prof. Ridgeway appears to adduce Kretschmer in

Mycenaean warriors wear a leathern body shield, leathern helmets, and soft shin-pads or gaiters: Homer's Achaeans wear round parrying shields of bronze, with a central boss, bronze helmets and greaves. But though it may be admitted that Reichel's analysis of Homeric armour fails to explain some Homeric combats, and that some of his conclusions must be revised in the light of fuller knowledge, both of the later Mycenaean Age (e.g. Evans, *Journ. Anthr. Inst.* xxx., and the posthumous second edition of Reichel) and of phases of the Trojan saga antecedent to the *Iliad* as we have it (e.g. Monro, *Odyssey*, xiii.—xxiv. p. 289, esp. 484), yet to assert that when Homer calls shields *ῥῆτε πύργον, ἀμφιβρότη, ἐπταβόειον*, he means shields which are circular, nearly flat, and made of bronze, seems to carry exaggeration to the other extreme. To call Reichel a 'Procrustes' (p. 317) because he points out that the fencing in certain passages is impracticable in the received text of the *Iliad*, but becomes practicable and consistent with usage if certain would-be explanatory lines are omitted, does not relieve Prof. Ridgeway from the necessity of explaining how such passages came into existence, if the poet did not know of Mycenaean armour at all. Many of the passages on which Prof. Ridgeway relies refer to details which are consistent both with Mycenaean and with proto-hoplite armament, and are consequently irrelevant; on several important issues he omits to face and account for data which do not fit his theory; and on p. 320 he is reduced to admit that at Mycenae at all events Mycenaean armour did continue in use down to the time of the Trojan War, if not even to the time of Homer.

Minor points are (1) the assumption, totally unwarranted, that no Mycenaean shield was circular: whereas the whole *raison d'être* of the 8-shield is that its prototype was so wide across that it had to be buckled inwards in order to free the wearer's arms; (2) the fact that Prof. Ridgeway's own figures 99, 100 show that some northern shields were not round, so that his generalisation is defective on this side also; (3) the assumption that even the round shield in the north is as old as Mycenaean times: which breaks down unless Prof. Ridgeway can prove his chronology of the finds at Hallstatt and Glasinatz (see below), which he has omitted to do: (4) the omission to refute Reichel's argument from the Dipylon and proto-Attic helmets, which, if sound, would bring a direct descendant of the Mycenaean helmet

right into the early Iron Age; (5) the omission to quote any example of bronze greaves of the early Iron Age in Greece: see Evans, *J.A.I.* xxx. 214. (6) The central boss is an essential feature of the northern round shield; but Prof. Ridgeway is wrong (and his figure 60 shows it) in saying that the parrying shields on the Warrior Vase, and Warrior Stele have anything of the kind; he also fails to show that, though admittedly late Mycenaean, they are in any sense *post-Mycenaean*; for he has already equated the arrival of the Achaeans with the arrival of the Dipylon style (p. 138) to which these vases are a quite early prelude. (7) On the other side of the same Warrior Vase (fig. 59) there is a type of shield which (whatever it may represent) is at any rate not circular, but has about one quarter of its margin *concave* instead of convex: so that here at least, just as in Homer, we have two distinct types of shield co-existent in pre-Achaean *i.e.* pre-Dipylon time.

It is, however, only in his Homeric views that Prof. Ridgeway has gone astray as to the shield. His summary of the genesis of the round shield, apart from the absolute chronology, is a valuable piece of work, and it is a pity he has not seen his way to do the same for the helmet, the sword, and the spear, for these would have gone far to modify his view. One cannot wrest antiquities from their context, any more than literary passages.

(d) Mycenaean corpses are buried, and receive blood offerings through a trench by or in the grave: the Homeric dead and all their gear are cremated. On this point the whole question of Inhumation *versus* Cremation is raised in a separate, learned, and on the whole convincing chapter; only, it does not prove that the Homeric Achaeans were the first or the only cremationists in the Aegean.

(e) Mycenaean folk wore scanty, close-fitting garments; Homer's Achaeans wear χίτων and χλαῖνα fastened by περόναι (πορπαί: *fibulae*). The chapter on Brooches is admirable; one of the best things in the book; but again there are weaknesses in the argument; for (1) *Odysseus'* χίτων fits 'like an onion-peel,' and so is of Prof. Ridgeway's Mycenaean type; cf. the epithet *σιγαλοῖς*: (2) some Mycenaeans *did* wear cloaks which required fastenings, e.g. Tsountas-Manatt fig. 67, Perrot-Chipiez, vi. fig. 428¹⁵, 431¹, Pl. xvi. 16; (3) fibulae of very early types occur, as Prof. Ridgeway has to admit, in true though late Mycenaean tombs: (4) *περόνη* in *Il.* v. 424, whatever it was, was

not a *safety-pin*, and (5) the verb *περονάω* is used of transfixion, which implies a straight guardless weapon, like the old Aegean and Cypriote dress-pins: and this type both went on in Argolis and Boeotia after the conquests, and occurs in the north, at all periods, alongside the *fibulae*. The *fibula* then, being of pre-Dipylon date, is pre-Achaean in the Aegean; while the Achaeans had the straight pin before they came south at all.

(f) The Mycenaean seals used engraved amulet-seals, practised the art of painting, and had four-spoked chariot wheels. Homer has no mention of engraved gems or of paintings, and the chariot of Hera has eight-spoked wheels. The argument *ex silentio* has little force in dealing with a fragmentary literature of war and adventure mainly; only once is there need to seal anything in Homer, and then Odysseus has already suffered shipwreck. *Ἐνώτια παμφανούοντα* can hardly mean monochrome. The four-spoked wheel survived into the fifth century, and also is the rule during the 'Achaean' Dipylon period (Perrot-Chipiez, vii. fig. 42, 98). The eight-spoked wheel is in fact a very natural development from the other, and both forms occur equally north of the Alps (Hoernes *Urgeschichte der Kunst*, Pl. xxx. (eight) xiv. 8, xxxiii. (four); Schliemann *Ilios* p. 565. The real line of demarcation is between the four-spoked wheel of the Aegean, and the six-spoked wheel of Assyria, Egypt, and Mycenaean Cyprus.

Now for the *πρῶτον κύμα* of Prof. Ridgeway's argument.

(7) *The Homeric Achaeans, being fair-haired, must represent a recent invasion of 'Celts' from the xanthochrous area of Central Europe.* Note that Prof. Ridgeway uses 'Celtic' throughout in the vague sense familiar from classical usage (p. 370 ff.). Any big fair-haired person who comes south is for him a 'Celt'; e.g. Scandinavians (p. 370), Germans, in Caesar's time (p. 393), and Umbrians (p. 452), just as any dark-haired southerner is for him a 'Pelagian.'

So long as this antiquated terminology is borne in mind, Prof. Ridgeway's thesis is practically accepted already: for as there are no fair-haired indigenes in Mediterranean Europe, all fair-haired peoples in Greece must be immigrants. It is only when Prof. Ridgeway goes on later to make inferences from 'Celtic' speech and civilisation, that the ambiguity of the term 'Celt' becomes a snare, and the question arises whether 'Celtic' in this or that passage means Gallic or Teutonic or what.

Apart from this fundamental objection to the resuscitation of the term 'Celt,' the chapter 'Whence came the Achaeans?' is the most suggestive, as it is also the most important, in the book.

From the beginning of historic time the Mediterranean peoples have been trying, and failing, to close the passes of the Alpine barrier against the persistent pressure from the north; and there is every probability that what can be traced historically in the Galatian, Kimmerian, and Thrako-Phrygian immigrations and in the Gaulish invasions of Italy and Spain, and has been commonly accepted in the case of the Thessalo-Dorian movement, occurred also in the case of the 'fair-haired Achaeans'; and that this Achaean migration is to be correlated with the Thrako-Phrygian crisis in the Hellenistic area, is also very probable. What Prof. Ridgeway does not attempt to prove is that the Achaean raid was the *first* of these crises: and unless this was so, a large part of his argument as to Pelagian and pre-Achaean times must fall.

(8) *It was this Achaean invasion which introduced iron and its concomitants into the Aegean, from a former home in Noricum.* This account of the genesis of the European and Mediterranean Iron expands a thesis first put forward by Prof. Ridgeway in 1896 (*Proc. Brit. Ass. (Liverpool)* p. 930), that the first iron workings in this area were along the north face of the Alps, in the district whence the Romans derived later their knowledge of the *Noricus ensis*; that the first iron to be worked was a telluric iron from a basaltic rock like that of Sövallick in Greenland; and that it was only when this telluric iron was totally exhausted that recourse was had to iron ores and to smelting. This view met with vigorous criticism from the first, chiefly on the ground that it was unsupported by evidence; but Prof. Ridgeway has persisted, and in its elaborated shape the defects of his theory are more conspicuous than ever. For (1) he propounds the strange idea that the Alps (p. 601), the Caucasus (p. 602), and other mountain chains, are of 'volcanic' origin; (2) he assumes *either* that there are, in Noricum, great basalts with telluric iron like those of Greenland (which is not true); *or* that, in exhausting the telluric iron, the primitive Celt has used up also the worthless basalt in which it lay (which is inconceivable); (3) even assuming, (what is in itself not improbable), that the early Trans-Alpine iron-smelters, with their chimney-furnaces, represent an

independent tradition from that of the Levantine iron-smelters with their chimneyless 'open hearths,' he produces no evidence for regarding the Hallstatt civilisation as independent of, or prior to, the Mycenaean; and ignores the convergent lines of evidence which have led Mr. Arthur Evans (Rhind Lectures, *Scotsman*, 19 Dec. 1895), and others, to regard it as sub-Mycenaean.

Similar criticisms beset, as we have seen, the parallel arguments as to the genesis of sword, shield, and fibula, as soon as it becomes a question of interpreting Homeric evidence, and of fitting in the Achaean Age at the close of the Mycenaean period; and in any case two further difficulties remain. If the Homeric poems, as Prof. Ridgeway holds, represent a wholly, or even mainly iron-age civilisation, and if, therefore, the introduction of iron and of geometrical art is to be attributed to the Achaean invasion instead of to the Thessalo-Dorian crisis as heretofore, what is left as to the material symptom of the latter movement? True, Prof. Ridgeway leaves, as we shall see, only four generations' interval between the two invasions; but he repeatedly contrasts their character and effects, and expressly attributes the art-style of the Dipylon to the Achaeans (p. 138); regardless alike of his belief that there was no Achaean domination in Attica, and of the fact that there are (1) no graves in the Dipylon graves or on Dipylon men; (2) no representations of them in Greek Art at all, between the latter part of the Mycenaean age and the early-Attic style; (3) no reasons except Prof. Ridgeway's theory for making the bronze greaves and helmets of Hallstatt and Glasinatz ancestral to those of early Greece.

On the other hand, if for the sake of the late Mycenaean graves, or for any other reason, the upper limit of the Achaean Age is thrown backwards beyond the point at which geometrical art is introduced, what becomes of the argument that the Achaeans introduced iron? The Achaean conquest may as well go back at once (and with it the core, at least, of Homeric poems) to the period of that previous crisis (noted above) which brings into the Aegean the tin-bronze, the copious gold, and the *θόλος*-tomb.

(9) *The Achaean conquest took place about four generations before the Dorian invasion, and about two before the Trojan War.* This noteworthy conclusion results from the hypothesis that in Greek legend, and particularly in Greek genealogy, we have a trustworthy clue to a perspective, if not to a chronology,

of prehistoric ages in the Aegean. Recent investigation has shown in several independent examples, *e.g.* the kings of Uganda (p. 127) and the natives of Torres Straits (Rivers, *J.A.I.* xxx. p. 81-2), that, whatever a half-civilised people may *not* know about its history, it is peculiarly tenacious of the facts relating to its personal ancestry. Now the Greeks had the same obvious reasons as others for being careful of their pedigrees; and Homeric Achaeans are actually described as transmitting them (*Il.* vii 128). It follows that if we can only get uncontaminated family trees, they ought to give us valuable synchronisms, if not a rough dead-reckoning in generations of men: and both the strength and the weakness of this method have been illustrated, in the case of Egypt, by Mr. Torr's *Memphis and Mycenae*. But can we rely on the genealogies which we have? The majority of them are only preserved in late compilations; almost all the versions have passed through the rationalistic melting-pot of the sixth century, and most of them through that of the fourth century encyclopaedists as well. Moreover the majority of the indubitably *human* genealogies stop short, like those of the Spartan kings and of Hekataios, at the very point where their interest for the present inquiry begins: and for those which go back into the Heroic Age, the data are often inconsistent, or self-contradictory (*e.g.* p. 117). If Prof. Ridgeway had confined himself to Homeric data, he would have minimised the risk of misunderstanding; but when he treats selected statements of Pausanias and the lexicographers as equally sound material with Homeric data, or even with fifth century sources, he must expect to be accused of a perilously uncritical procedure. True, he defends his method on the intelligible ground that a statement of Pausanias *may* come direct from a lost epic source, or from a local legend which has escaped contamination (though he brings no proof of this tempting guess); and he adduces Niebuhr himself in support of the view that genealogy properly studied may yield historical results. But the 'wise words' of Niebuhr which he quotes on pp. 89-90 are to the effect that he 'does not pretend to make out anything else than Strabo, for instance, if he set what he knew distinctly before his own mind, might have given as the result'; and if Prof. Ridgeway had confined himself to that, critical considerations would not come in. What he *has* done, on the other hand, is to assume that anything, which Strabo was prepared to believe, is

credible for us here and now; and that is a very different matter; and is itself a hypothesis which needs much fuller discussion and illustration than it receives *e.g.* on pp. 127 ff., p. 150 (Attic genealogies) or p. 182 (temple-tradition).

At the same time, even discounting the masses of later evidence with which Prof. Ridgeway has loaded his pages, enough seems to remain from Homeric sources alone, to justify his main contention: (1) that the genealogies give us an era for the coming of the Achaeans into Greece, about two generations before the Trojan War (p. 97), and consequently about four generations before the Dorian Invasion, *i.e.* the point at which Dorian pedigrees begin; (2) that at the time of the return of Odysseus, this Achaean conquest was not yet complete (*e.g.* the convincing explanation, on p. 111, of *Odyssey* iv. 176); and (3) that its course was roughly analogous to that of the Thrako-Phrygian movement into N.W. Anatolia, which helps to explain the participation of the 'Phrygian' Pelops in the Achaean invasion of Peloponnese. Note, by the way, that the same date exactly tallies with that for the movement of the Phaeacians ἐξ Ἰσθμοῦ into Phaeacia, *Od.* vi. 4-8; though Prof. Ridgeway is convinced that the Phoenicians cannot be Achaeans proper.

The conjecture, therefore, that the Homeric genealogies are authentic after all (p. 110 cf. *Il.* vii. 128), throws a new light on a mass of material for history, which has long been laid aside as worthless; and it is in the highest degree suggestive of fresh lines of study. But it would be well if Prof. Ridgeway could find room in his second volume for some outline of the canons of authenticity, on which he relies in the treatment of the later sources. The scattered defences of his method, up and down Ch. III., leave many objections unresolved.

(10) *The 'Celtic' Achaean invaders learnt Hellenic speech from the conquered 'Pelagian' aborigines.* This results directly from proposition (7), and is maintained by considerations suggested by the grouping of the Hellenic dialects. The occurrence of an 'Aeolic' dialect in Arcadia, where no Achaean conquest can be traced, and in Cyprus where the Achaean conquest was late and partial, suggests that the 'Aeolic' of Thessaly was the dialect neither of the Thessalian invaders of post-Homeric times (whom Prof. Ridgeway regards as Illyrians), nor of the Achaean conquerors, but of the

pre-Achaean 'Pelasgians.' A wide induction from analogous cases establishes a strong probability that a less numerous body of invaders intermarrying with indigenous women, loses its own language, and adopts that of the more numerous indigenes. The inference is that the Achaeans learnt a dialect of Aeolic after their entry into Greece; and adopted, along with the pre-Achaean palaces (p. 110), pre-Achaean bards to sing their exploits; and the analogies between the Homeric dialect, (which for Prof. Ridgeway, as for Dr. Leaf, is the court language of these Hellenized, or rather Pelasgianized, Achaeans), with the purer dialects of Arcadia and Cyprus, confirm the presumption that it is an old variety of the same group. Now the labialism which, when it appears in Latin, is put down to loans from those peoples in Italy—the Umbrians and Sabellians—who show the clearest affinity with the labializing 'Celts' of Central Europe, appears also in Homeric Greek, in Thessalian Aeolic, and in the dialects of those parts of Peloponnese which tradition places under Achaean domination; it is present to some extent in the dialect of Attica, which though unconquered by the Achaeans was in contact with Achaean dominions on both its land frontiers; and Ionic alone, the dialect of the pre-Achaean refugees, escapes the contagion altogether. The inference from this is, according to Prof. Ridgeway, that Hellenic labialism is due to 'Celtic' corruption similar to that which can be traced in Italy; and confirms on the linguistic side the presumption, which he derives from tradition, archaeology, and ethnology, that the Achaeans were a band of marauding 'Celts' from Central Europe.

The argument as to the prepotency of the language of the conquered is indeed not new, and its validity is weakened by the great opposite example of Semitic speech, and especially of Arabic. The conjecture as to the cause of labialism in Greek is ingenious and highly suggestive; but Prof. Ridgeway has not seen fit to support it by more than the merest outline of the evidence, either in the Aegean dialects themselves, or in the analogous instances of Italy and the 'Celtic' languages of Central Europe. And in the one instance in which he does come down to details, in the discussion of ἱππος on p. 673, we come once more upon the same defect in his reasoning which we have had always to notice before, that he fails to go far enough back into the pre-Achaean world, or to face the full facts of Mycenaean archaeology.

He tells us that the horse is 'much more the animal of the chariot-driving Achaeans, than of the Pelasgians of Attica and Arcadia and the island peoples of the Aegean, whose chariots were swift ships.' But he shows a curious oblivion of the fact that, seafarers as the 'Pelasgians' (*i.e.* Mycenaean folk) must needs have been, their monuments at all events show fully ten chariot scenes for one in which boats of any kind occur; while it is in the 'Dipylon' art of the landlubber Achaeans that we first get a copious representation of seafaring scenes. And surely, if the genealogies and personal names are to be of any value at all, some notice should be taken of the fact that horse-names like Hippocoon, Hippodameia, Hippolochus, Hippolyte, Hippolytos, Hippomedon, Hipponoos, Hippotes, Hippothoon, belonging to the pre-Achaean stratum of tradition, indicate at least as great an enthusiasm for horses among the pre-Achaean folk, as among the men of the Achaean aristocracy; and, at the same time, a group of 'labialisms' in pre-Achaean proper names which needs some explanation.

As a corollary to his Celtic theory of the Achaeans, in fact, Prof. Ridgeway's attempt to 'evaluate π ' is an appropriate conclusion to this volume; but it cannot be said that his treatment of it as a contribution to philology is at all adequate to its importance if it were true; and it seems rather a pity to fling out a good conjecture of this kind without marshalling the evidence in an intelligible shape, or really testing it upon the data which it is called in to explain.

Two incidental points, though equally immature in the form in which they appear here, have even so a distinct suggestiveness. One is the criticism of Brugmann's version of the accepted view that the pure *a* of Attica is a backward change from the Ionic η ; the other is the interpretation of the so-called 'Doric' words in Attic tragedy, and the Doric conventions of the choric songs, as survivals of an older phase of the Attic dialect.

(11) Finally, as a corollary of the view that Greek is Pelasgian, comes the statement that *with the Homeric dialect the Achaeans adopted the Homeric hexameter and Homeric literary style*. Hexameter verse cannot be traced north of the Alps, or in early Italy, (in spite of 'Pelasgian' colonisation!) nor even so far west as Dodona, which, unlike Delphi, 'seems always to have delivered her oracles in prose'

(p. 667).¹ It must therefore be regarded as indigenous in the Aegean. Its complexity and facility give all the impression that it is the product of a long development in a high civilisation; and the epic style which goes with it tells the same tale (p. 666). Hexametric Epic therefore, is a pre-Achaean, *i.e.* Pelasgian, *i.e.* Mycenaean invention; and was adopted, like the language, the bards, and the palaces, by the rude 'Celtic' invaders. Nay more, 'into the *Iliad* and *Odyssey* were woven many a fragment of tales shaped cunningly by nameless bards to be the memorials of the worthies of a long-vanished past' (p. 642), and the *δοῖδός* of *Od.* iii. is argued (p. 664) to have been a pre-Achaean (*i.e.* Mycenaean) poet taken over into the service of the Achaean Agamemnon.

How then, in the name of all consistency, can Prof. Ridgeway maintain any longer that ground-theory of his book, that the Epic as we have it knows nothing of Mycenaean civilisation, but is the product exclusively of the early Iron Age? How, singing before conquerors who were still learning the language, could Mycenaean bards, with their ears full of the echoes of their own ancient literature, conceivably fail to incorporate in their new lays about the Hellespontine wars of the Achaean hegemony and the westward wanderings of Achaean adventurers, terms and phrases and whole passages descriptive of Mycenaean palaces, Mycenaean dress, and above all, of Mycenaean warfare and weapons?

We gratefully acknowledge, in fact, in Prof. Ridgeway's book, suggestive and stimulating passages innumerable, and a sheaf of brilliant hypotheses which do more than any recent contribution to throw light on the tangled period of the Northern Migration. But we cannot fairly say that he has argued out his own case; and I venture to think that he has contributed to the Homeric Question in one or two ways which he did not quite intend.

J. L. MYRES.

[For the convenience of the reader who desires to estimate as fairly as possible the debated issues in an important and complicated subject, the review of Mr. Myres is, with his assent, immediately followed by a reply from Prof. Ridgeway. A rejoinder from Mr. Myres closes the controversy.

ED. C.R.]

¹ Of this last point, again no proof. The so-called oracular inscriptions at Dodona are not responses, but *questions*.

THE first duty of a man is to acknowledge his errors. I therefore thank Mr. Myres for calling attention to various typographical mistakes, and to one or two slips of my own pen, such as those which he points out on pp. 69 and 70. At the same time I cannot admit as mistakes several of the typical instances cited by him. Thus he objects to my quoting at length certain passages such as Thuc. I, 5. As the Pelasgians had been laughed almost out of existence, it was necessary to place before the reader what authorities like Thucydides and Herodotus had to say about them. More than one of my reviewers has expressed his surprise at the great body of literary evidence for their existence which scholars habitually ignore. I therefore notice with satisfaction that several of my old opponents are very angry at being confronted with this mass of weighty evidence, and their anger shows that I was right in citing the passages in full.

Mr. Myres charges me with 'frequent neglect to distinguish between arguments which are logically convincing, and considerations which establish at best a *prima facie* probability'; but, as he does not produce a single example of this, I cannot meet it. As I shall show that Mr. Myres makes many unfounded charges, where I have the opportunity of testing them, there is no reason to suppose that he is less reckless when indulging in generalities about my book.

Next he avers that 'sheer logical fallacies and contradictions in terms are unduly abundant.' Of this he gives two examples, (1) 'to use *metal* so lavishly,' etc. Any one who turns to my page will find, that as the context both before and after the words cited refers solely to iron, there can be no question as to what is meant by *metal*: (2) he is not more happy in citing p. 444, 'where an argument as to the Iron Age is based upon an implement of bronze,' for my argument is based on the *type* not on the *metal* of the axe referred to. He does not challenge my statement that it is of the Hallstatt *type*. As I can thus confute his charges when he gives me an opportunity of meeting him, the reader will see that his vague statements not supported by examples are to be viewed with extreme scepticism.

To meet in detail the trivial points raised in his footnotes would take up too much space. I shall here only notice two, as they refer to my personal honour. He says that I have taken Fig. 28 from the *Jour. Anthr. Inst.* 'without acknowledgement.'

This is so, and I regret that I overlooked the omission in my footnote. But as a figure taken from the same paper by Mr. Myres is referred to in the fullest terms on p. 444, and as Fig. 28 has not been disguised by the removal of the section drawing, it is clear that there was no desire on my part to appropriate Fig. 28 without due acknowledgement. The oversight arose from the fact that no reference to Fig. 28 is made in my text, my reference numbers being placed in the text and not attached to the figures. Mr. Myres had the less reason for representing me as one who uses other men's material without acknowledgement, inasmuch as I told him that I was making use of his paper, and have also in my preface given him special thanks for letting me see some proofs in advance.

(2) As regards the alleged misrepresentation of Kretschmer on p. 195, I reply that there I cite Kretschmer in my footnote as my authority for the facts adduced, just as also in footnote on p. 124 I cite him as my authority for an inscription at Krya. On the other hand, when I claim Kretschmer as holding a view favourable to my own, I cite him not in a footnote, but by name in my text (p. 352). So far am I from claiming Kretschmer as a supporter on the question of Carian and Lycian, that I have in my second volume a polemic against that scholar's conclusions on that very point.

Mr. Myres indicts me for not giving in a book, which he censures for containing much unnecessary matter, a complete account of the whole Homeric question. As I maintain the substantial unity of both the Iliad and the Odyssey, there was no reason for me to load my pages with such a summary of the various hypotheses as is prefixed to every school edition of Homer. When Mr. Myres reaches that part of my book where I treat of the Homeric question, he does not venture to challenge even my contention that the Catalogue is a substantial part of the Iliad. Again, though Mr. Myres speaks airily about my not having given 'a clear account of the peculiar canons of evidence which the treatment of the literary data presupposed throughout,' yet when he has to face my arguments in chapter ii. he admits not only my contentions as regards the value of tradition as shown by the genealogies (see below), but even accepts as correct the chronology which I base upon them. He censures me for not devoting a separate chapter to discussing the offensive weapons, yet he accepts my conclusions as regards the early copper

weapons of the Aegean, the origin of the bronze weapons of the full Mycenaean period, and does not venture to deny that the long iron swords found at Kavusi in Crete, and which differ from anything hitherto reported from Greece, belong beyond doubt to the culture of Hallstatt and Glasinatz. He says that 'there is no serious refutation' of Reichel's hypothesis, yet he does not venture to dispute a single one of my arguments against Reichel respecting the shield, the *thorax*, the helmet, and the greaves. Lower down it will be seen that my arguments have been completely confirmed by discoveries in Cyprus published too late for me to use. Mr. Myres will find in my Vol. ii. full consideration of Prof. Bury's brilliant view respecting 'Ἀχαιὸς and Ἑλλήν. Finally he says that 'there is no treatment of what on the author's hypothesis is the most inexplicable problem of all; how the copious Homeric imagery, and the graphic descriptions of masterpieces of decorative art, are to be reconciled with the utter poverty in these very particulars, of the period which follows the downfall of the Mycenaean régime.' This is Mr. Myres' first attempt to attribute to me views the very converse of those repeatedly expressed in my book, but it is very far from being his last. Mr. Myres asks how I would interpret the shield of Achilles, as if I had entirely passed it over. I have given a full explanation of it (pp. 473-4), which, as he does not even venture to cavil at it, must have thoroughly satisfied him.

He says, 'what becomes of the argument that Mycenaean metal work is unknown to the poet?' Whose argument? It is certainly not mine, for, as the reader will see below, the very converse is the main principle of my book. But it will also be seen, that had not Mr. Myres made this and similar groundless assumptions, he would not have been able to make even a show of criticising my main propositions.

He finds fault with me because I do not give a complete bibliography of the archaeology of every region with which I had to deal. As this ranges from India to Ireland and from Egypt to Scandinavia, he would certainly have had some grounds for his further charge that I have put in much needless matter. But he does not base any attack on any part of my argument on the grounds that I have overlooked some relevant matter contained in any of the books which he enumerates. But he is not even accurate in his facts. He says that I do not refer to Undset. Yet on p. 571 I state

and refute Undset's theory of the origin of the fibula. He says that 'most strange of all, the statements as to Hallstatt are all from Von Sacken's book.' This again is not correct, for on pp. 415, 423, 426, I cite Bertrand and Reinach. Of course I used Von Sacken principally, for it is the original account of the excavations at Hallstatt, and all subsequent accounts must be based on it, just as Schliemann's book must always be the authority for the excavations at Mycenae. Again, he is equally regardless of fact when he asserts that 'in matters of chronology the views expressed in Montelius' *Civilisation Primitive en Italie* are adopted without qualification.' Now Montelius' chronology entirely depends on the fibulae. But in my chapter on the Brooch (characterised as 'admirable' by Mr. Myres) p. 560, I say:

Montelius dates the earliest Italian fibulae from the fifteenth century B.C. on the ground that 'he thinks it is proved by the presence of fibulae of this type in Greek tombs contemporary with the Egyptian Amenophis III.,' assuming that the few fibulae found in the lower town of Mycenae, where also a scarab of Amenophis III. was found, must be contemporary with that king.

This assumption I dispute (p. 572). I remark that—

'Since it has already been pointed out (p. 76) that the evidence of isolated scarabs, except for fixing a superior limit, is but of small value even for dating objects found in the tomb with them, it is most unsafe to base any chronological argument on such data.'

Again (pp. 559-560) I say:

As Amenophis III. falls into the fifteenth century B.C., Montelius places the oldest Italian fibulae at that date. He divides into five periods the time between these fibulae and those found in Etruscan tombs with Greek pottery of the fifth century, B.C. "If all these five periods have had almost the same duration, it is evident," says Montelius, "that each period represents 150-200 years, which gives approximately the age of each class of brooches; but if we know the age of the different kinds of brooches, we can fix the date of each find which contains fibulae."

On this I remark that—

'To assume five periods of even roughly similar duration seems rash. The value therefore of the fibula as a chronological criterion must be frankly discounted, no matter how reluctant we may feel.'

Montelius' effort to date the beginnings of the fibula in central Europe by reference to those found in the lower town of Mycenae assumes that the fibula was invented in Greece, and passed up to central Europe. But, as I have proved, and it is admitted by Mr. Myres that the converse was the case, it

follows that the fibula may have been in use in central Europe for many generations before any stray specimens reached Mycenae.

In the face of all this Mr. Myres ventures to say that I have adopted Montelius' chronology without qualification.

I now take up his examination of my main positions.

(1) Mr. Myres thinks that 'as it is only in the islands and Crete that the adolescence of Mycenaean civilisation can be traced in at all a continuous series, it is probable that the statement that it originates on the mainland must be modified.'

I never made any such statement. Here are my words :

‘From this it would appear that, whilst the same primitive culture was spread over the whole of the Mediterranean and even central Europe, on the other hand only in the Aegean basin did this primitive culture burst into its full artistic development’ (p. 74).

Again I say :

‘Within this Aegean area then must lie the *focus* or *foci* from whence the Mycenaean culture was diffused’ (p. 74).

Again :

‘The evidence so far clearly indicates that the grand step in development was taken neither on the coast of Asia Minor, nor in the islands, but on the mainland of Greece’ (p. 75).

He admits my thesis that it originated in the Aegean area. He also admits that its chief *foci* were on the mainland, for what else is the meaning of his phrase about ‘the transference of the centre of gravity from the islands to the Argolic, Saronic, Euboean, and Pagasean mainland’? Are the ‘remains of pre- and proto-Mycenaean civilisation’ as rare on the mainland as Mr. Myres would have it? He forgets that in Attica of late years such remains have been found in considerable quantity.

It is very rash to assume that there are no more traces of pre-Mycenaean culture to be found on the mainland than those already known, especially in view of the fact that an important neolithic settlement has lately been discovered near the previously known beehive tomb of Dimini near Volo (Bosanquet, *J.H.S.* 1901, pp. 342–3). I have just learned from Mr. Bosanquet that Dr. Tsountas has now explored another neolithic settlement in the same locality one hour away from Dimini, where there is the same abundance of hand-made pottery associated with stone axes, etc. The fresh facts are with me and against Mr. Myres.

I also say (p. 292) :

‘We are thus gradually reduced to find the *focus* of the Mycenaean grand style on the mainland of Greece. Such advancement in the arts is dependent on wealth and security... But in the rich plain of Argos, in the fertile alluvium of Copais in Boeotia, and in the rich grass-lands of Thessaly, etc., there was all that could bring wealth, if not security. It is highly probable that the development of the Aegean culture was due to the fact that the race learned early to build great walls, etc.’

But Mr. Myres cannot see why the people of little and not very fertile islands could not make the same advancements in the arts as their brethren who lived in the most fertile portions of the mainland. He therefore thinks that ‘the transference of the centre of gravity from the islands to the mainland was due to a political and economic crisis,’ and ‘that the sudden advent of copious tin (which Prof. Ridgeway notes, but leaves unexplained p. 74), of copious gold, of new and improved weapons (double axe, long sword, and socketed spear, whose prototypes are not to be found in the Aegean area), of a new type of architecture, (the Mycenaean palace), and of a new type of chamber burial (the *θόλος* tomb), which Professor Ridgeway treats without proof as a derivative of the proto-Mycenaean cist grave (pp. 71–4) indicate just such an intrusion from the north-west in the early middle of the Bronze Age, as Professor Ridgeway has made so probable at the point where bronze gives place to iron. Professor Ridgeway himself comes to the verge of the same discovery in his parenthetic discussion of the source of the Aegean’s knowledge of true bronze (pp. 50, 630), and of socketed implements (p. 608); while he seems to admit it without question in the case of Italy (p. 239).’ Before dealing with Mr. Myres’ ‘discovery’ let us examine his facts. First as to tin. I am glad to find that Mr. Myres accepts my theory that true bronze originated not in any of the countries of the Mediterranean, from whence it made its way into upper Europe, as has been held up to the present by all. Any one would gather from Mr. Myres’ review that my doctrine was not new. Yet Mr. Coffey in the current number of *Hermathena* speaks of my view of the origin of bronze as ‘so revolutionary that we must wait some time before we can feel that we have the true perspective of the questions involved.’ The reason for Mr. Myres’ reticence on this point will become clear lower down. He says that I do not explain how tin could reach Mycenae. This

is not correct. On p. 630—I say with reference to this very point that

‘The legends of Perseus and Heracles point to intercourse in the Bronze Age between Greece and Central Europe. It would seem that towards the close of the Bronze Age and before the Achaean conquest, swords and socketed spears had made their way from Central Europe into Greece and the Aegean rather than from Greece into Central Europe, as commonly held.’

Mr. Myres assumes that bronze wares could not reach Greece without a conquest, omitting all mention of the great trade routes (pp. 75, 365–7), and he also knows that down to the appearance of my book everybody (himself included) held that bronze swords and bronze vessels had passed up into central Europe by trade routes, without ever thinking it necessary to postulate that there must have been a conquest of central Europe by a folk from the Aegean.

Mr. Myres thinks that ‘the centre of origin must be placed in the Cyclades and in Crete,’ but he does not face my arguments to show that ‘the full growth of the Mycenaean art in Crete is to be ascribed to influences coming from continental Greece’ (p. 202), confirmed by Mr. Evans’ discoveries (cited in same place), and further confirmed by the fact that Mr. Bosanquet’s excavations at Praesus, a chief town of the Eteocretans, have shown that that place was not a cradle of the full Mycenaean culture.

Now for Mr. Myres’ ‘discovery,’ i.e., that the development of Mycenaean culture on the mainland of Greece was due to the incoming of a people from the north-west. This supposed people is credited with bringing a new type of architecture (the Mycenaean palace), a new type of chamber burial (the *tholos* tomb), ‘double axe, long sword, and socketed spear, whose prototypes are not to be found in the Aegean area.’ Mr. Myres’ discovery is an *ignis fatuus*, which has led him into a quagmire. If his supposed people brought the Mycenaean palace and the Mycenaean *tholos* tomb from the region round the head of the Adriatic, they must have developed their tastes in architecture and tomb-building for a considerable time in that area, and consequently remains similar to those of Mycenaean Greece ought to be found there. Moreover, if they were the authors of the Mycenaean grand style, pottery of the Mycenaean fabric, and types such as the false-necked vase, and decorated in the Mycenaean style with marine plants and animals ought also to be found in the countries at the head of the Adriatic. Mr.

Myres cannot produce a single shred of evidence for his hypothesis. If it were true, copious remains similar to those of the full Mycenaean culture ought to be found in the countries at the head of the Adriatic and in northern Italy, for Mr. Myres holds that his supposed folk belong to the same stock as the people of the middle Bronze Age in upper Italy, i.e., the Umbrians. Moreover, cremation is commonly found in all this area in the Bronze Age, and was universal among the Umbrians. Yet Mr. Myres’ people who are supposed to come from this region, and to be closely connected with the Umbrians must have abandoned their own peculiar manner of disposing of their dead, which means their own doctrine of the soul after death, on reaching their supposed new home in Greece. Contrast this series of hopeless discrepancies between the culture of the Adriatic region and that of the Bronze Age of Mycenae with the identity found to exist between the culture of the same region and that of the Homeric Achaeans, whom Mr. Myres admits to have come thence.

These are some of the difficulties which Mr. Myres has to clear away. Again, his statements as regards bronze implements show similar inaccuracy. He speaks of the bronze double axe as having no prototype in the Aegean. I figure (p. 51) a small bipennis of copper from Chios.

Now for another inaccurate statement. He asserts that I do not explain the derivation of the *tholos* tomb from the cist grave. I say (p. 71) that the graves range

‘from the small rock-hewn pits found in Aegina, Attica, etc., in which the dead were placed in a sitting posture and occasionally inurned in large *pitthoi* as at Thoricus and Amorgus, through more elaborate rock-hewn sepulchres, such as those at Nauplia, to the fully developed shaft-graves of the Acropolis at Mycenae, and finally passing into the great beehive tomb with the *dromos*, sometimes all being hewn out of the rock, but more frequently built of large blocks of stone as at Mycenae,’ &c. . . . ‘There is no line of demarcation between any of these varieties of tombs, for they shade off into each other. Thus at Orchomenus we have one of the noblest examples of the beehive tombs as seen in the great dome chamber, and at the same time the second smaller chamber of the main tomb is in construction a shaft-grave, sunk from the top and not cut from the side of the domed chamber.’

I have now disposed of Mr. Myres’ discovery, the only basis of which was my doctrine that bronze was invented in central Europe.

(2) He admits my general statement that the Aegean aborigines are of the dark-haired, long-headed race, which dwelt there in

classical times, and still predominates there, but he says that the case is complicated by the existence in the Balkan highlands on one side, and on the Anatolian plateau on the other of a *shortheaded*, though likewise dark-haired type, which has left clear traces in *modern* Crete and Lycia (the italics are mine), and seem to be the eastward counterpart of the brachycephalic 'Alpine type.' But the only evidence that Mr. Myres can adduce for the existence of such people in *ancient* times in Greece is that some short-headed people are found in *modern* Crete and Lycia, and the circumstance that Mr. Evans fancies he sees a resemblance between a youth in fresco at Cnossus and the Albanians. Mr. Myres cannot cite a single well-authenticated skull against Ripley's statement cited by me (p. 79) that—

'The testimony of these ancient Greek crania is perfectly harmonious. All authorities agree that the ancient Hellenes were decidedly longheaded.'

Lower down Mr. Myres starts a *tertium quid* in language as he has done in race in the Aegean basin. His quiddities get him into great trouble, for whilst he identifies his supposed broad-skulled *tertium quid* with the Alpine-Anatolian race, he finds his linguistic *tertium quid* on the eastern margin of the Aegean. But this linguistic (non-Aryan) *tertium quid* on the eastern side ought to correspond to the supposed ethnological broad-skulled Alpine Anatolian *tertium quid*. But this stock, commonly known as Armenoid, is held by Evans (*Rep. Brit. Ass.*, 1896, p. 911) and others to have existed in Lycia, and other eastern parts of Asia Minor, prior to the Semites. But there is no evidence whatever that either Albanian or Armenian ever spoke anything except an Aryan tongue. The non-Aryan tongues on the eastern side of the Mediterranean were spoken not by a broad-skulled stock, but by men of the dolichocephalic Mediterranean type. Thus Mr. Myres' ethnological *tertium quid* does not fit on to his linguistic *tertium quid*, and his attempt to weaken my position collapses.

There can be now no doubt that the full Mycenaean culture grew up in the Aegean, and that it was the creation of the indigenous dolichocephalic melanochrous race.

(3) Mr. Myres says that my 'three tests are insufficient and inapplicable,' but carefully refrains from showing how this is.

(4) Mr. Myres represents me as saying (1) that 'this Mediterranean race originated Mycenaean civilisation,' and (2) that 'it is this melanochrous dolichocephalic stock which

was known to the Greeks by the name Pelasgian.' Both statements are inaccurate and most misleading. Here is what I do say (p. 291):

'Culture, tradition, physical anthropology, and religion all declare for the existence from the earliest days in the Mediterranean of that race whose descendants still form the main element in its population. As with other families the various members of this race have had very various fortunes, due probably to the accident of geographical position, climate, soil, and external influence. Whilst some of them progressed until they developed that splendid art, which reached its zenith in the fifteenth and fourteenth centuries B.C., others seem never to have advanced beyond the common unglazed pottery. The evidence up to the present points to the mainland of Greece as the *focus* of fullest development.'

With these words before him how could Mr. Myres impute to me that I made the Pelasgians, whom I hold to be the authors of the Mycenaean culture, co-extensive with the whole Mediterranean race?

Next Mr. Myres states that I made the term Pelasgian denote 'not only all the survivals of *Homo mediterraneus* in Greece and the Aegean islands, but also in the Troad (p. 179 ff.), in Caria (p. 184 ff.), in Lycia (p. 207 ff.), in Cyprus (p. 205 ff.), in Libya and Egypt (p. 124 ff.), in Cyrene (p. 230-1) —not to mention Sicily, Italy and Sardinia, and the oldest populations (p. 353) of Thrace and Illyria.'

I call certain people Pelasgians who lived in the Troad, in Lycia, Cyprus, Libya, and Egypt, Cyrene, Sicily, Italy, and Sardinia, who are represented by the literary tradition not as the original occupiers, but in every case emigrants either direct from Greece (the Troad, and Cyprian settlers from Arcadia, the Pelasgian character of which Mr. Myres does not deny), or from Argolis to Egypt and Libya, from Thessaly and Arcadia to Italy (or from such settlements to other new homes, Cyrene, Sicily, Sardinia); whilst I say that the Carians were 'related to the Pelasgians,' and that 'there was a very close kinship between the Pelasgic population of Greece and the Thracian-Illyrians,' i.e. that all belonged to the Mediterranean race, in which Mr. Myres himself believes. He might as well maintain that the term British ought not to be applied to any colonists from these islands who may be settled in America or Africa.

As Mr. Myres' argument against my view that the Pelasgians spoke Greek and not a non-Aryan tongue depends entirely upon the false assumption, which I have just exposed, that I make the Pelasgians co-extensive with the whole Mediterranean race, it has no

basis whatever. He admits the force of my argument that the mere fact that the Greeks called certain people barbaroi 'does not prove that those peoples did not speak an Aryan language, or even a remote dialect of Greek.' As Mr. Myres does not make the slightest attempt to meet my argument based upon the fact that the Arcadians, who are admitted to have been Pelasgians and never to have been conquered, spoke Aeolic Greek, and as he does not attempt to gainsay the historians, and does not attempt to overthrow my induction which shows that there is no instance of one people borrowing without conquest the language of another, he tacitly admits that the Pelasgians of Peloponnesus spoke Greek from the earliest times.

Now for Mr. Myres' inaccuracies. (a) He quietly assumes that the famous Lemnian inscriptions are Pelasgian, without attempting to dispute Kirchhoff's doctrine that their alphabet is Phrygian (p. 146). (b) Mr. Myres assumes that there is no difficulty in reading inscriptions in any language akin to Greek; but can he translate with any certainty inscriptions in Oscan very closely related to Latin? (c) Again, when he says that if the Pelasgians of Etruria talked Greek, 'on Prof. Ridgeway's theory the Etruscan ought to work out like Carian and Lycian as a dialect of Greek, which is notoriously not the case,' he assumes that the whole population of Etruria prior to the coming of the Etruscans was Pelasgian, although he has read in my book, and does not gainsay, that the Pelasgians of Etruria were only bodies of settlers among a population consisting partly of Umbrians, partly of aboriginal Ligurians. The Pelasgian settlers on my principles would have had their speech largely affected by the previous inhabitants, and thus the Etruscans would have become the masters not of a Greek-speaking population, but of one whose tongue was a mixture principally consisting of Ligurian and Umbrian.

(d) He speaks of 'Pelasgian Lydia,' evidently implying that I so described the Lydians, but this I have not done anywhere. It is only another attempt to fasten on me the charge of making 'Pelasgian' include the whole Mediterranean race, which I have already exposed.

(e) He speaks as if I had alleged that the Eteocretans spoke the Pelasgian tongue. I do nothing of the kind, for I distinguish them from the Pelasgians (p. 87), but I hold that they were part of the Mediterranean race, as were also the Phoenicians

and Libyans, who certainly did not speak Aryan languages. Mr. Myres labours under the delusion that similarity of physical type implies similarity of language.

Mr. Myres wants to drop the name Pelasgian altogether. But are we to discard a name preserved by the best ancient authorities, simply because Mr. Myres and his masters have made a fatal blunder in shutting their eyes to the facts of history? Palmerston remarked that the mere fact that Mr. Cobden did not feel comfortable sitting next an officer in the Guards was not a sufficient reason for disbanding the British Army.

Mr. Myres charges me with 'treating selected statements of Pausanias and the lexicographers as equally sound material as Homeric data, or even with fifth century sources.' I never do anything of the kind, nor does Mr. Myres back his statement with a single citation. Yet he himself admits that 'a statement of Pausanias may come direct from a lost epic source, or from a local legend, which has escaped contamination, (though, he brings no proof of this tempting guess).' But on pp. 131-2 I quote a passage of Pausanias (referring to his difficulty in getting the truth about the earlier history of Mesenia) which shows the care that he took in making sure that there was a continuity of local tradition for his statements.

He says again that 'the wise words of Niebuhr which he quotes on pp. 89-90, are to the effect that he 'does not pretend to make out anything else than Strabo, for instance, if he set what he knew distinctly before his own mind, might have given as the result;' and if Professor Ridgeway had confined himself to that, critical considerations would not have come in. What he *has* done, on the other hand, is to assume that anything, which Strabo was prepared to believe, is credible for us here and now; and that is a very different matter.' How do I differ from Niebuhr in my attitude towards Strabo? Niebuhr believed Strabo's statements about the Pelasgians, because he cited older documents; so do I. What Mr. Myres holds to be wisdom in Niebuhr is folly in me. Again, how does my treatment of the later writers differ from that of Niebuhr, who says that 'such genealogies are deserving of attention; inasmuch as they present views concerning the affinities of nations, which certainly were not inventions of the genealogers, themselves early writers after the scale of our literature, but were taken by

them from poems of the same class with the Theogony, or from ancient treatises, or prevalent opinions' (p. 127).

Mr. Myres, like Mrs. Malaprop, likes 'to begin with a little aversion,' and ends by embracing my conclusions. He accepts the traditional dates for the coming of the Achæans, the siege of Troy, the duration of the Achæan domination, and the Dorian invasion. What more could I desire?

(6) I hold that the Homeric civilisation is that of the early Iron Age. Mr. Myres makes a desperate attempt to break through my argument. The reader has now become accustomed to his method of ascribing to me doctrines the very opposite of my real views, and of then proceeding to refute them triumphantly, the refutation really being the statement of my own doctrines. He pretends that I hold that the Homeric poet 'did not know of Mycenaean armour at all'; and at the end of his review actually goes the length of stating that 'the ground theory of his book is that the Epic, as we have it, knows nothing of Mycenaean civilisation, but is the product exclusively of the early Iron Age.' Now, if there is any point more than another on which I have laid especial emphasis in my book in general, and in my Homeric chapter in particular, it is the overlapping of the Stone, Bronze, and Iron Ages. Thus I say (p. 295):

'Of course we naturally hear much of bronze armour (*χάλκεα τεύχεα*) and of various objects made of that metal. But it does not follow that with the introduction of iron for cutting implements, and the purposes of the ploughman and herdsman, bronze disappears from use, any more than it follows that, as soon as copper and bronze began to be employed, weapons and implements of stone and flint at once ceased to be made or used... There is evidence to show that axes of stone were used side by side with those of bronze. In all ages the poor man who cannot afford to procure an article of the best and most costly material, must content himself with an inferior, and long after the discovery of copper and the making of bronze, those who could not afford weapons of that metal had to put up with those of stone. It would be unnecessary to call attention to so obvious a fact, were it not that cataclysmic archaeology is both very widespread and deeply rooted.'

Again I say (p. 305):

'That iron and bronze swords of the same form were in use at the same time is thus shown by the actual remains found; and this harmonises completely with the evidence of Homer, where we learn that Euryalus the Phæacian presented to Odysseus a bronze sword, though as we have seen the usual material for all such weapons (in Homer) is iron. But the Phæacians both belonged to the older race, and lived in a remote island, and therefore swords of bronze may well have continued in use in such out of the world places long after iron swords were in use elsewhere in Greece. The man who could not afford iron had to be satisfied with bronze.'

Mr. Myres asserts that I deny the existence of any other type of shield in Homer than that of the round bossed shield, and he represents me as asserting 'that when Homer calls a shield *ἥτε πυργόν* he means one which is *circular*, nearly *flat*, and made of *bronze*.' Here is what I did say:—

'Homer does not tell us the shape of the shield of the Telamonian Ajax; he only says that it was like a tower, which may refer simply to its massive strength, but, as we have seen, it is quite possible that shields of the older pattern continued in use in Achæan times. It is not unlikely that this famous buckler was made by a craftsman of the ancient race, and therefore possibly it was of the ancient shape. It was the work of Tychius of Hyle on Lake Copais in Boetia.'

Again I say (p. 320) that—

'It is perhaps significant that in the chief passage in the *Iliad* where the great shield which extended from the neck to the ankles is mentioned, it is Periphetes the Mycenaean, who stumbles over his own great clumsy shield... It would seem that Periphetes, one of the native Mycenaean, and not an Achæan, still wore the ancient shield of his race.'

And on the same page I pointed out that:

'in Pelasgic Arcadia the old Mycenaean armature remained in vogue until the time of Philipomen.'

Yet with these words before him Mr. Myres ventures to say that I am 'reduced to admit that at all events Mycenaean armour did continue in use down to the time of the Trojan war, if not even to the time of Homer.'

The fact is that Mr. Myres, like Mr. Evans, was one of those who too hastily adopted Reichel's hypothesis, and followed him in his desire to cut out of the Homeric poems as late interpolations every description of armour which did not agree with the discoveries of Mycenæ. He now, while censuring me for calling Reichel a Procrustes, admits 'that Reichel's analysis of Homeric armour fails to explain some Homeric combats, and that some of his conclusions must be revised in the light of fuller knowledge, both of the later Mycenaean age (e.g. Evans, *Journ. Anthr. Inst.* xxx), etc. Here is what Mr. Evans says (p. 214) (speaking of the armed figures on the Enkomi ivories): 'With such a representation before us a series of Homeric passages on which Dr. Reichel in his recent work on Homeric armour has exhausted his powers of destructive criticism becomes easily intelligible. In the hands of the critic the passages relating to Agamemnon's breastplate and every other example recorded in the *Iliad* are bracketed as interpolations as of no earlier date than the seventh century

B.C., the period, namely, when cuirasses are first historically known. In the few passages where the word *θώρηξ* is allowed to pass muster, it is transferred by Dr. Reichel to the body-shield. By the same *Procrustean* method the greaves of the *ἐκνήμιδες Ἀχαιοὶ* are reduced to pads of leather.

Thus Mr. Evans abandons the Reichelian hypothesis, which he and Mr. Myres maintained against me in 1896, and even borrows my phraseology to describe Reichel's drastic method of dealing with the Homeric text. Yet this is what Mr. Myres calls 'revision.' It would have been better, if, like Mr. Evans, he had frankly given up an untenable position, instead of endeavouring to cover his retreat by wholesale misrepresentation of my doctrines. His pretence that he is retaining some fragment of the Reichelian theory is based on the false assumption that I hold the very views against which I have argued strongly and which have now been refuted by the discoveries at Enkomi. He censures me for omitting to mention the latter. The simple fact that the British Museum *Excavations in Cyprus* did not appear until it was too late for me to make use of it is the reason why evidence which demonstrates the views which I maintained against Reichel and his followers was not embodied in my book. The facts again are with me.

Mr. Myres does not deny my proposition that the Homeric poems show us the fully developed Iron Age, and no longer attempts to show that the epithets 'circular,' 'very circular,' 'equal in every direction,' refer to the figure-8 shield, although he tries to confuse the issue by suggesting that that type of shield arose from a proto-Mycenean round shield, for the existence of which he cannot produce a scrap of evidence. My book has shown him that there are New Guinea figure-8 shields which have not arisen from a round shield, but are found side by side with oblong shields, just as the Mycenean figure-8 shields are seen along with oblong rectangular shields. He does not dispute my arguments in defence of the *thorax* and the greaves against Reichel, and yet he is not ashamed to say that I have not produced sufficient arguments against Reichel. Nor does he challenge my contention that the house of Odysseus is distinct from the true Mycenean palaces, and that its analogues are to be found in the houses of upper Europe.

I shall next deal with another misleading assumption on the part of my opponent. Mr. Myres admits the value of my induc-

tion that the round shield is essentially the shield of upper Europe, but he endeavours to minimise the force of his admission by two misleading statements. He says that 'Prof. Ridgeway's own figures 99, 100, show that some northern shields were not round, so that his generalization is defective on this side also.' When he copied down the numbers of my figures, 99, 100, he should have been aware that 99 represented a Gaulish shield, and 100 an Irish shield also of the advanced Iron Age. He does not dispute my argument that the Gauls only adopted the oblong shield after they had come into contact with the Roman *scutum*, and that the 'late Celtic' shields, such as my Fig. 100, are of a still later date.

How then can he maintain that the occurrence of such shields weakens my induction that all shields of the Bronze and early Iron Ages of Northern Europe are round? He might just as well urge that the fact that the Saxons and Normans carried kite-shaped shields at the Battle of Hastings invalidates my argument that the Anglo-Saxons had round shields when they came to England. His doubts about even the round shield in the north being 'as old as Mycenean times' I shall dispose of when I deal with chronology lower down.

(2) He says that 'the central boss is an essential feature of the northern round shield; but Professor Ridgeway is wrong (and his Figure 60 shows it) in saying that the parrying shields of the Warrior Vase, and Warrior stele have anything of the kind.' When I describe the shields on the Warrior Vase, my words are: 'The warriors there shown are marching out to war with long spears, round shields,' etc., and speaking of the latter I say, 'warriors equipped in similar fashion have been discovered on a stele,' etc. *There is not a word about a boss.* Mr. Myres says that I 'fail to show that these vases, though admittedly late Mycenean, are in any sense post-Mycenean; for he has already equated the arrival of the Achæans with the arrival of the Dipylon style (p. 138), to which these vases are a quite early prelude.'

Mr. Myres here makes once more an attempt to prove me a cataclysmic archaeologist. I have certainly equated the arrival of the Dipylon style with the arrival of the Achæans, nor does Mr. Myres dispute my proposition or venture again to put forward the claims of the Dorians. But it does not follow that the style introduced by the conquerors made itself at home at once or with equal rapidity in all parts of Greece.

It starts at Olympia without any overlapping of the grand Mycenaean style, for the good reason, as Mr. Myres knows well, that there was no great Mycenaean settlement or development of Mycenaean art there, such as there was in the great cities of Argolis, one of the chief seats of that culture. The conditions then are quite different at Olympia and at Mycenae. In the latter case there was a great school of native craftsmen, and the great bulk of the population remained unchanged, becoming without a struggle the subjects of the Pelopidae. At Olympia,* where not a vestige of the full Mycenaean culture has been found, the art that the Achaeans brought with them from Central Europe would have nothing native to struggle against. Though the breakdown of the Mycenaean grand style began with the coming of the Achaeans, there was no sudden catastrophe in Argolis, but the Mycenaean craftsman went on working for his new master.

Far from assuming a movement *per saltum* from full Mycenaean to full Dipylon, I speak of the Warrior Vase and its companion monuments as marking the transition period when the native craftsman has begun to work under the influence of his new masters (p. 138). Again (p. 316) speaking of the fragments from the upper stratum of Tiryns, I say:

'They represent the transition between the Mycenaean and the Dipylon vases;

and (p. 317) I say:

'Here we see the Mycenaean craftsman working under the influence of his new masters.'

These passages are sufficient to show that I am not a cataclysmic archaeologist, as Mr. Myres tries to prove. He says that I fail to show that these vases are post-Mycenaean. There was no need for me to show that they are *post-Mycenaean*. I have shown that they do not belong to the full Mycenaean period, being utterly different from anything found in the graves of the undoubted Bronze Age of Mycenae, and Mr. Myres has not attempted to dispute my contention. Again, I have given proofs that they show a style of decoration, which though foreign to the Mycenaean Bronze Age is familiar in Central Europe. I have pointed out (p. 450) that

'We also recognized as works of the Achaean period the Warrior Vase and painted stèle from the upper layer at Mycenae, and fragments of pottery from the upper stratum at Tiryns. These exhibit processions of men and animals, sometimes arranged in parallel

bands, corresponding to the decoration of the buckets and cists of Central Europe.'

Can Mr. Myres point to this same style of decoration, or the same round shields, in any work of the undisputed Mycenaean Bronze Age? He admits that the round shield is upper European, and he does not dispute my contention that the decoration of the Warrior Vase and its companions corresponds to that on the Central European buckets.

There is no reason to suppose that the shields carried by the warriors on one side of the Warrior Vase are meant to represent any type other than the round, the apparent deficiency of the periphery being simply due to bad drawing.

The inference then clearly is that these stray fragments in the upper strata of Mycenae are posterior to the coming of the Achaeans from Central Europe, which Mr. Myres admits that I have 'made so probable.'

Mr. Myres asserts that I 'expressly attribute the necropolis of the Dipylon to the Achaeans (p. 138) regardless alike' etc. Neither on p. 138 nor anywhere else do I attribute the 'necropolis of the Dipylon' to the Achaeans, or to anyone else save Pelasgians.

Mr. Myres has no better success when he insinuates that Reichel's argument, 'which, if sound, would bring a direct descendant of the Mycenaean helmet right into the early Iron Age,' is against me. Considering that I have shown that the descendants of the Mycenaean armature continued in use among the Arcadian Pelasgians down to Philopoemen's day, I naturally also hold that similar descendants probably survived till quite late among the Athenian Pelasgians. I have pointed out that the Athenians continued to bury their dead in the ancient Mycenaean fashion (p. 328), and to wear their hair in a similar fashion (p. 327). Hence Reichel's view makes for me and not against me.

As the Arcadians did not adopt greaves until the second century B.C., there is no reason why the Pelasgians of Attica should have done so till a comparatively late date. If they did not wear them, they naturally are not found in the Dipylon cemetery, and are not represented on the vases from thence.

As the Iones, who settled in Asia, had not been under direct Achaean rule, their art, though in full decadence and greatly influenced by the geometrical style brought in by the Achaeans, would not be as far

advanced towards the full Dipylon style as that of districts which had come under the direct control of Achaean lords. Whether their art be termed 'sub-Mycenean' or 'Dipylon' is therefore only a matter of taste.

Mr. Myres, whilst admitting that my treatment of the round shield is a valuable piece of work, says that it is a pity that I did not do the same for the helmet, the sword, and the spear, 'for these would have gone far to modify his view.' I have just shown that Reichel's helmet argument supports my views, and Mr. Myres admits that both the bronze sword, the iron sword, and the socketed spear all have a northern origin. Why then should I modify my views? I am glad that he has now come to the conclusion that 'literary passages ought not to be wrested from their context.' This is refreshing, coming as it does from one who followed Reichel in hacking the text of the *Iliad* to pieces.

(d) He admits the conclusion drawn in chapter on Inhumation, etc., that cremation came with the Achaeans from Central Europe, but he says that 'it does not prove that the Homeric Achaeans were the first or the only cremationists in the Aegean.' I challenge Mr. Myres to produce a single argument for the existence of cremation in Greece prior to the early Iron Age, *i.e.*, the Homeric Age, which he admits to be that which followed the coming of the Achaeans from Central Europe.

(e) He admits that 'the chapter on brooches is admirable,' raising only three quibbles: (1) 'Mycenean folk wore scanty, close-fitting garments; Homer's Achaeans wear χιτών and χλαῖνα fastened by περόναι (πορπαί: fibulae). Odysseus' χιτών fits like an 'onion-peel,' and so is of Prof. Ridgeway's Mycenaean type.' What I do say is:

'On the early Mycenaean objects the men are either represented as stark naked, as in the siege scene on the silver cup, or wearing a loin-cloth or apron, which sometimes, as on the inlaid dagger-blades, takes the form of bathing drawers pure and simple.'

It does not follow that because Odysseus wore a tight-fitting chiton, he was a Mycenaean who wore tight-fitting drawers or a loin-cloth. (2) 'Some Mycenaean did wear cloaks which required fastenings.' But though Mr. Myres is trying to make his reader think that such cloaks were fastened with fibulae, he does not dare to challenge my statement that the fibula is not represented on a single Mycenaean monument. There is no reason why the Mycenaean

should not have fastened their cloaks with strings. It is mere trifling to argue that because a cloak is fastened at the neck, therefore it must have been fastened by a fibula. (3) 'Fibulae of very early types occur in true, though late Mycenaean tombs.' Mr. Myres returns to his old fallacy which I have already exposed, *i.e.*, that from the moment the Achaeans arrived in Peloponnesus the Mycenaean culture stopped short, and the full dipylon from that moment alone prevailed. According to my theory of the gradual decadence of the Mycenaean art it is most natural to find stray articles belonging to the newcomers side by side with objects of the older culture. What Mr. Myres really ought to do, is to show that there are any fibulae in any grave of the full Mycenaean Bronze period. The earliest fibulae from Mycenae come from the lower town where iron also appears, and from the late Mycenaean cemetery at Salamis, where cremation also makes its appearance. But Mr. Myres admits my conclusion about cremation (see above). Why περόναι should be restricted in use to 'a straight, guardless weapon like the old Aegean and Cypriote dress-pins' Mr. Myres does not explain. He seeks to lead the reader to suppose that I am unaware of the existence of the straight pin of upper Europe which 'occurs in the north at all periods alongside the fibulae,' and he also informs the reader as if it was another 'discovery' that 'the Achaeans had the straight pin before they came south at all,' ignoring the fact that I describe (p. 553-4) these copper and bronze pins, and give the evolution of the safety-pin from them. He omits to notice that Schuchhardt holds that the pins found in the shaft-graves at Mycenae are proved by their size and thickness, etc., not to be dress-pins, but ornaments for the hair.

He is reduced to citing ἐνότια παμφανοῦντα as proof that painting is mentioned in Homer. He says the phrase 'can hardly mean monochrome.' But why should it not, or why should it refer to colour at all?

I pointed out that, whilst the four-spoked wheel is the normal type in Mycenaean and on later Greek works of art, the eight-spoked is regularly found in central Europe, but I was careful not to deny the existence of the four-spoked wheel in that region. Mr. Myres cannot cite a single instance of an eight-spoked wheel either on Mycenaean or later Greek monuments. My inference from the occurrence of the eight-spoked wheel in Homer and its existence in central Europe therefore remains unshaken.

(7) He admits my conclusion that the fair-haired Achæans came down from central Europe, but he cavils at my use of the term Celt 'in the vague sense familiar from classical usage,' 'Any big fair-haired person, who comes south is for him a Celt'... 'just as any dark-haired southern is for him a Pelasgian.' I have already exposed the last statement; that about my use of the name Celt is equally groundless. I never employ it for Finns, although they are often big and fair-haired. I use Celt as it was employed by the ancient writers for the reasons given (p. 370), where I point out that modern writers by not adopting the same method as I have have involved the name Celt in hopeless confusion. The philologists use it of a group of languages without the least regard for the physical character of the peoples who speak them, whilst some of the physical anthropologists apply it to the broad-skulled people found along the Alps, and would thus deny it to almost the whole mass of people who still speak what are called Celtic languages, while other physical anthropologists maintain that this broad-skulled Alpine race is Ligurian. Mr. Myres prudently refrains from telling us the right use of the word Celt. I now challenge him to do so. My historical Celts have all the common characteristic of using P for original K.

(8) (a) The diffusion of iron in Europe, (b) the origin of iron.

Mr. Myres admits that it is not improbable 'that the early Transalpine iron-smelters, etc., represent an independent tradition from that of the Levantine iron-smelters.' He thus abandons the position taken up by him and my other opponents at Liverpool, in 1896, when it was a fundamental article of faith that Europe owed her knowledge of iron either to Asia or Africa. Mr. Myres then loudly put forward the claims of Cyprus for early iron working, but he is now mute on that point. He sees no objection to my view that iron was discovered independently in Noricum. In the only case where we then knew of mankind commencing to work iron (the Eskimos), they had learned to use telluric iron, which lay ready smelted to their hand. I held that it was probable that the natives of the Alps had learned the use of iron in a similar way. Mr. Myres raises two objections to this view. He says that in its elaborated shape the defects of my theory are more conspicuous than ever, for (1) 'he propounds the strange idea that the Alps (p. 601), Caucasus (p. 602), and other mountain chains, are of volcanic

origin': (2) 'he assumes *either* that there are in Noricum great basalts with telluric iron like those of Greenland (which is not true); *or* that, in exhausting the telluric iron, the primitive Celt has used up also the worthless basalt in which it lay (which is inconceivable).' Both of these statements are groundless. I never said a word about the volcanic origin of the Alps, etc., nor have I used the word 'origin' in reference to the Alps or any other mountains. My words are, 'If our argument is sound mankind could obtain iron in any volcanic region where there happened to be an outcrop of the mineral, as at Sövallick and Orifak. Such conditions can be found in the Alps of Noricum, in the Caucasus and other chains of mountains' (p. 602). Again (p. 601): 'It is probable that man first became acquainted with iron by finding deposits of telluric iron smelted in one of Nature's great furnaces, and rendered malleable and thus easily worked.' Mr. Myres would fain have his reader believe that there are no volcanic or igneous rocks in Alps or Caucasus. Yet a glance at any book of reference (*e.g.* Süss) will show that in the ancient Noricum there are large areas both of other igneous rocks as well as various kinds of basalt, which is also true of the Caucasus. He assumes that if a mass of telluric iron had once existed anywhere in the Alps, its site would still be visible, whereas it may have been buried deep by a landslide centuries ago. I have never said a word about iron being found in basalt in the Alps, any more than I say that the telluric iron of Santa Catarina to which I refer (p. 601) is found in basalt.

Mr. Myres' only objections to my theory of the origin of iron, being based on false assumptions, fall to the ground. But, as he thinks that it is not improbable that iron was discovered independently in Noricum, my doctrine holds the field. Mr. Coffey has raised a more valid objection (*Hermathena*) that 'the art of smelting was well advanced in the Bronze Age, and it is not necessary to insist on telluric iron to account for the discovery of that metal.' But this reasonable view is nevertheless contrary to ascertained facts. All the Indians throughout South America had, before the coming of the Spaniards, learned to work gold, silver and copper. The Chili Indians 'had, it appears, made use of a kind of bronze metal found native in the country, and which is a natural alloy of copper, zinc, and antimony, called *campanil* by the Spaniards; of this they formed their cutting instruments; but it appears they had in some

very rare instances, before the arrival of the Spaniards, iron blades to their lances... Our surprise will cease, on recollecting that this valuable metal already existed naturally in South America, in the very extensive mass of native iron in Santiago del Estero (the province northward of that of Cordova), which has been proved to be of meteoric origin, and different from that of Lacaticas and Durango, in Mexico, described by Humboldt, in the absence of earthy matter, in cellular cavities, and in not being like them in round masses, but in a horizontal bed of considerable extent, and of variable thickness, being now for the most part covered with drifted sand and lying on a bed of the same material.' Mr. Frazer has lately pointed out to me this most valuable passage in Mier's *Travels in Chile and La Plata* (London, 1826, vol. ii., p. 464-5). Mier was by profession an engineer and metallurgist. This extract makes it clear that even when people have long been accustomed to work copper, their first knowledge of iron nevertheless comes from native iron such as that of Santiago (probably telluric and not meteoric). The facts are again with me and against my critics.

Now for the chronology. Mr. Myres says that I produce no evidence for regarding Hallstatt civilisation as independent of, or prior to, the Mycenaean; and that I ignore 'the convergent lines of evidence which have led Mr. Arthur Evans (Rhind Lectures, *Scotsman*, 19 Dec., 1895) and others to regard it as sub-Mycenaean.' Why did not Mr. Myres produce 'the convergent lines of evidence,' instead of merely citing Mr. Evans, and that too in a place practically inaccessible, and why did he not refer to the Report of the British Assoc. for 1896, where Mr. Evans gave his chief reasons? He felt that to do so would be suicidal.

(1) Evans (*op. cit.* p. 921) says, 'It may be enough to cite the late Mycenaean parallels afforded by the Aegina treasure to the open-work groups of bird-holding figures and the pendant ornaments of a whole series of characteristic ornaments of the Italo-Hallstatt culture.' Mr. Evans (*J.H.S.* xiii. p. 224) says that 'we are led to refer the deposit of the Aegina treasure to the eighth or ninth century before our era, or approximately to about 800 B.C.' But as Mr. Myres admits that the Achaeans came down from central Europe, about 1400 B.C., the resemblance between the Aegina treasure and the Italo-Hallstatt culture is due to the fact that the latter had been brought into

Greece generations before the Aegina deposit was made.—(2) Mr. Evans thinks (*loc. cit.*) that sub-Mycenaean influence can be seen in the early Iron Age of Bosnia and Herzegovina, 'notably in the great prehistoric cemetery of Glasinatz, a whole series of early Iron Age types betray distinct Mycenaean affinities. The spiral motive and its degeneration—the concentric circles grouped together with or without tangential lines of connection—appears on bronze torques, on fibulae of Mycenaean descent, and the typical finger-rings with the bezels at right angles to the ring. On the plates of other 'spectacle fibulae' are seen triquetral scrolls singularly recalling the gold plates of the Akropolis graves of Mycenae.' But even supposing that the spiral motive reached the Danubian region from the Aegean, its appearance in the early Iron Age in that quarter does not afford the slightest grounds for dating objects, since Mr. Evans (*op. cit.* p. 919) says that 'examples of spiral-form painted designs on pottery going back to the borders of the neolithic period have been found in Hungary and Bosnia.' Why should not the spiral, which was already in use at the close of the neolithic period, have continued to be used down to the early Iron Age without any borrowing from Mycenae at that epoch? Mr. Evans followed Montelius in ascribing a Mycenaean origin to the fibula, but Mr. Myres admits my argument that the fibula passed south from central Europe. The 'spectacle-fibula' is certainly not a Mycenaean invention, and there is no reason why triquetral scrolls as well as spirals should not have been indigenous in Bosnia, nor is there any reason why people there should not have placed the bezels at right angles to the ring without any borrowing.—(3) When Mr. Evans wrote, every one held that the knowledge of bronze reached the Hallstatt area from the south, and that accordingly the Bronze Age and weapons of Mycenae were older than those of central Europe.—(4) Montelius was held to have fixed the date for the oldest form of fibula in North Italy (see above). But as the oldest Hallstatt fibulae are later than the oldest found in North Italy, the Hallstatt culture was held to be considerably posterior to the fifteenth century B.C. But this assumes that the fibula was invented in Greece.—(5) It was assumed that certain bronze articles which are characteristic of the Hallstatt culture, and are adorned with parallel bands of warriors, etc., were derived from Mycenae, because they were held to

have affinities with the Shield of Achilles, it being assumed that Homer represented the Mycenaean period.—(6) It was an article of faith that iron had reached Central Europe either from Africa or Asia.

Now let us see Mr. Myres' attitude towards these 'convergent lines of evidence.' (1) He has admitted my doctrine that bronze was discovered in central Europe and passed south to Mycenae, and thereby he admits that the Bronze Age of upper Europe is earlier than that of Greece. (2) He admits my doctrine that the fibula has passed from central Europe into Greece and does not dispute my overthrow of Montelius' chronology based on it. (3) He admits that Homer represents the age of the Achaeans, who had come from the north; he admits that they had round shields, and he does not deny that the decoration of the Shield of Achilles is a derivative from the art of Hallstatt. (4) He admits that it 'is not improbable' that the knowledge of iron was developed independently in the Hallstatt area. Though he has abandoned all these positions yet he tries to persuade the reader that my chronology breaks down because Mr. Evans in 1895 said something or other in the *Scotsman*. But unless he felt that my chronology was quite sound, why should he have committed himself to the statement that I had made it 'so probable' that the Achaeans had come down from central Europe into Greece? The chronology is all in my favour, and Mr. Myres has now no grounds for hesitation to give in his full adhesion to my doctrine that the Achaeans brought with them iron, the round shield, the fibula, cremation, and the so-called dipylon style of ornament when they entered Greece.

He has made no attempt to meet my argument that the Levant probably owes its knowledge of iron to Europe. As he admits that there was an Achaean invasion in the early Iron Age, and as he also admits that bronze swords, the round shield, the fibula, and cremation entered Greece from central Europe, and, as bronze helmets and greaves were used by the Homeric Achaeans, whom he admits to have come down from central Europe, and as no such have been found in the Mycenaean graves of the mainland of Greece there is a high probability that the bronze helmets and greaves of Greece are derived from the north.

He does not attempt to dispute my proposition that the language of Homer is that of the older race. He does not attempt to refute my induction respecting the adoption by one people of the language of another.

He points out, as if it were his own suggestion, but which he learned from my book, that the Arabs are an instance of a conquering race planting their language on their subjects, but he omits to give my explanation, which he should have impugned, had he thought it unsound. He speaks of my explanation of a certain kind of Greek labialism, of the Attic long *a*, and of the Doric forms in Attic tragedy as immature. If so, it was all the more easy to nip them in the bud, which he has not attempted to do.

Finally, he thinks that the form *ἵππος* was in use among the Mycenaean folk, because such names as Hippothoon, etc., occur in legends of pre-Achaean times. It is curious that one who has such a contempt for literary tradition (see above) should think it likely, when it suits his purpose, that the literary tradition probably preserves the exact spelling of the original form of the word for horse. Yet he admits that the Ionians took the K forms with them to Asia from Peloponnesus. But as the form *ἵκκος* is known, it is clear that *ἵκκος* was the form used by them in their old homes before they went to Asia. But, as the Iones were a tribe of the Pelasgians of Peloponnesus, *ἵκκος* and not *ἵππος* was the aboriginal form, and *ἵππος* (or rather *ἵππος*) only came in with the Achaeans, whom he admits to have come from central Europe.

Mr. Myres states that I only give one instance of labialism. This is wrong, for I also discuss *πέτταρες* and *πίονρες* (p. 672). Mr. Myres finds fault with me for saying that 'the horse is much more the animal of the chariot-driving Achaeans than of the Pelasgians of Attica and Arcadia and the island peoples of the Aegean,' and that I show a 'curious oblivion of the facts that, sea-farers as the Pelasgians (*i.e.* Mycenaean folk) must needs have been, their monuments at all events show fully ten chariot-scenes for one in which boats of any kind occur, while it is in the dipylon art of the land-lubber Achaeans that we first get a copious representation of seafaring scenes.' Mr. Myres no doubt refers to the chariot-scenes on the stele of Mycenae. But how do they wring my withers? I do not draw any contrast between the Achaeans and the Bronze Age people of Mycenae, but between the former and the people of Attica, Arcadia, and the Isles. The reader must not let himself be deceived by a fallacious use of the term *Mycenaean*. Though the Attic culture of the Bronze Age corresponds to that of Mycenae, and therefore may be termed Mycenaean, it does not follow that

when I explicitly speak of Attica, Arcadia, and the Aegean isles, I am speaking of the city of Mycenae. The same fallacy is used with reference to the term *dipylon*. This term is properly used of the decoration, etc., found in the dipylon cemetery at Athens, and is also used as a general term to describe the same style of art, no matter in what part of Greece it may be found. As the Achaeans never occupied Attica, they did not make the objects found in the dipylon cemetery, though the geometrical style seen on those objects is due to their influence. It does not then at all follow that because seafaring scenes may be seen on vases of the geometrical period, these vases are the work of the 'land-lubber Achaeans.' On the other hand, can Mr. Myres point to this abundance of seafaring scenes on the objects of 'dipylon' style found at Olympia, where the Achaeans always continued to hold their own, and where little chariots form a well-known feature in the dedications?

Mr. Myres cannot even refer to the oracles of Dodona without inaccuracy, for he says that 'The so-called oracular inscriptions at Dodona are not responses but questions,' regardless of the fact that there is a well-known tablet from Dodona which has the response (not in verse) as well as the question.

In view of Mr. Myres' long list of typographical and verbal errors, it is difficult to ascribe to haste or carelessness the series of inaccurate statements which I have exposed. Without those statements on which to base his attacks on my position, his review would have consisted of little more than the list of clerical errors just referred to.

I have shown that Mr. Myres' 'discovery' that invaders from central Europe in the Bronze Age brought with them the Mycenaean palace and beehive tomb, is absolutely baseless; that his ethnographical and linguistic *tertium-quadis* in the Mycenaean area break down hopelessly; that his assertion that I made the Pelasgians co-extensive with the whole Mediterranean race is the very opposite of my deliberate statements; that his assertion that I follow Montelius' chronology without qualification is the very opposite of the truth, and that his assertions of my views on the Homeric Age, the Homeric shields, and the dipylon style are all equally contrary to the views clearly expressed in my book; equally groundless is his charge that I use Celt of 'any big fair-haired fellow,' that I ascribed a volcanic origin to the Alps and other mountain ranges, whilst I have shown that large areas

of other igneous rocks as well as basalt exist in both Alps and Caucasus. I have also shown that the hitherto received method of dating the Hallstatt culture depends on assumptions which Mr. Myres has himself abandoned.

On the other hand he admits my propositions, that the Mycenaean culture grew up in the Aegean area, that its grand development took place on the mainland, that it was produced by a melanochrous people, from whom the majority of the present inhabitants of the same area are descended; that the Mycenaean culture is that of the Bronze Age, while that of Homer is the full Iron Age, that the Achaeans were a large fair-haired people, who came down from the north-west, that their culture as described in Homer tallies with that of the Hallstatt area, that the round shield, the fibula, and cremation descended from that area into Greece, that it is not improbable that iron was discovered independently also in that region, whilst he does not dispute my arguments to show that the Epic is composed in the language and metre of the older race. So little can mere sophistry avail against the inductive method.

WILLIAM RIDGEWAY.

Professor Ridgeway's complaint against me seems to amount to this; first, that I have summarized his theories in a form which he does not approve; second, that in their true form I accept them. I am not quite sure which is the more damaging accusation. As to the latter, he has chosen to believe that wherever I have not expressly disagreed with his theories I tacitly adopt them. It would, I think, have been a fairer assumption, if I were really so malicious as he represents, that I tacitly dissent except where I expressly agree. What would Prof. Ridgeway say if I assumed that wherever he omitted to reply to my remarks he admitted that they were well founded?

As to the former charge, that I have deliberately misrepresented him, I can only hope that he will accept this assurance that I intended nothing of the kind: that I spent much labour in trying to reduce his views to a coherent shape; and that I welcomed the proposal that he should reply forthwith, in the hope that this would obviate all risk of misunderstanding on that score.

I ventured to point out, to begin with, that the book was disorderly in form, inconclusive in reasoning, and inconsistent with itself: and I feel that the inevitable result has followed. (1) In some cases I have missed

passages which should have modified the form, though not the substance, of my statements:—*e.g.* the unique reference to Ündset, p. 571, which, by the way, is not in the Hallstatt chapter at all; or the *one* Dodonæan "oracle"—if it be one—(which, as I pointed out, is not quoted anywhere, and would not prove the point if it were). The references to Bertrand and Reinach, which Prof. Ridgeway adduces, are not quoted directly on Hallstatt at all; but one on central European swords in general (p. 415); one on objects from Corneto (p. 423); and one on Celtic coins from Gaul (p. 426).

(2) In other cases I fear I have failed to discover exactly what a discursive passage was really about; and I am not much the wiser even after Prof. Ridgeway's reply.

(3) In others again, where I had to choose between inconsistent statements, I have sometimes succeeded in holding fast by the wrong one: though what Prof. Ridgeway would have said of me, if I had chosen the other, I can only imagine. *E.g.* on p. 560, in the chapter on fibulae, the interpretation of the fibula-series on which Montelius' chronology partly (though not wholly) rests, is disputed on general *a priori* grounds. But throughout the rest of the book it is only an unqualified adoption of the very early dating (of which Montelius has been the exponent), for central European, and, (as on p. 606), for Italian antiquities, which makes it possible for Prof. Ridgeway to interpret the Illyrian culture-province as independent of, and ancestral to, the early Iron Age culture of the Aegean. It is for this reason that I ventured to say that Prof. Ridgeway has not proved his chronology of Hallstatt and Glasinatz: he has rejected Montelius' arguments, but he keeps Montelius' dating.

Similarly, Prof. Ridgeway now explains the Pelasgians outside the Aegean as 'emigrants': but the test, which he claimed on p. 92 that they must satisfy was that they must have existed 'from the earliest period' wherever Mycenaean antiquities occur, *i.e.* from Syria to Spain, and from the mouth of the Nile to that of the Po. Either by 'the earliest period' he means the earliest period, in which case his Pelasgians are aboriginal in those diverse parts; or he means some period which is not the earliest, in which case they do not conform to his test.

I know quite well that, in the passage which he quotes, Prof. Ridgeway contends that survivals of metal working of the Mycenaean type were known in Homeric times: but what seemed to me to outweigh any such

casual statement was his persistent repudiation of Reichel's view about the armour, which briefly is that the metal work known in Homeric times, with a few late exceptions, is Mycenaean metal work. But unless Mycenaean metal work was unknown in Homeric times, Reichel's conclusions, and therewith the view that the greater part of the *Iliad* may be referred to a period before the introduction of iron and of the parrying-shields, are not upset by Prof. Ridgeway's argument: and Prof. Ridgeway laid so much stress on the unsoundness of Reichel's view that I really thought he meant what he was saying.

My reasons for asking for a proper discussion of the shield of Achilles were (1) that the view stated in the passage to which Prof. Ridgeway refers me seemed to me to be a mere *rechauffé* of Brunn; (2) that it assumed without proof that Mycenaean metal inlay still went on in the time of the 'Etruscan' shields of 'Argive' origin; (3) that it is inconsistent with the view maintained in most parts of the book, that the art of the Achaeans is the geometrical art which Prof. Ridgeway continually calls the 'Dipylon' style, regardless of his contention that the Dipylon necropolis, which is its classical instance, is in the heart of 'Pelasgian' Attica. If, however, he meant 'Olympia,' why did he continually say 'Dipylon'?

I do not propose to discuss the whole of Prof. Ridgeway's reply, though I fear he will claim me as a convert to his views as to my malice, if I do not. It will be enough, I think, if I take the earlier paragraphs in order as they stand, and restate my objections more fully. For instances of inconclusive argument and mere *prima facie* probability, I confine myself to passages which he has himself selected for quotation. That from p. 71, on the development of the *tholos*-tomb, neither states the facts adequately nor proves the conclusion desired: on p. 51 the 'bipennis from Chios' is not a prototype of the Aegean double axe, but a collateral form, and of an advanced Aegean type: p. 292, the fertility of Thessaly gives only *prima facie* probability, and proves nothing as to the origin of Mycenaean art: on p. 630, the myths of Perseus and Herakles do not explain how tin reached Mycenae, or why tin becomes copious in the Aegean so suddenly.

As to logical fallacies, I adhere to the instances which I gave. In the first, pp. 306-7, it is true that the phrase 'probably of iron' occurs once, in the preceding paragraph;

but Prof. Ridgeway does not attempt to prove his 'probably'; and of the two instances of superabundant metal which he gives in the footnote to that passage, one is in *bronze* and comes from Verona, and the other in *gold*, from Limerick: neither proves anything as to the metal of which the fittings of the Homeric ἔγχοι were made: the enormous balance of the literary evidence is to the effect that they were of bronze; and the only classical instances which Prof. Ridgeway quotes to illustrate the Homeric οὐρίπλοος are the *gold* and *silver* ποταί of the guards of Xerxes. On p. 444 the *type* of the implement quoted is also a Bronze Age type, and proves no more about the Iron Age than does the *metal* (bronze) of which it is made. I chose these instances, not because they were exceptionally flagrant, but because they were short enough to quote fully. For further examples, I cannot do better than refer to the ambiguous use, in Prof. Ridgeway's own quotations here, of terms like 'Mycenaean,' 'Dipylon,' 'Pelagian,' 'Celt,' now in generic, now in specific senses, to the confusion of hapless reviewers.

As to Fig. 28, I had no intention of impugning Prof. Ridgeway's 'personal honour.' I simply stated a fact and gave a reference which I thought would be of service to readers of his book: and I note with pleasure that he has not 'disguised' the loan in the futile way he suggests. But why put in Fig. 28 at all, if it was not to be referred to in the text? This is just one of the irrelevances which I noted as making the book so bewildering.

As to Kretschmer, I regret once again that Prof. Ridgeway has not seen fit to explain somewhere his method of dealing with his authorities: the distinction between putting an author's name in a note and putting it in the text seems rather thin.

The arguments in Vol. II. are no concern of mine till they are published: all I was concerned to point out is that certain points are not discussed in the places in Vol. I. in which one would expect to find them.

When I said that there was no 'serious refutation' of Reichel, I meant what I said; and that is why it seemed unnecessary to discuss in detail Professor Ridgeway's remarks about him.

The discoveries at Enkomi are familiar to me, and do not seem to me to bear out Prof. Ridgeway's interpretation.

As to the place of origin of Mycenaean

civilisation, I may have misunderstood Prof. Ridgeway; and I think he has misunderstood me. In his third quotation, from p. 74, 'the grand step in development' was taken 'not . . . in the islands, but on the mainland of Greece.' If by this he means the transition from the Cycladic, or Amor-gine, or pre- or proto-Mycenaean stage of Aegean civilisation, to that phase which is exhibited at *Mycenae*, then we are agreed. But the context shows, as in his first quotation, from p. 75, that for him the 'grand step in development' is that which differentiated the culture of the Aegean from that of the adjacent non-Aegean areas: and this step, so far as we can trace it at present, took place, not 'on the mainland,' but 'in the islands.' I can hardly believe that if Prof. Ridgeway had seen even a drawing of the new potsherds from Dimini he could describe them as in the cultural sense 'Aegean' in character at all. Everybody knows that there was a neolithic age on the Greek mainland as well as in the islands; but everybody knows also that it was not till this was passing away that a distinct Aegean culture can be recognised at all.

As for the 'discovery' of this distinction between Cycladic and Mycenaean, I hardly think it can be mine: at all events when I stated it first in July 1896 (*Science Progress*, 1896, §§ 30, 35), I did so under the impression that it represented current opinion already: but as Prof. Ridgeway did not seem to have realised it, I ventured to state it more explicitly, and to suggest a reason for it. He is right in inferring that I do not regard his doctrine about bronze as either new or original. I referred to it myself in the very paper from which he took Fig. 28, as a current view which did not need further discussion. This paper was read in his presence in September 1896 at the Liverpool meeting, which he quotes more than once (cf. *J.A.I.*, xxvii. 171): and I had noted already in the previous July (*Science Progress*, l.c. § 25), that the bronzes found at Hissarlik seemed to have an European origin. Mr. Coffey (whom Prof. Ridgeway quotes), who was also present at Liverpool, would seem to have forgotten the incident.

As to Aegean brachycephaly, see (1) *Ilios* p. 510 (index 82.5: ignored by Ripley); (2) *Stephanos. Dict. Encycl. des Sci. Medicales*, quoted, curiously enough, by Ripley, p. 409, n. as holding that the Pelasgi were brachycephalic! (3) one of the skulls from *Mycenae* (I think *Taf. Z*) exhibited in the Athens

Museum, but unpublished; (4) von Luschan, *Reisen*, p. 206. The heads observed by Mr. Evans and myself are, I hope, still in the private possession of their original owners, who will no doubt be pleased to allow Prof. Ridgeway to examine them if he ever goes to the Aegean.

In the Lemnian inscription, I do not see that the forms of the letters prove anything as to the character of the language. All that I was concerned to show, in that paragraph, was that this whole 'Pelasgian theory' is guesswork of the flimsiest kind, and can only be sustained on the assumption that wherever there are linguistic monuments in a 'Pelasgian' area, there the situation can only be saved, as Prof. Ridgeway seems to attempt, by assuming that they do *not* represent the Pelasgian language. That is one main reason why the term 'Pelasgian' had much better be dropped: it can only be retained by voiding it of meaning.

I hope I have made it clear by these instances, all from the opening paragraphs of Prof. Ridgeway's reply, first that I had no intention of misrepresenting him; and that, if anything, in view of his notorious pugnacity, I understated my case: further, that, without going beyond the passages which he has himself chosen to quote, I have ample justification for my general charges of defective method and inconclusive reasoning: and finally that, if I have misinterpreted his meaning, it is because over and over again I have had to judge between one passage and another, of which it is almost inconceivable that any one could hold both to be true.

JOHN L. MYRES.

RECENT EXCAVATIONS IN ROME.

(SEE *C. R.* 1901, p. 328).

SINCE the date of my last report (written early in June) rather less progress has been made than during the summer of 1900, in which discoveries of exceptional interest were made, though a certain amount of necessary restoration and arrangement has been accomplished besides the work of excavation.

I.—*Vicus Jugarius*.

On the south-east side of the temple of Saturn some foundations in opus quadratum (very similar in character to that of the foundations of the temple of Castor and

Pollux, the blocks being joined by swallow tail bolts) have been discovered, which diverge further to the south-east at the south-west end than the line of the podium itself. They may have belonged to an earlier form of the temple—they run parallel to the line of the street and below its later pavement, so that they date from a period when the street was situated further to the south-east. Just to the north-west of these foundations is a small piece of pavement of polygonal blocks of cappellaccio tufa.

II.—*Volcanal*.

In front of the steps of the Temple of Concord, to the north-west of the Umbilicus Romae, the remains of a primitive altar, almost certainly the altar of Vulcan, have been discovered (see Lanciani in *Athenaeum*, Dec. 21, 1901, p. 848). In its original form the altar was a roughly squared mass of natural rock about thirteen feet east to west by nine and a half north to south, and about four feet high. At some time or another (very likely during the Gaulish invasion) it was much damaged (traces of its having been hacked away may be clearly seen), and subsequently repaired with small blocks of the same stone, and covered with hard cement which was painted deep red. Later still some opus quadratum was built upon the outside of it against this cement.

To the east of it a platform of cappellaccio tufa runs along to the centre of the arch of Severus and possibly further.

The passages relating to the area Volcani and the altar which stood there are cited in my article in *C.R.* 1901, 89; I may remark that the altar stands only about ten yards to the north-west of the gutter of which I there speak.

The Senaculum was probably further to the east (Hülsem, *Röm. Mittheilungen*, 1893, 87).

III.—*Area of the Forum*.

Under the open paved space which is the Forum proper a series of underground passages about four feet in width have been discovered. They are faced with concrete, the square shafts being lined with neatly cut blocks of tufa about one foot long by two to three inches high, and the arches having tufa voussoirs. Round the edges of the shafts are travertine slabs, lying about two feet below the level of the late pavement of the Forum. The system has not as yet been completely explored, but the main passage runs from the front of the Rostra of Julius Caesar (i.e. the Rostra of

opus quadratum, *C.R.* 1901, 88) where it is blocked up by the foundations of this building, at least as far south-east as the base of the equestrian statue of Constantine (1) (Lanciani, *Ruins and Excavations of Ancient Rome*, 260). Two passages branch from it and run parallel to one another, about twenty yards apart, north-east and south-west from the main passage as far as the edges of the open space on each side. In each of these passages are two rectangular shafts by which they were entered; one at the point of junction with the main passage, the other some ten yards further north-east. The north-west passage of these two has a chamber at the north-east end, and the angles of the passages at the shafts are very much worn by ropes. It has been conjectured that they served for the storage of the necessary properties for the games which were held in the Forum.

IV.—*Basilica Aemilia.*

The north-east outer wall of the nave has been reached for a short distance only. The opening on the north-east side was certainly a great deal wider than on the south-west—in fact the wall was very likely only a sleeper wall under the steps by which the basilica was entered from this side, the whole having been open except for the pilasters or columns of the façade. In any case the wall exists only below the pavement level; but so little has been laid bare that at present nothing definite can be said as to the architectural disposition of the north-west side (*C.R.* 1901, 136).

The exploration of the earlier cloaca under the basilica has been suspended for the present owing to the rains of the last few weeks of last year.

The various architectural members of the basilica (notably some pieces of the cornice) are being very skilfully pieced together from the innumerable fragments which have been collected. If this work can be thoroughly done for all the buildings in the Forum, a great addition to our knowledge will have been made, and we shall at the same time be spared the sight of heaps of fragments piled in meaningless confusion or arbitrarily reconstructed.

V.—*Temple of Castor.*

The isolation of this building is now completed, though the foundations on the south-west side are not yet completely excavated. Work is now proceeding on the south-east side, where the foundations of the three

columns which still stand are being restored in conformity with their original condition. The work is being extremely well done.

VI.—*The Augusteum.*

From the front of this building six parallel walls (decorated no doubt with columns) projected towards the Vicus Tuscus, the line of which, between this building and the south-east end of the Basilica Julia, can now be clearly made out; its pavement (*C.R.* 1899, 466) has so far not been reached.

This state of things does not altogether agree with the sketch plan given by Ligorio (Bodleian MS., f. 13), and reproduced by Middleton (*Remains of Ancient Rome*, I. 275). He draws the niches at each end of the portico correctly, but he does not show the six short walls mentioned above on his plan; in fact, in his day they must have been below the ground level. He therefore inferred the number of columns in the portico from the number on the inner wall of the temple. Of the spaces between these walls, the two at each end were certainly closed at the back; whether the two on each side of the central opening (which was certainly a doorway, as Ligorio indicates), were open or not is doubtful, as the excavations are not yet completed.

At the south-west end of the Augusteum are a series of chambers, which form a means of communication with S. Maria Antiqua (besides the doors in the south-east wall of the Augusteum). They gradually widen as they go south-east, the back wall running on behind the apse of S. Maria Antiqua, and being orientated in correspondence with the original walls of the Palace of Caligula (*C.R.* 1901, 329).

These chambers had already been noticed by Salvestro Peruzzi (see a plan attributed to him, No. 642 of the Uffizi collection, published by Lanciani, *Not. Scav.*, 1882, p. 236, and tav. 16, compare Lanciani, *Forma Urbis*, 29): Ligorio indicates a long flight of steps there, but this is incorrect.

VII.—*S. Maria Antiqua.*

The work of excavation has now been completed and the large piscina in the outer church has been cleared of the graves which it contained. The restoration of the inner church is now proceeding: the aisles are being roofed in, the two granite columns dividing the nave from the aisles on each side having been reerected, while the nave is being left open to the sky. This was almost certainly its original condition, but

a glazed roof would tend to the preservation of the frescoes, as it would permit of their being protected from frost without being covered up. The frescoes themselves have been cleaned and in places chemically treated, and the results are quite successful.

VIII.—*Fons Juturnae.*

The full official report has now appeared (*Not. Scav.* 1901, pp. 43–144 or separately). The illustrations, and especially the plans and elevations (Figs. 13–17) deserve very high praise.

IX.—*Sacra Via.*

Excavations are still proceeding between the temple of Antoninus and Faustina and the temple of Romulus. Not far from the former, on the north-east side of the road, a series of hypocausts with brick pilae has been discovered.

The tiles on the floor of one of these bear the stamp *C.I.L.* xv. 1029a, but the building probably belongs to a much later date. One of the small tiles forming the pilae bears an illegible lunate stamp only $2\frac{1}{8}$ inch in diameter—the smallest that I have seen of this kind, though the round stamps of the 4th century are often no larger. The *orbiculus* (*C.I.L.* xv. p. 1), which is the small circle cut out of the larger circle of the stamp, and which as a rule is left plain, is about 1 inch in diameter.

In front of the temple of Romulus remains of early structures in *opus quadratum* and of drains crossing the line of the *Sacra Via* have been brought to light (*C.R.* 1901, 139). An interesting discovery has been made in the neighbourhood of the Arch of Titus. The pavement of the earlier *Sacra Via* (*C.R.* 1899, 467) has been followed right up to the Arch of Titus, and has been found on its north-east side about 7 feet below the top of the foundations of the arch. This pavement belongs obviously to the earlier part of the first century A.D. at latest. It then turns sharply, and ascends somewhat steeply to the Palatine immediately on the north-west side of the arch. On each side are blocks of travertine of varying widths, which may have served as

edging; if so, it was only ten to twelve feet wide here. The existence of a road of later date ascending in this direction was known previously (Lanciani *Forma Urbis* 29) but this is the first time that the pavement of an earlier road has actually been discovered, though our literary authorities alone would suffice to tell us that there always had been such a road. Whether the name *Sacer Clivus* belongs to this portion of the road, or to the ascent of the *Via Sacra* from the low level of the Forum up to the summit of the *Velia* ridge, is doubtful. Gilbert (*Topographie*, iii. 423) advocates the former view, relying on Martial i. 70. 5 ‘inde sacro veneranda petes Palatia clivo’ and iv. 78. 7 ‘et sacro decies repetis Palatia clivo,’ in which the *Sacer Clivus* is spoken of as the route to the Palatine (including also no doubt the upper part of the *Sacra Via*). It is to be noticed that the expression does not occur elsewhere.

The excavations have not yet gone far enough to reveal the earlier pavement of the road descending from the Arch of Titus to the *Meta Sudans*. This was in reality a part of the *Sacra Via*, though not generally known as such (Varro *L.L.* v. 47, Festus p. 290 Müll.).

I cannot close this article without expressing my regret at having misquoted Comm. Boni in regard to the fragment of the *Forma Urbis* discovered in February last (*C.R.* 1901, 330). The view that this fragment represented the Pantheon before its restoration by Hadrian, was largely current at the time of its discovery, but was never held by Comm. Boni. As a reference to the *Notizie degli Scavi* for 1900, p. 634 (which I there quoted) will at once show, he considers that the fragment belongs to the original *Forma Urbis* of Vespasian and that it represents the circular structure of *opus reticulatum* which surrounds the Pantheon of Hadrian (Lanciani, *Forma Urbis* p. 15, *Ruins and Excavations*, p. 482 and Fig. 185), which he is inclined to identify with the *Laconicum* of the *Thermae* of Agrippa.

THOMAS ASHBY, JUN.

The Classical Review

MARCH 1902.

THE selection of London as the place of meeting for the National Academies in 1904, will have been a fortunate circumstance for classical studies in this country if it lead to the creation of an organisation which will have their interests as those of other at present unrecognised studies officially in its charge. Our readers are doubtless aware of the three petitions recently presented to the King, the first from a number of eminent philosophers, scholars, and historians praying for their incorporation as a British Academy, another from the Council of the Royal Society supporting this prayer, and a third one, in point of time prior to the second, which urged that the objects of the first petition would be best attained not by a separate institution but by one in connexion with the existing Royal Society. The latter proposal appears to have decided advantages. *Entia non sunt multiplicanda praeter necessitatem*; and as a branch of the Royal Society the new institution would succeed at once to the possession of the two things most vital to future usefulness—a recognised standard and an admitted prestige.

We have received from Dr. Daniel Quinn a copy of his article on the Language Question in Greece which forms Chapter XXIII. and pages 1297–1319 in the Report of the United States Bureau of Education for 1899–1900. It may be recommended to the notice of foreigners who wish to appreciate more exactly the issues in the question now distracting Greece. In a historical survey which starts with the popular dialect in old Attic, as revealed to us by the

researches of Paul Kretschmer from the inscriptions upon ancient vases, and comes down to the most recent times, Dr. Quinn shows that bilingualism or, as he calls it, 'diglossy' is no new thing in the history of Greece. Among the forms of Greek linguistic development which are passed under review are the Homeric 'Kunstdialekt,' the *koinḗ*, the new Attic of the 'Atticists' and the mixture of the *koinḗ* and the popular idiom of the day in which Ioannes Malalas of Antioch composed his Chronicle. The struggle for predominance between the literary language and the 'demotic,' the modern popular Greek, which first made its appearance in literature in the twelfth century, although of course much older, is not a new one. 'From the beginning of the sixteenth century down to the beginning of the nineteenth, there were three phases of language struggling for the future mastery in literature, the old Koene, the demotic in the form of local dialects chiefly, and a mixed variety which accepted very much from the demotic and discarded very much that was peculiar to the old language, as for instance the use of infinitives and optatives and datives, but which nevertheless retained in general the ancient grammatical types.' Towards the beginning of the present century the claims of ancient Greek or, at least, what we may call ancient ecclesiastical Greek were supported by men of high and wide repute at that time, such as Lampros Photiades, Stephanos Kommetas, and Neophytos Doukas. The claims of the demotic to be the sole national language were advocated by Katarztes, a forgotten writer in

prose and two poets Billaras and Christopoulos who have still a vogue. Entirely new life and interest, says Dr. Quinn, was given to the dispute by the deep scholarship and patriotic labours of Adamantios Korais whose views were first made public in 1804. His object was to keep as close as possible to the demotic which he would purify by weeding out of it foreign discordant elements such as Turkish and Albanian words. This purified demotic was known as the *Katharevousa*, now the recognised name of the official language of Greece. Passing to the present day he distinguishes three grades of the *Katharevousa*: that used by the 'austere purists,' like the poet Kleon Rangabes in his *Ἀλγη* (Leipzig 1893), the 'temperate' form in which is written the largest part of the better contemporary literature, and the least rigid form, used for example by Bikelas in his translation of Shakespeare. Amongst the supporters of demotic pure and simple may be mentioned Professors

Psycharis and Émile Legrand of Paris, the poets Polemas and Mashoras and the novelist Andreas Karkobitsas. Dr. Quinn writes moderately and temperately of these rival claimants; but his own sympathies appear to be with some form of the *Katharevousa*.

A welcome sign of the vivid interest of Modern Greece in Ancient is the appearance of Part I. of a Modern Greek counterpart of Liddell and Scott, a work which the editor, M. Anestes Constantinides, eulogises in terms that would have rejoiced the hearts of the two scholars to whom we owe so much. The first instalment takes us down to the very beginning of B; 462 pages are devoted to A as against 269 in the model; but difference of type accounts for the greater part of the excess. We hope to publish a more detailed account in a future issue.

A NEGLECTED MS. OF PLATO.

UNDER Cobet's influence the great Paris MS. (A) was long regarded as the sole authority for the last three tetralogies of Plato, just as the Clarke MS. at Oxford (B) was supposed to be the sole authority for the three first. 'Vile damnum,' he says of the rest, 'si omnes ad unum flammis comburentur.' Little by little, editors have retreated from this extreme position. Schanz has shown that D (Venetus 185, Bekker's II) is independent of A in the *Republic*. It represents for us, as Jordan suggests, the missing second volume of B, just as T (Venetus App. class. 4. cod. 1) represents for us the missing first volume of A. Still more recently, Professor Lewis Campbell has shown that the Cesena MS., which he calls M, is independent of A as well as of D. We thus possess three independent witnesses, and on these three Professor Campbell's text of the *Republic* is mainly based.

It can hardly be said, however, that these three MSS. represent three, or even two, families in the strict sense. They are all clearly derived from a single archetype, and give substantially the same recension of the text. In particular M is very closely related to A, and there is every reason to believe that the original of ADM was not

very much older than A itself. It is clear, therefore, that the text of the *Republic* will rest on a much surer foundation if it can be shown that there exists a tradition wholly independent of ADM.

The Hofbibliothek at Vienna has proved the Nemesis of nineteenth century Platonic criticism. Its MSS. are very imperfectly represented in Bekker's apparatus, and most scholars have formed their views independently of them. The bitterness caused by the appearance on the scene of the MS. now known as W would be amusing if it were not so unedifying. Even Schanz has been a good deal less than fair to Král's perfectly honest and well-meant examination of this MS. It is, therefore, with some fear that I venture to claim an even higher place in the Platonic apparatus for another Vienna MS., of which a full collation has been in the hands of scholars for three-quarters of a century. I can only explain its neglect by the fact that it is in Schneider's apparatus and not in Bekker's, beyond which few scholars care to travel. Mr. Adam (who knows the value of Schneider) would certainly have discovered the truth if he had for a moment abandoned his generally prudent and healthy scepticism as to theories of manuscript affiliation. In

the preface to his text of the *Republic*, he says (p. xii. n. 3) 'the general result—that where Δ is wrong, v is right oftener than any other single MS. except II, Ξ and q —is, I believe, firmly established.' So far as Bekker's MSS. go, this is probably true; but v (Schneider's Ang.) is demonstrably derived from Vind. F, which is, at the very least, two centuries older, and should, therefore, get all the credit in these cases. I may add, in passing, that Stallbaum's x (Schneider's Flor. R), to which some editors have paid considerable attention, is also derived from Vind. F.

With regard to Vind. F itself, I believe I can show (1) that it is derived, mediately or immediately, from an archetype of greater

antiquity than any extant Platonic MS., (2) that its archetype was independent of that of ADM.

(1) The antiquity of its archetype is proved by the nature of the graphic errors in F. These are mostly of such a kind that they could hardly have arisen in the process of transcribing an original written in minuscule characters, while many of them must have arisen from the misreading of a manuscript written in majuscules. The following list is far from exhaustive, but it is sufficient to prove the point, and may also have some interest as a fairly representative table of the sort of errors to be expected in such cases. It will be seen that vx correct the most obvious mistakes.

ADM

F

St. 330e δειμαίνει	ἀεὶ δειμαίνει (ἀεὶ δ. v : αἰεὶ δ. x)
339b μεγάλη	μέγα δὴ (corr. μεγάλη δὴ, and so vx)
349b εὐήθησ	εὐ ποιεῖσ (ἐπεικῆς corr. v)
351b γε ἡ ἀρίστη	γ' ἐπαρίστω (not vx)
353a ἡρώτων	πρώτων (corr. ἡρώτων int. vers.: ἡρώτων πρώτων x)
358c αὐτὸ οἱ	αὐτόθι (corr. αὐτὸ and so vx)
„ ἀναγκαῖον	ἀν δίκαιον (not vx)
359a δὴ ἄρξασθαι	ἀπάρξασθαι (so vx)
363a ὁσίοισ	θείοισ (δικαίοις vx , a conjecture)
367a ἴσως	τέως (so vx)
371b μεταδύσσουσιν ὧν	μεγάλως οὐσιῶν (not vx)
391e ἧ οὐ	ποῦ (not vx)
398d αἰδομένου (AM)	διδομένου (also D and so x)
399c νῦν δὴ (AM)	νῦν ἂν (also D, not vx)
401a κακοθηθείας (AM)	κακονόας (also D, and vx)
401c αὔρα (AM)	λύρα (also D, not vx)
404b μάλιστα ἧ	μάλιστ' ἂν (so vx)
405c λυγίζόμενος AM } λογίζόμενος D }	{ ΛΥ αὐ λογίζόμενος, i.e. ΛΟΓΙΖΟΜΕΝΟΣ (so vx)
420a οὐδ' ἀναλίσκειν	οὐδὲν ἀδικοῖν (corr. οὐδ' ἀναλίσκειν and so vx)
449a ἦτα	ἦλα (corr. ἦτα (<i>sic</i>) and so vx)
450a τισ εἰσοί	τισ θεάσοι (not vx)
451b γελάσας	κλάσας (corr. γελάσας and so vx)
460d ἐκπορίζοντες	σκορπίζοντες (not vx)
467b οὗτω κίνδυνος	οὕτωσ ἰνδυνος (not vx)
487e δέ γε	λέγε (not vx)
500d μόνον	πόνον (not vx)
504d σπάνιον	ἐπανιόν (not vx)
519e ἐγγενέσθαι	ἐπαινείσθαι (not vx)
520a ἐπὶ	ἐν ἧ (not vx)
521d εἶη ὦ	εἶπω (not vx)
543c τε δεῖν	τελείν (not vx)
576d ἀθλιότητος	δολιότητος (δουλιότητος pr. v , a conjecture)
588c φύειν	φύσιν (not vx)
595c ῥιγτέον	ιγτέον (not vx)

(2) The original of Vind. F was not only older than our oldest MSS.; it was quite

independent of the common archetype of ADM, and followed the recension used by

Galen, Iamblichus, Stobaeus, Clement, Eusebius, and other writers of the first five centuries after Christ. As I said in the Preface to the first volume of my edition of Plato, the agreement of W in peculiar readings with the old Armenian version on the one hand, and with Eusebius and Stobaeus on the other, is only to be explained on the theory that there was an 'ancient vulgate' of Plato's text, while our ninth century MSS. represent a recension made possibly about the fifth century A.D. The agreement between F and the 'indirect tradition' is even more striking, and extends even to small details. Considerable significance must be attached to the fact that in Rep. 612d the reading of F (vx) and Stobaeus *ἐπειδὴ τοίνυν, ἣν δ' ἐγώ, κεκριμένοι εἰσι* is given in the margin of Par. A by the first hand with the sign γρ, while in the text A has *ἐπειδὴ ἦν τοίνυν κεκριμένοι εἰσίν, ἐγώ* with

DM. In many places, F and the indirect tradition have alone preserved the true reading, e.g. 388e *ἐφίγ F Stobaeus: ἔφην AM: ἔφη D, 620a ὥσαύτως. εἰκόστην F Plutarch; ὥσαύτως εἰκόσ. τὴν ADM.* In other places, again, F and the indirect tradition agree in manifest errors, 432a *οὕτω AM: ὅτι D: οὕτω τὴν πόλιν F Stobaeus, 534c ἐξέγρεσθαι ADM: ἐξεγρεῦσθαι F, a reading only to be explained by contamination of the ἐξαγρεῦσαι found in the Farnesinus of Stobaeus with the true reading. It would be easy to multiply such instances, but it is better to take a single passage, Rep. ii 377c 'Ἐν τοῖς μέζουσιν κ.τ.έ., which is transcribed as far as the end of the book by Eusebius (P.E. xiii. pp. 376-379), and several detached pieces of which are quoted elsewhere by the same author. The following variants are the most significant.*

ADM

- 377d καὶ πρῶτον
378b δοκῶ
οὐδὲ
378c μέλλομεν
λεκτέα μᾶλλον DM: μᾶλλον A.
378e ταῦτα AM: αὐτὰ D
379a ὁ θεὸς ὦν
379d δῶ ἀμφοτέρων
380b λέγειν ταῦτα
380c τοὺς λέγοντας
381a ἀνδρειοτάτην
ἔστι διή
381b δῆλον ἐφῇ ὅτι
381c θεῶ
ἅπαντα
381d πρωτέως
381e ἡμῖν
382a φάντασμα
382b ἄγνοια ἢ τοῦ ἐψυσμένου
382d ψευδὴς ἐν θεῶ
ψεύδοιτο
383c χρώμην

F EUSEBIUS

- πρῶτον τε (so vx)
δοκεῖ (so vx)
οὔτε (not vx)
μέλλομεν (so vx)
μᾶλλον λεκτέα (so vx)
οἷα. (so vx)
ὦν ὁ θεὸς (so vx)
ἀμφοτέρων δῶ (so x)
ταῦτα λέγειν (not vx?)
τοὺς τε λέγοντας (so vx)
ἀνδρειοτάτην τε (so vx)
ἔστι (add. διή corr., and so vx)
δηλονότι ἐφῇ (so vx)
θεὸν (so vx)
πᾶσα (so vx)
πρωτέως τε (so vx)
ἡμᾶς (so vx)
φαντάσματα (so vx)
τοῦ ἐψυσμένου ἄγνοια (so vx)
ἐν θεῶ ψευδὴς (so v)
ἀν ψεύδοιτο (so vx)
αὐτοῖς χρώμην (so vx)

It appears to me that these agreements and differences can only be explained on the theory I have advanced, and it would be easy to show in the same way the agreement of F with Iamblichus, Stobaeus and other writers, extending often even to minutiae like elision.¹ I claim, therefore,

¹ In his Index, Schneider had already pointed this out. He says of Vind. F 'Veterem vulgatam representat et fere cum Stobaeo, Eusebio, etc. consentit.' Being in the Index, this observation has been left unnoticed. I did not know of it myself till I had already worked out the problem. It shows

for Vind. F that it, along with the 'indirect tradition,' gives us a second foundation for the Platonic text, coordinate with the archetype of ADM. The manuscript is full of mistakes, no doubt; but they are not of the misleading kind, being due to ignorance and not to perverse ingenuity. Critically used, I believe its evidence to be of the highest value. If I am right, it follows, for instance, that the agreement of F with D will in

that the theory of an 'ancient vulgate' is not so modern as is sometimes supposed.

many cases outweigh the undoubted authority of A, even when supported by M, and that in many cases F is our oldest, and often our sole authority for the true reading. By assigning to it its due place in the *apparatus criticus*, we are able to dispense to a large extent with the Renaissance MSS. Ξ and q (which Mr. Adam ranks immediately after A and II), and this in itself is an appreciable gain. At the time these MSS. were written, conjectures were made in the most light-hearted way, and both of them come from the very centre of Platonic study. Ven. Ξ was written by Joannes Rhosus for Cardinal Bessarion, and Mon. q reveals its *provenance* in a marginal reference by the first hand to δ θ ϵ ι $\omicron$ ς Π λ γ θ ω ν . Readings so attested have no more authority

than those of Ficinus and Cornarius, though it seems sometimes to be thought that the mere fact of their being written rather than printed gives them a superior claim to consideration. In point of fact, we can still see quite clearly from what originals these two MSS. were copied, and it is antecedently improbable that, where they depart from the earlier MSS. of their own family, they rest on anything better than conjecture. Of course, a few—a very few—of their conjectures are right, and they should be quoted for these, just as we quote Stephanus for his; but we are on much surer ground with an entirely unsophisticated document like Vind. F.

JOHN BURNET.

ARISTOPHANES, *KNIGHTS*, 532, 3.

DR. VERRALL'S notes on this play in the last number of this *Review* are most original and refreshing. The hard ground of the text cracks and out flies an *ἐμπιδίζων* *ισχυράδης*. Whether his novelties are true is another question, and in one case I think his crusade against ancient and modern nonsense has carried him too far.

The traditional interpretation of vv. 531 sq., νυνὶ δ' ὑμεῖς αὐτὸν ὁρῶντες παραληροῦντ' οὐκ ἐλέειτε, | ἐκπιπτουσῶν τῶν ἡλεκτρῶν καὶ τοῦ τόνου οὐκ ἐτ' ἐνόητος, | τῶν θ' ἄρμονιῶν διαχασκουσῶν· ἀλλὰ γέρων ὦν περιέρρει, | ὥσπερ Κονῶς στέφανον μὲν ἔχων αὐτὸν δίψῃ δ' ἀπολωλώς, is given by the scholiast; ἰδίως τὰ ταῖς κλίναις ἐπιβαλλόμενα ἐλεφάντινα οὕτως ἐκάλουν ἡλεκτρα. μεταφορᾷ οὖν κέχρηται ἀπὸ τῶν κλινῶν· αἱ γὰρ ἀρχαῖαι κλῖναι τοὺς πόδας εἶχον ὠφθαλμισμένους ἀνθραξι καὶ ἡλεκτροῖς ὥσπερ νῦν ἀργύρῳ ἢ καττιτέρῳ . . . ἀκολούθως μετὰ τὴν κλίνην ἐμνημόνευσε τοῦ τόνου· τόνος γὰρ τὰ τῶν κραββάτων σχοινία . . . ἄρμονίας λέγει τὰ συμπησσομένα τῶν κραββάτων μέρος. ἐπέμεινε δὲ τῇ τροπῇ.

The word ἡλεκτρος is not known elsewhere in the feminine, nor as part of a piece of furniture. Therefore many commentators transfer the term to a lyre, while Dr. Verrall writes ἡλεκτρῶν and ἄρμονιῶν with capital initials and sees in them characters in Cratinus' plays.

I believe the scholiast to be right, as scholiasts usually are; and I produce the following evidence.

Athen. *Mittheilungen* viii. 367 sq. An

inventory of furniture in the temple of Hera at Samos, p. 371 *εν διφρακον συντετριμμενον του δευτερου διφρακου ενλειπει τα πλεκτρα υπο τουτωι διφρακον | τον τονον ουκ εχε[ι . . .] κλιντηριος ελεφαντι ποικιλος ουκ ην*. Köhler, who publishes a revised copy of the inscription, remarks 'Weiterhin wird man τὰ πλέκτρα wenn richtig abgeschrieben als "das Flechtwerk" fassen müssen; man erwartet τὰ πλεκτά.' Read H for Π, sc. τα ηλεκτρα. The coincidence is striking: in both cases ἡλεκτρα(οι) is followed by *tonos*. About the latter there is no doubt; see Pollux x. 37 with quotations (adduced by Köhler), and another inscription, *C.I.A.* iv. Pt. ii. p. 178, No. 682 c. κ[λῖναι . . . τοὺς τόνου]ς λῖαν ἐντατοί four times repeated. I think these passages amply justify the scholiast, and the difference of gender must be accepted.¹

Dr. Verrall, however, hedges, and says 'the allusion to Electra and Harmonia does not exclude a reference by way of pun to the ἡλεκτρος (-τρον, -τρα) of a bed or a lyre.' I think Electra and Harmonia are excluded not merely because it is a desperate sup-

¹ As it appears that ἡλεκτρος wherever it occurs in literature before Aristophanes is ambiguous (*Soph. Ant.* 1038, which the Lexx. quote for the masculine points the other way), viz. equally masculine or feminine, we ought perhaps to let this place decide, and say that ἡλεκτρος f. and ἡλεκτρον n. are the two forms in use in early and classical Greek. The ἡλεκτροι were I suppose the metal, 'white gold,' as the Dict. Antt. calls it. The same authority s.v. *Lectus*, brings cases of inlaid bed-feet. See also 'Electrum' in Darenberg and Saglio.

position that two not over well-known heroines should have appeared in Cratinus' comedies, but because Aristophanes' reference generally is not to Cratinus' art but to his condition. Cratinus was an 'habitual,' διψῇ ἀπολωλώς. The jibe 400 can have no other meaning, and Cratinus admits the charge, with a soaker's candour, in the

Πυτίνῃ. His brain, as happens, was not gone; he could, under stimulus, write an amusing play about himself. But 'his plaques were scaling off, his springs were gone, his joints were gaping,' he was afflicted with the consequences of chronic alcoholism.

T. W. ALLEN.

COS AND CALYMNA.

THE following epigram was recently found in Calymnos by Mr. John Kalesperis, who communicated it to me, together with an impression. My friend Mr. Rudolf Herzog is engaged in editing the inscriptions of Cos and Calymna in the *Inscriptiones Graecae Insularum*, and Mr. Kalesperis has also communicated the stone to him; but as it illustrates a fact regarding the truth of which Mr. Hicks and I had made up our minds when we published our *Inscriptions of Cos* (1892), but which has been since then disputed, I anticipate Herzog's publication.

I there maintained in an Appendix, p. 352, that since an uncertain date (probably in the third century B.C.) and ever afterwards, Calymna was a dependency of Cos. Mr. Angelo Scrinzi in an interesting study (*Kalymna*, Venice, 1899) has, for reasons which I need not here discuss, disputed our contentions. As regards the details of his argument there are valuable corrections of the details of our own; but the best refutation I can offer of his refutation of us taken as a whole is this stone.

The script is not later than the second century B.C. Π is so with slight apices; we have Α and Α. The stone is broken above and chipped on the r. side.

Above, in large letters.

[Ἡραγόρας
τὸν υἱόν
καὶ Ἡραγόρα]
τὸν ἀδελφόν
θεοῖς.

Ἐξ ἔτεσιν λίποντα διπλῆς δεκάδος
ἄρπασεν ὠκύπλους ἄ νεκύν ἄκατος,
ἐς μακάρων δέ με χώρον ἐθήκατο, ματρὶ δὲ δῶ[κεν
δώρον, ἐπεὶ προτέρᾳ ἦλθε Ἀίδαο μύχους.
Πατὴρ δὲ στοργά με κασιγνήτου τε πρὸς αὐγὰς
Ἀελίου μορφὰν θῆκε τυπωσαμένα.
Οὐνομα δὲ κλειόμαν Ξενοκλῆς, δῆμος δὲ Καλύμν[α
Κῶ δὲ πάτρα, γενέτωρ δ' ἐστὶ μου Ἡραγόρας.

The reading of the end of line 7 and beginning of line 8

ΔΗΜΟΣ ΔΕΚΑΛΥΜΝ (chipped)

ΚΩΙΔΕΠΤΑΤΡΑ

is certain. The writer of the verses was no great scholar, but he can scarcely have meant Κωι as a nominative (at the present day it is true they say ἡ Κῶ for ἡ Κῶς) so it is locative and perhaps we should restore δῆμος δὲ Καλύμνα 'my deme is in Calymna, my birth-place is in Cos.' But whether Κωι be nominative or locative, what the writer wished to express was that he was a Coan belonging to the deme of Calymna or to one of the Calymnian demes. W. R. PATON.

CALYMNOS, Aug. 12th.

EMENDATIONS IN THE ARATEA OF CICERO AND AVIENUS.

THESE notes, together with the paper on Germanicus which I published in vol. xiv of this Review, pp. 26-39, are sent as messengers before the face of Mr. P von Winterfeld, who will some day give to the world, I hope and believe, a Syntagma Arateorum.

CICERO.

55, 56.

ipse autem labens mutis Equus ille tenetur
Piscibus, huic ceruix dextra mulcetur
Aquari.

Write *inde...hinc*. Arat. 282 sq. τὸν δὲ

μετα σκαίροντε δὴ Ἰχθύες ἀμφιμένοντα |
 Ἴππων. πᾶρ δ' ἀρα οἱ κεφαλῇ χεῖρ' Ὑδρο-
 χόοιο κτλ., Auien. 645 sqq. 'nam post
 cornipedem flagrant duo sidera Pisces, |
 Pisces Bamyicii, caput autem subter equinum
 | Laomedontiadae se dextera tendit ephēbi.'

123-125.

nam Canis infesto sequitur uestigia cursu,
 praecipitantem agitans, oriens iam denique
 paulo,

curriculum numquam defesso corpore sedans.

Nonsense; write <distans>. Vitr. ix 5 3
 'Canis paruo intervallo insequens Leporem.'

187, 188.

Arcturo magnum spatium supero dedit orbe
 Iuppiter; huic paruum inferiore in parte
 locuit.

The sense requires the opposite: write *par*
 or *parile*. magnum Maybaum.

266, 267.

hic totus medius circo disiungitur, ipse
 pectoribus ualidis atque aluo possidet orbem.

iste Grotius, which would do for Auienus;
 but Cicero wrote *ille*, and this confusion is
 commoner than that.

334, 335.

hic quantum terris consecutus pellitur orbis
 tantundem pandens supera mortalibus edit.

Write *consectus*: see *consecta* 452 below.

422, 423.

quos tenet Aegaeo defixa in gurgite Chius,
 Bucchica quam uiridi conuestit tegmine
 uitis.

This false quantity is incredible: write
tellus (or *terra*). Chius is a marginal gloss
 invited into the text by the haplography
gurgitellus. The two lines are a periphrasis
 of Aratus' Χίω, so the κύριον ὄνομα is better
 away.

437, 438.

cedit conuerso corpore Cepheus
 extremas medio contingens corpore terras.

Write *pectore* in 438: the confusion is
 perpetual. Arat. 649 says ζώνη, and when
 he says ὑπὸ ζώνη at 94 Manilius i 318 trans-
 lates it 'medio sub pectore,' Cicero n. d.
 ii 110 'subter praecordia.' See Hyg. astr.
 iv 6 'Cepheus pectore suo circulum iungit',
 Manetho ii 70 στέρνον θ' ὑπο Κηφέος εἶσιν,
 Auien. 1200 below.

450-454. Write

at caput et totum sese Centaurus opacis
 eripit e tenebris, linquens uestigia parua

ante pedum consecta, simul cum lumine
 pandit

ipse feram, <quam> dextra tenet. prolabitur
 inde

Anguitenens capite et manibus.

See Germ. 671 'fera, quam dextra portat
 Centaurus.' There is no further lacuna:
 'linquens...consecta' sufficiently renders
 Arat. 663 sq.

463.

abditur Orion, obiit simul abditus umbra est.

This should answer to Arat. 677 sq.
 πάντα κατέρχεται Ὀρίωνος, | πάντα γε μὴν
 ἀτέλεστα διωκομένοιο Λαγωῦ, so for *obiit* *simul*
 they read *obit et Lepus*. But write

abditur Orion, obit Auritus simul umbras,
 or Auritus obit simul. See Germ. 341 *auri-*
tum (*auditum* cod. Bonon.) *Leporem*, Auien.
 751 *Auriturum*, and for the rhythm 187 above.
 At Manil. ii 209 the MSS have *sacrata est*
 for *sacratas*.

Let me call attention to two corrections
 in which Mr Maybaum has anticipated me,
 101 *summis* for *summi*, 467 *oriens* for *obiens*.

AVIENUS.

The two authorities are cod. Vindob.
 palat. 107 saec. x (V) and ed. princ. Venet.
 an. 1488 (E). The cod. Ambros. D 52
 saec. xv (A) is rightly judged by Mr
 Winterfeld to be merely a copy of a copy of
 V: the only phenomenon which even seems
 to conflict with this opinion is 1122 *iuba*
rore Heinsius, *iubar ore* A, *iubar ora* V E.
 But from 1582 to 1878, where V is want-
 ing, A acquires importance, since it is there
 the sole representative of V's strain of
 tradition.

Three of the following conjectures were
 published in this Review in February 1900.
 I have cancelled nine or ten emendations
 which have been forestalled by Mr Winter-
 field, the best critic Auienus has had since
 Grotius.

136, 137.

indeque Sidoniis ducet Cynosura carinis:
 rector undoso cursus sulcatur in aestu.

dux est edd. Write

indeque Sidoniis duce t <e>, Cynosura,
 carinis
 rector etc.

164.

at decline caput.

Write *decline*: Germ. 61 'serpentis decline
 caput.'

186-190. Write and punctuate thus :

sic insidisse labore
deuictum fama est. *at, cum* Tirynthius
aethrae
inditus et solio fultus sublime paterno est,
Iuppiter hanc speciem, miseratus acerba
laborum,
reddidit et talem cerni permisit Olympo.

ac tum VE: at 1308 *at cum* E, *actum* V.
See 624-9 'hic iam fila nouem docta in
modulamina mouit | musarum ad speciem
musa satus,*at, cum* | inopia Bassaridum
carpsisset dextera uatem,..... intulit hanc
caelo miseratus Iuppiter artem.

264-269. Write

nec minus in membris lux olli maxima
uibrat
omnibus: ardet apex capiti, micat ignea late
dextera, flammam umeri, flammam <*mam-*
mae> mouet instar.
inter utrumque femur, qua se confinia
longis

diducunt pedibus, *maioris* luminis auras
uerberat et rutilo sidus magis aestuat astro.

266 *mammae instar* = 'mammas species.'
Hyg. astr. iii 3 'habet autem in *manu*
dextra stellas quattuor,... in *capite* stellam
unam, in *utroque* umero singulas, in *utraque*
mamma singulas sed *clariorem dextram*.' For
instar VE have *insta* and Mr Robert con-
jectures *infra*: perhaps 'flammam *umeris*,
flammam <*mamma*> mouet, *infra* | *inter*'
etc.

267 *longis*] *locis* VE, *latis* Schrader. 113
longum E, *logū* V.

268 *maioris*] *maior* VE, *maior fax* Hein-
sius. *maioris* luminis sidus auras uerberat.
'*sidus rutilo astro aestuat*' is an expression
like 275 '*circulus* obliquo late iacet astriger
orbe', 718, 1516. Erat. catast. 8 ἀνὰ μέσον
τῶν γονάτων ἕνα λαμπρότατον, ὃς δὲ Ἄρκτοῦρος
καλεῖται.

471-476. Write and punctuate

Andromedae capiti suppingitur indiga pleni
aluus Equi. summo quae fax in uertice
uibrat

uirginis inque auras coni uice surgit acuti,
ipsa sub abscisso late micat aurea uentre
cornipedis. simul *hos* lux indiscreta retentat,
communique rubent duo semper sidera
flamma.

hoc VE. *retentat* means *tenet*, as in descr.
orb. 492.

537; 538.

at locus olli

post tergum Andromedae. sic se tulit ordo
dicatus.

Write

at locus olli

post tergum Andromedae (sic se tulit ordo)
dicatus.

Or perhaps *dicatur*, as V has *dicat*. 459
rotatur Grotius, *notatus* E, *notat* V.

545-547.

mundo qua pectora Laniger alto
urget, et *aduerso* surgentem corpore Taurum
respicit.

Write *auerso*: Manil. i 263 sq. 'aurato
princeps *Aries* in uellere fulgens | *respicit*
admians *auersum* (*aduersum* MSS) *surgere*
Taurum,' iii 403 '*auerso nascenti sidere*
Tauro' (*aduerso nascentia sidera* MSS).

562-564, Write

in caput inque umeros rotat aegram machina
mundi

Andromedam: <*tum*> Threicii sub *fla-*
br<*a*> aquilonis
nititur alato uindex pede.

Threicii nam sub fabri V (*fabri*=*fiabr*),
which E barbarously alters to *Thraici nam*
sub flabris, but in vain, for *nam* still means
nothing. Perseus is figured as flying toward
the north pole: Andromeda is nearly at
right angles to him, with her head eastward.
I cannot promise that *tum* (i.e. next in
place) is right: perhaps *fera*.

718-721. Write and punctuate

subtrahit obliquo qua sese circulus orbe
signifer in borean, *australes deserat* umbras
ut medii iam mole poli, fera pectora Tauri
suspicit Orion.

australe sederat VE. Where the zodiac
rises to its northernmost point at Cancer, so
that it is separated from the antarctic circle
by the whole bulk of the mid-sky, there,
in the room thus left, lies Orion, with his
head toward Taurus. For the postpone-
ment of *ut* compare 1072. What Grotius and
the editors have made of these verses is a
sight to see.

739-741.

illa autem, interno quae sunt animata uigore,
Sirius adtollit, blandusque inlabitur herbas
Sirius, et dulci nutrit tepefacta sereno.

Write *spiritus*, neque enim herbas inla-
bitur Sirius. VE have *si prius*, not in 741
but in 740. See Cic. 117 'haec augens
anima uitali flamine mulcet,' de diu. i 130
'adspiratio.'

775-779.

rutilat subter Nereia Pistrix,
efflua percurrents non multum Fluminis astra.

illa memor longae formidinis, illa *duorum*
inter signa tenax, horret squalentia monstri
terga procul pavidumque super caput inserit
undis.

776. Write *præcurrens*, 'extending beyond': Arat. 358 βαῖον ὑπὲρ Ποταμοῦ βεβλημένον, Germ. 362 'Belua sed ponti non multum præterit Amnem.' What could *percurrens* mean?

777. *suorum* Grotius; I should much prefer *priorum*, as better sense and no less easy. *priorum tenax*, remembering the past. 208 *striga* V, write *Stuga*; 580 *tarigite* V, write *Targele*.

904-906.

ista uolutatos cernuntur cuncta per annos,
hæc uehit Oceanus pater omnia mersaque
rursus
hauriet Oceanus.

hæc uehit edd., but the sense requires *uehit* (*ae uehit*): see descr. orb. 63 'euecta dies.' 1375 'cingula cum ueheret pelagus procul Orionis,' means 'when Orion was on the horizon.'

911.

nullus eas alio dependere certet.

This five-footed hexameter should say of the planets what Aratus says of them in 456 sq. οὐκ ἂν ἔτ' εἰς ἄλλους ὁρώων ἐπιτεκμήραιο | κείνων ἤχι κέονται and Germanicus in 440 sq. 'haud equidem possis alio contingere signo | quae diuis sedes,'—that you cannot give rules for finding them by saying that they lie next to this or that constellation, inasmuch as they have no fixed place. Write then

nullus eas alio dependere <*sidere*> certet.
Mr Winterfeld inserts *signo* after *alio*: what the editors do I will not say.

984, 985.

iste uenenatae *disiecta* uolumina caudæ
amputat.

Write *dissecta*: that is the worst the tropic of Capricorn can do to the Scorpion's tail.

996-998. Punctuate

hic luci modus et tenebris sub lege magistra
pensatur: nox aequa diem subit, aemula
Phoebus
lumina substituit paribusque reuoluitur
horis.

The editors put a full stop after 'aemula'.

1055, 1056

illius Oceano quantum submergitur alto,
tantum *telluris* super eminet.

Arat. 553 sq. τοῦ δ' ὅσον κοίλοιο κατ' ὠκεανοῖο δύνται, | τόσον ὑπὲρ γαίης φέρεται. It is true that ὑπὲρ governs the genitive, but Auienus shared with most of his countrymen the opinion that *super* did not; and he wrote in descr. orb. 610 'fretum super eminet.' Here he wrote either *tellurem* or *telluri*.

1139-1141.

iste Lyrae rutilat conterminus adque sub
undis

hic tenebris petit occidui uada caerulea ponti
et mox Oceanus reparatur clarus eoo.

'sub undis tenebris petit uada'! Write *unis*, that is 'uno eodemque occasu'. Lyra and Engonasis both set when Virgo rises.

1153-1156. Write

iam gurgis et ultima Cycni
et caput acris Equi premit *aequore*; iam
procul ista
marmoris occidui penitus petiere profundum
hausta salo.

aequora VE, which cannot be saved by Mr Winterfeld's punctuation, de Ruf. Fest. Auien. p. 31.

1198-1202.

Cepheus ipse caput distentaque brachia
uasto
induitur ponto, tellurem cingula radunt
extima et Oceano mersantur pectora rauco
sola senis: relicum polus a *littore* uersat
semper inocciduum.

So E, but V a *litorae* re. That is *altior aere*; but Auienus never uses *aer* for *aether*, so write

relicum polus *altior aethere*. uersat.

See 60 'polus sublimior,' Germ. 324 'sidera, quae mundi pars celsior aethere uoluit'.

1214-1216.

manus effert dextera praedam
siluarum, nam prima ferae uestigia *mollis*
arcum sera manent.

So VE quite rightly: in *ollis* Grotius and edd., which makes nonsense. 'ferae mollis' = 'Centauri mansueti', for this Centaur is Chiron: 887 sqq. 'hic, ubi celso | Pelion adsurgit dorso, . . . arbiter aequi | egerat, Alcidae legum post bella magister'. These last words mean 'legum magister post Alcidae bella', before which Pelion had been the abode of ἀνομία. Mr Winterfeld l.c. p. 24 should not alter *legum* to *Lelegum*: for the misleading order of words compare 1138 'inque genu tantum nixus pede proferat ortum', i.e. pede tantum proferat.

1252.

ipsa dehinc manet exortum *cylidi* Capricorni.

cylidi E, *cilici* V: *Cilicis* edd., which is supposed to mean *saelosi*, because there are goats in Cilicia. Write *gelidi*: so 56 'gelido Capricorno', Germ. 7, 289 and perhaps 567, Cic. 58 sq., Manil. i 375, ii 252 and probably iv 743. Mr Winterfeld pp. 12 sq. collects confusions of *g* and *c*: and another follows at 1426.

1377-1380.

hoc ut *fontem unde et duxit* tempora lunae,
nauta quo longum facili rate curreret
aequor,
et quo ruris amans telluri farra parenti
crederet.

Write *fonte Meton deduxit* (= *fontem et onde duxit*). I have also corrected the punctuation.

1425-1427.

si moles magna utriusque (= umoris
et caloris)
occurset sibimet uelut obuia comminus agri,
compulsu aërio fragor intonat.

What does *agri*¹ mean? or *uelut* either? and why is *occurset* subjunctive? Write *occurso* sibimet *uenit* obuia comminus *agri*. 1506 *uehit* VE, *uelut* A, 1154 *acris* E, *agris* V. *u* is like *it* (descr. orb. 1181 *suus* for *situs*), and *occurrit* must become either *occurset* or *occurrit*.

1459-1462. Write

luminis ista dehinc si crassior adque retunsis
cornibus ingreditur sic quarti sideris ortu
percussū ut tenuem protendat corporis um-
bram,
imbribus aut zephyris hebetabitur.

si VE. The editors eject *ut* from 1461: then *si* ought to be *et* and *protendat* ought to be *protendit*. See 1465 sqq. 'si...protollat...currus | sic subrecta faces...ut nec...declinet cornua' etc.

1475-1479.

istius in borean quod se sustollit acumen,
si curuum specie uelut adnuat, adfore caelo
saena procellosi praedicet flabra aquilonis.
namque hoc urgeri sese adserit hocque
grauari,
sūma altae tuendo docet inclinarier alta.

Write *sic maria et uento* (= *sumartaetuendo*). 1097 *labente* E, *labende* V.

¹ Mr Winterfeld (Quellen- und Textkritik Auien., pp. 23 sq.) seems to translate 'comminus agri' as if it were 'prope terram'.

1602-1606.

at matutini si Phoebum litoris acta
maiores solito produxerit, adque per
aethram
marcenti similis *defluxerit* extimus orbis,
alta dehinc scandens minuatur iubar igniferum
sol,
pura serena aderunt.

Write *defluxerit*, as *maiores* and *minuat* require, even if Aratus had not written 848 *τηκομένω ἐναλίγκιος εἰρήνηται*.

1626-1628.

sed cum radiis marcentibus ardor
languet, et tenui tenduntur acumine frustra
Phoebei crines, nimbos aget atra procella.

Write *languit*. *languet* A, *languet et in* edd.

1799-1802.

quin et gaudebit arator
quisque solum iustis uersabit mensibus anni
plebe gruum prima, gaudebit tardus arator
agmine pigrarum.

Write *aratro*. 'quisque (= quicumque) aratro solum uersabit iustis mensibus anni' is a periphrasis of Arat. 1075 *ὥρατος ἀροτρῆς* and ought not to contain the word 'arator,' especially when 'tardus arator' follows: see Cic. 422 above.

1803-1807.

pecudes si denique terram
lanigerae fodiant, caput at tendatur in
arcton,
cum *madidus* per marmora turbida condit
Pliadas occasus, cum *brumae in frigora cedit*
frugifer autumnus, ruet aethra concitus
imber.

Write

pecudes si denique terram
lanigerae fodiant cum *brumae in frigora cedit*
frugifer autumnus, caput at tendatur in
arcton,
cum *matutinus* per marmora turbida condit
Pliadas occasus ruet aethra concitus imber.

Arat. 1082 sqq. εἰ δὲ βόες καὶ μῆλα μετὰ βρῖθουσιν ὁπώρην | γαίαν ὀρύσσουσιν, κεφαλὰς δ' ἀνέμοιο βορρῆος | ἀντία τείνωσιν, μᾶλα κεν τότε χεῖμερον αὐταὶ | Πληιάδες χειμῶνα κατερχόμεναι φορέοιεν. Auienus is careful to add that the morning setting of the Pleiades, in November, is here meant, not their evening setting, in April.

1832-1839.

sic in contraria semper
uota homines agimur nostrique cupidine
fructus

poscimus alterius dispendia. denique et ipsa
sollers natura et rerum genitabilis ordo
certa suis studiis adfixit signa futuri.
namque et ouis cupido si gramina tondeat
ore,
insaturata cibi, decerpens latius agros,
pastor indicium pluuiialis frigoris edet.

1834. Write 'denique <cuique>': -enique
and cuique are just alike. Only thus will
suis studiis in 1836 acquire any sense: the
meaning is, as the context shows, that the
shepherd can foretell the weather from his
sheep, the ploughman from his oxen, and
so on.

1839. Write *pastori*: I do not know
what possesses the editors to read *pastor id*.

1857-1860.

id parui cum stridunt denique mures,
cum gestire solo, cum ludere forte uidentur,
portendunt tibimet; canis id *praesentia*,
ultro
tellurem fodiens.

praesentia Breysig, as I could have pre-
dicted. The subjunctive is irrational after
portendunt; the question is not 'quid prae-
sentiat canis' but 'quid praemoneat'; and
praesentia ultro is only in E: A, which as I
said at the outset is here in V's absence an
independent authority, has *i rentia adultis*.
The archetype therefore had *prentiad*, which
E mistook for *psentia*: it should have been
prentiad; that is *praenuntiat*.

A. E. HOUSMAN.

CLEMENT'S PROHIBITIVES IN TERENCE.

UNDER the title of 'Prohibitives in Terence,' in the *Classical Review* for April, 1901, Professor Clement attempts to show that, in my own articles, I misrepresented the frequency of certain kinds of prohibitions in Terence, and the character of the acts prohibited by the different types, respectively. Anyone who undertakes to criticise the work of a fellow-investigator should make sure first that he has read and weighed with scrupulous care every part of the publication he proposes to attack, and secondly, that he has used due care in studying the material upon which he bases any counter-claims. To neglect either one of these two things is in my judgment inexcusable. Professor Clement has neglected both of them. He accuses me, for instance, of having carelessly omitted 14 instances. As a matter of fact all but one of these were intentionally omitted by me, for the very good reason that they could not properly be included. Seven of them belong to the type *oro (obsecro, etc.) ne facias*. If Professor Clement had read my own discussion with due care, he would have noticed that I said on pp. 135 (3) and 149 (17) of The Latin Prohibitive that clauses of this type (with the exception of four or five instances in which an accompanying imperative, the order of words, or some other consideration made it probable that the *ne*-clause was independent) were, as a matter of course, excluded from my discussion, and that I had not even attempted to collect the very numerous

instances of this use. In discussing the distinction between tenses in prohibitions, the type *oro ne facias* should not enter into consideration, for the reason that one can never say that the *ne*-clause is not a subordinate clause. Indeed all such clauses in Cicero (and he is full of them) have, almost without exception, been regarded by all scholars as subordinate. If only a single one of them could be proved to be independent, the theory now in vogue that *ne* with the present subjunctive in prohibitions is foreign to Ciceronian prose (except when addressed to an indefinite second person) would be dead without further discussion. It is a grammatical commonplace that, in the process of subordination, distinctions observed in independent clauses are very frequently obliterated. Such an obliteration of tense-distinctions has occurred in the type *oro ne facias*. Many such instances of the present in Cicero are full of emotion and involve acts that are regarded with great alarm. But what has all this to do with my distinction between tenses in prohibitions? The perfect tense is, as far as I am aware, quite unknown in clauses of this type, with the exception of a few cases in the earliest Latin, where they may have been felt as *quasi*-independent clauses.

Several other of the alleged 'omissions' consist of *caue* with the first and the third persons. Evidently Professor Clement is in the habit of calling such an expression as *caue unquam audiam*, 'take care that I never hear' (Haut. 1031), a prohibition. A

little research will convince him of the fact that, in this, he is quite at variance with all Latin grammars. But even if such expressions were to be classed under the head of prohibitions, it would be quite out of place for Clement to include them in his discussion as to the distinction between tenses, unless he can show that both tenses are used in the first person, *i.e.* unless he can cite instances of the type *caue audiverim*.¹ How can he talk of a distinction between tenses in expressions in which only one tense is ever allowed? When he says (p. 158) that I cited all the instances of *caue* with the first and third persons in Plautus, Professor Clement is drawing wholly upon his imagination. Only one of the numerous instances was included in my list and the inclusion of this was due to inadvertence.

Another of the 14 instances is said by Clement to be Ad. 942. I fear that my critic did not look beyond his Dziatzko text. There is no manuscript authority whatever for *ne gravere*, the reading adopted by Clement. All of the manuscripts have the imperative *ne gravare* and nearly all of the important critical editions from Bentley down to the present time follow the manuscripts. Even Fleckeisen, who in his first edition read *ne gravere*, now reads *ne gravare*.

The only one of the 14 instances that should have been included in my list is Haut. 292, and this instance, as will be seen below, is conspicuously in harmony with my theory.

Professor Clement further regards the instances of *uide ne* with the subjunctive as serious omissions in my discussion regarding the distinction between the perfect and present tenses. Is he not aware of the fact that (at least prior to the Period of Decline, for which I can not speak) the perfect tense is not allowed after *uide ne* in prohibitions?² Is it not a little unreasonable to insist upon discussing the distinction between two things, when one of the two things has no existence?

My theory regarding the distinction between tenses naturally concerned itself solely with those forms of prohibitions with which both tenses were in common use, *i.e.*

¹ Even in the third person, only one author, so far as I know, ever used the perfect subjunctive with *caue*, and he used it only once in an intensely emotional passage, where the expression involved the escape of a supposed lunatic (Plaut. Men. 994).

² One should be careful not to confuse with prohibitions such expressions as Most. 966 *uide ne quopiam ducoriteris* = 'I suspect you have been dropping in somewhere,' lit. 'see lest you have been dropping in,' &c.; see Gildersleeve-Lodge Grammar, § 548, 4.

with the types *ne feceris* and *caue feceris* on the one hand, and *ne facias* and *caue facias* on the other. Most of the matter introduced by Professor Clement is wholly irrelevant to this discussion. And much of the relevant matter is treated in the extremely careless manner that characterized the same author's Prohibitions in Silver Latin.³ A brief survey of this material will suffice to show how little confidence can be placed in his conclusions.

Professor Clement sets out with the rather startling admission that, as regards the perfect tense, there are in Terence four instances decidedly in favour of my theory and none at all against it. He finds, however, three others that he classes as 'doubtful,' *i.e.* he is doubtful whether the acts prohibited by them are sufficiently alarming to prompt an unusually energetic prohibition. Let us glance at these so-called 'doubtful' cases:

Haut. 187 *caue faxis*. Fearing his enraged father, Clinia dare not go home. His friend Clitipho undertakes to shield him from his father's wrath by secreting him in his (Clitipho's) house. Clitipho's father now proposes to invite Clinia's father to dine with them. This would bring Clinia face to face with his father. No more alarming suggestion could well be conceived of from the young men's point of view (cf. 189 and 197 f.), and it evokes from Clitipho the prohibition quoted.

Ad. 458 *caue dixeris*. An outrage of the most disgraceful character has been committed. Every word of the speaker, Hegio, throughout the scene is brimful of passion and indignation. The prohibition is prompted by Geta's reference to the further calamity that will befall, if Hegio deserts them: 'Desert you?' exclaims Hegio, '*Say not that word!*'; then, a moment later (498), 'sooner will I lay down my life than desert that family!'

As regards the third instance (Haut. 826 *caue admiratus sis*), *sis* alone may have been felt as the verb, *admiratus* being used as in Plaut. Amph. 89, Cic. Att. 9, 12, 2, Off. 2, 10, 35, etc. It will thus be seen that all the evidence that can count at all supports my contention in the most emphatic manner.

³ See the review of his article in the American Journal of Philology, xxii, 1.

Professor Clement's treatment of the present tense is still less satisfactory. I have above pointed out most of the irrelevant matter he has here introduced. There are, however, two other passages that should have been excluded, as being so uncertain that they can not be allowed to have any weight in our discussion. In Phorm. 508 *heia, ne parum leno sis*, the *ne*-clause is regarded as subordinate by nearly all editors and commentators early and late, e.g. by Donatus, Wagner, Lindenbrog, Parry, Hickie, Perlet, Lemaire, Westerhovius (ed. Stallbaum), Davies, Sloman (1st edition), Elmer, etc. Professor Clement brushes aside all such authorities by a mere stroke of the pen. Only two editions, so far as I know, regard the clause as a prohibition, viz. those of Bond and Walpole, and Phillips, though Sloman in his second edition gives this as one of the two possible interpretations. The other passage is Hec. 343 So. *Non uisam uxorem Pamphili?* PAR. *Non uisas? ne mittas quidem uisendi causa quemquam.* I quite agree with Professor Clement that I was inconsistent in classifying this *ne mittas quidem* as a prohibition. I did not suppose that I had included any such expression in my list of prohibitions.¹ *Ne-quidem* is of course to be classed with *non* (not with *ne*), as regards its uses. It is not used with a prohibitive subjunctive for the same reason that it is not used with the imperative mood. The will is no more involved in *ne mittas quidem* than it is in the preceding questions *non uisam?*—*non uisas?* to which it is an answer (notice the negatives *non, non, ne-quidem*). It is, then, parallel with expressions like *non redderes* in Plaut. Trin. 133 (after *non redderem?*), *non sileas* in Hor. Sat. II, 5, 91,² and should be classed as an expression of obligation or propriety.

There remain, as legitimate material upon which to base conclusions, eighteen instances of *ne* and *caue* with the present subjunctive.³ Among these eighteen instances, Professor Clement himself finds only seven that seem to him out of harmony with my theory that the present tense is chiefly confined to prohibitions in which the act prohibited is so unimportant in character that it would not be likely to

prompt unusual energy of expression. It is seen, therefore, that according to Clement's own estimate, my contention is completely vindicated, as regards the general distinction between the perfect and present tenses. But any one who will take the trouble to examine these seven instances will find four of them violently misinterpreted. No impartial student can, I am confident, find anything alarming or shocking in the acts prohibited in the following passages:

Haut. 939 Chremes, *ne quid ureare, si minus: nil nos dos mouet.* The speaker, Menedemus (perfectly calm and matter of fact), wants his son to marry Chremes' daughter. Chremes hesitates to confess how small the dowry must be, whereupon Menedemus says, 'Do not be afraid to tell me the amount of the dowry, even if it isn't very large, for I care nothing about the dowry.'

Eun. 212 PH. *Ne istuc tam iniquo patiare animo.* PAR. Minime: quin factum dabo. Phaedria is sending a present by Parmeno to the girl he loves. The following dialogue takes place: PAR. I wish a man could win money as easily as he'll lose it by sending such presents as this. PHAED. (punning good-naturedly) My heart is lost too (*pereo*) and that is still more valuable; but *don't worry so much over that present.* PA. I'll not worry at all; on the contrary, I'll see that she gets it.

Haut. 302 Perge, obsecro te, et caue ne falsam gratiam studeas inire. The speaker is thrown into ecstasies of delight by what Syrus, the person addressed, is telling him. He can hardly wait for him to tell the rest of the glad tidings. 'Pray do go on,' he says, 'and do not strive to win any gratitude from me that you oughtn't to have.' The speaker shows the most unbounded confidence in Syrus, and even affection for him (cf. *Syre mi* in 291).

Ad. 170 *Caue oculos a meis oculis quam demoueas tuos.* The speaker is here perfectly calm and deliberate—exasperatingly so. Nothing of any importance depends upon Parmeno's keeping his eyes fixed constantly upon Aeschinus. In fact the former promptly disregards the prohibition with results most gratifying both to himself and to Aeschinus.

¹ I have classified this instance correctly in my Studies, p. 216, also in my article on 'A Neglected Use of the Latin Subjunctive' in the *Classical Review*, xiii. p. 203.

² See my Studies, pp. 213 ff.

³ Haut. 302, 745, 939, Eun. 76, 212, 273, 388, 751, 786, 988, And. 205, 704, 706, 980, Phorm. 419, 993, Ad. 22, 170.

There remain only three instances (out of a total of eighteen), Eun. 388 *ne conferas*, Eun. 988, *ne me spectes* and Phorm. 993 *caue creduas*. It will be noticed that in *ne spectes* and *caue creduas* the verbs belong to just the class of verb which my theory would lead one to expect to take the present tense rather than the perfect. No one was ever harmed by having another person look at him, nor by any one else's mere belief. It is true, however, that both of these pro-

hibitions imply other acts that might be disastrous and they may for this reason be counted as exceptional cases.

It will, I hope, be evident from the foregoing discussion that Professor Clement's attempt to overthrow my conclusions has signally failed. And his failure has served to confirm the validity of my theory in the most striking manner.

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'TO EAT' AND 'TO DRINK' IN LATIN.

It is a curious circumstance, and one not especially to the credit of Latin scholarship, that the classical conjugation of two of the commonest verbs in the language appears to be still generally unknown. At the one end of the scale the articles on *adedo*, *adbibo*, and *appotus* in the new *Thesaurus Linguae Latinae* disclose a by no means perfect appreciation of the facts. And at the other—but why go to the other? Perhaps it may be enough to mention that within the last few weeks I have seen the proofs of a generally excellent elementary Latin book in which false and unclassical forms from both these verbs were being served up for the unsuspecting schoolboy.

A.—*edo* AND COMPOUNDS.

I.—The shorter, or unthematic, forms.

Of these forms, to wit: ACT. Pres. Ind. *ēs*, *ēst*, *ēstis*. Imperf. Subj. *ēssem*, etc. Imperative *ēs*, *esto*, *ēste*, *ēstote*.¹ Infin. *ēsse*. PASS. Pres. Ind. *ēstur*. Imperf. Subj. *ēssetur*. Imper. *estor*,¹ with any more that are still to be discovered, it is asserted that they are irregular. The expression may easily mislead, and in fact appears to have done so. In the sense that these forms do not agree with the norm of the third conjugation, the statement is true; but in no other. *Normal Classical Latin* from Plautus downwards knows no other forms. Accordingly when, for example, the *Thesaurus* gives '*adedere*' for the infinitive of *adedo*, and the index volume of the Tyrrell-Purser edition of the Letters of Cicero '*comedere*' for the infinitive of *comedo*, and add no word of warning, they impute to the classical writers forms which

every one of them we may say would have scouted as barbarous. Further, when, in Georges' excellent *Lexikon der Lateinischen Wortformen* (s.vv. *edo* and compounds) and, with still greater fullness, in Neue-Wagener's no less excellent *Formenlehre*, iii. pp. 614 *sqq.* we find the occurrences of the shorter forms set forth, we are grateful to them for the collections of their diligence; but we have to observe that it begins at the wrong end, and that what we want to know is where in literary Latin the longer forms occur.

Let me be perfectly clear. I do not assert that the form *adēsse*, for example, was in actual use. The *Thesaurus* gives no instance of its employment, and I cannot cite any. What I do assert is that, if a Roman had needed to use the inf. of *adedo*, he would have used *adēsse*; and not *adedere* which the *Thesaurus* gives, also without citing examples.

It would be a waste of space to reprint the, comparatively speaking, very numerous occurrences of these forms in Latin writers of all periods and styles, though their number has hitherto done no more than produce the impression that they are only 'permissible' by the side of the longer forms (Neue-Wagener *l.c.*). I add, however, a few which are cited in neither of the two books referred to. *ēsse* Plautus (I quote by Goetz and Schoell's edition of Ritschl) Most. 959 '*esse et bibi*,' Pliny N.H. 20 § 91, § 121 (*bis*), 22 § 139 (*bis*), Val. Max. 1. 4. 3, 4. 3. ext. 4; *comesse* Phaedrus 1. 20. 4; *essem* Val. Max. 4. 3. ext. 4; *estur* Plaut. Fragm. Boeot., 1. 27. To which *exx.* I should add *est* Prop. 1. 20. 12 (*American Journal of Philology*, xvii. p. 36).

It would be an interesting inquiry, which cannot be undertaken here, when these forms died out of the spoken Latin tongue.

¹ These forms are only attested by grammarians. The length of the root-vowel rests upon the authority of Priscian.

They were alive in the time of Petronius; they were dead in the time of Jerome. For the Vulgate, in which *edo* occurs a number of times and *comedo* with great frequency, knows none but the 'regular' forms.¹ We might expect then that these would creep into our MSS. here and there. That this has not happened to a greater extent than it has is to be ascribed to the grammarians, who in the case of a number of them kept alive the classical tradition.

I pass on to exceptions to the practice in classical times. These fall into two classes. The first arises from corruption in the MS. tradition. Here I should reckon Celsus 7. 13. *exeditur*. As the passive of *exest* (Celsus 5. 19. 19; 5. 22. 2.; 5. 28. 1. fin.) is *exestur*, and as the compound of *estur* (Celsus 2. 25 in.; 5. 27. 3) with *ex* is the same, it appears that we should have the approval of Celsus in restoring this form; and so apparently Neue-Wagener. An *ederem* is cited from Apuleius, Met. 10. 223; but I cannot find the word. If 11. c. 23 (p. 219) is meant, that is 'neque ullum animal *essem*'; in 6. c. 19 the same writer has 'panem sordidum petitem *esto*' (2nd Imper.). It might appear from the index to Friedlaender's Juvenal that 'comedit' 3. 294 was another example: but the compiler has simply omitted the mark of long quantity and placed the perfect among the presents.

We have as yet been unable to discover the 'ueteres' who according to Charisius (p. 261 Keil) and to Diomedes (p. 362 *id.*; his *exx.* below) used forms like *edis edit* (ind.) *ede edite* (imp.). We might guess in vain if Priscian (p. 522. 29 *sqq.* Keil) had not fortunately been more precise. 'In *do* unum anomalum inuenitur 'edo es est.' uetustissimi tamen etiam 'edo edis edit.'

Næuius in Carbonaria:

'Tibi serui multi apud mensam adstant: ille ipse adstat quando edit.'

non potest enim in hoc iambo paenultima syllaba longa esse ut intellegatur praeteritum, ne sit scazon.

Plautus in Lipargo:

'Nil moror mihi fucum in alueo apibus qui peredit cibum.'

corripitur enim paenultima.

Lucilius in IIII:

'Qui edit se hic comedit me.'

In all these places the good grammarian argues with perfect justice that *edit*, *peredit*,

comedit cannot be perfects, since perfects would ruin the metres.

Compare the notes of Diomedes (*l.c.*) and Seruius on Virgil Aen. 12. 803 'nete tantus *edit* tacitam dolor'; Seruius' evidence for the reading of that place is not correctly given in Mr. Hirtzel's note. The lemma has *edat* unquestionably: but Seruius' own text had *edit*. His note is otherwise unmeaning 'scilicet desiderii urgere Troianos. sane 'edo edis edit integrum uerbum est, ut lego legis legit.' nam *edo es* anomalum constat.' Seruius then read *edit* in Virgil, and regarded it as an indicative. So completely had the memory of an old subjunctive perished by the time when these grammarians wrote.

II.—The old subjunctive-optative *edim*.

For the use of *edim* as a subjunctive it would be enough to refer to the collections in Neue-Wagener iii pp. 309 *sqq.*; but I have two or three examples to add.

These are Plautus, Vidularia, 49 'paullum mereat paullum *edit*' (Studemund from A); Cato R.R. 53 'antequam ocinum des quod *edint* boues'; Pliny N.H. 14 § 140 'alius ut quantum biberit tantum *edit* pretium uinolentiae lege accipit,' 22.151 'si quis eruum cotidie ieiunus *edit*, lienem eius absumi certissimi auctores adfirmant,' with which last passage I should class a fragment of Cato 'ad filium uel de oratore' quoted by Diomedes (*l.c.*) for *edit* as an indicative 'lepus multum somni adfert qui illum *edit*.' It might, however, be contended that *edit* is perfect ind. in both passages.

I now return to Priscian and his alleged present indicatives. In considering his statement it is important to note that he, like Seruius, was entirely ignorant of the existence of the old subjunctive *edim*. Not only does he never refer to it, an *ex silentio* argument which in this case it is perfectly fair to press, but, as the present passage shows, when he was confronted with a form like *edit*, only two possibilities occurred to him; (1) that it was *edit* and a perfect indicative, (2) that it was *ēdit* and a present indicative. We may accordingly dismiss from our consideration his statement that in his three quotations the mood is indicative.

Of the three passages the Plautine one contains a clear subjunctive: 'I do not want a drone in my hive to devour the bees' food.' The Lucilius passage appears to be corrupt in its first words, for which 'qui edit sese' have been reasonably conjectured.

¹ In the third century the African Tertullian has *editur* Apologeticus c. 39.

But I have small hesitation in saying that here too *comedit* is subjunctive 'let him eat me up' or 'he may eat me up.' The indicative, 'he eats me up' or, as a question, 'does he eat me up?' conveys no possible meaning. In addition to this it must be noted that Lucilius in this very book, perhaps in this very context, uses the classical form *comest* (Baehrens Fr. P.L. 133). As to the *edit*, I do not feel sure how it should be regarded; but it is perhaps more probably perfect than subjunctive. Two out of the three proofs of a present indicative in *-is-it* have disappeared. The quotation from Naeuius requires but the slightest change to make the subjunctive intelligible. Read and punctuate as follows.

'Tibi serui multi apud mensam adstant:
ille ipse adstet quando edit?'

'You have many slaves standing by your side at table and is your friend to stand himself when he *has* to eat?' With this example disappears the last shred of evidence that Priscian's presents were used in classical Latin.

These subjunctive forms were not only the sole ones in use in pre-Classical Latin; but they lived on into the late Republic and the early Empire, when they were ousted by *edam edas*, &c. It may serve as a landmark in the chronology to observe that Horace does not use *edam*, for Ovid and, according to our MSS., Tibullus do not use *edim*. In Pliny's time *edim* was probably an archaism. For teachers and taught in Classical Latin Composition it may be added that the *-im* forms are probably to be preferred as used not only by Horace, but by Cicero, Virgil, and their contemporary the orator Faustinus (ap. Gell. 15. 8. 2). I have myself observed only two instances of the 'regular' subjunctive previous to Tibullus, though I will not say that there are no more. These are Plautus Stichus, 554 'dum equidem hercle quod *edant* addas, meum ne contruncrent cibum,' and Poenulus 534 'ubi bibas *edas* de alieno quantum uis usque adfatim'; for in Curc. 369 *edam* is future. I regard these two examples with the greatest distrust. First, because it seems incredible that the two forms of the subjunctive struggled together for existence for two centuries before the strife was decided in favour of one of them, and this the one which was supported by the analogy of almost every verb in the language. Secondly, because in nearly every case where the scribes recognised these to them abnormal forms, they corrupted them in some way or another;

while, where this was not the case, they were allowed to pass. Thus *edis*, *edit*, *edimus*, *editis* generally escaped; but *edim edint* hardly ever. Accordingly *edint comedint exedint* are corrupted in the MSS., all or some, of Plaut. Men. 457, Truc. 534, Pseud. 821, Cato R.R. 53, Varro ap. Non. p. 94. 21, Cic. Fin. 2. § 22, Plin. N.H. 25 § 46, 28. § 170, Gellius 20. 8. 7. In Stichus 554 we should, I believe, follow Acidalius in reading *edint*; while at Poenulus 534 we should recognise that the copyist not understanding the apparent change of mood 'bibas *edis*' has simply assimilated the verbal terminations.

Two points may be referred to in conclusion. Consensus (Keil v. p. 382, 32) notes that *ederam* was not in use. This, if the case, was perhaps only a curious accident. The other tenses formed from the perfect seem to have been used and *ederam* is found in compounds, e.g., *adederat* Prop., *exederat* Petron.

The list of compounds of *edo* which Charisius and Diomedes give between them is rather an odd one; *comedo* (as of course was to be expected), then *abedo*, *ambedo*, and *circumedo*, for only the second of which is there any literary authority. Not a word of *adedo*, *exedo*, *peredo* or *subedo* (*subēs* Plaut. Fragm. Incert. Fab. 26).

B.—THE PARTS of *bibo* AND *poto*.

It is generally recognised that when we say that one of the 'chief parts' of *uideo* is the supine *uisum*, and of *fero* the supine *latum* we are employing a conventional expression. For the purposes of accidence the supine in *-um* is taken as typical of certain verbal formations in which the verbal stem and the first consonant of the following suffix are usually the same for all. This similarity, however, is not confined to the supines, the perfect participle and the future participle and infinitive. It appears also in other formations which cannot be left out of account. In form, though not in complete correspondence of function, *latio* and *lato*, e.g., belong as much to the verbal system as *latum* or *latus*. This consideration, not without its importance to the present inquiry, does not always receive its due share of attention. We are apt to forget the bonds of association in virtue of which the verbal in *-tio* is often an equivalent of the gerund and the verbal in *-tor* almost a participle. As a matter of convenience, however, I shall in most of what follows confine my attention to what may

be called in a stricter sense the verbal group; the supines (especially the supine in *-um*) the past participle and the future participle and infinitive. It may be as well to point out here that the inter-association of these forms, powerful though it is, is not always strong enough to produce outward uniformity, the future participle for example occasionally deviating from the other formations.

Turning now from form to function we ask what constitutes the claim of a 'part' of a verb to be regarded as such. The answer is at hand: it is *syntactical correspondence*. If in the same context *tuli* and *latum* can be used in strict correspondence to *fero*, as they can, then they will be, as they are, the perfect and supine of *fero*. It is a deduction from this and from observed facts of language that different verbs (*e.g.*, *tollo* and *suffero*) may have the same perfect or supine.

As regards *bibo* and *poto* the following views claim to be discussed. They are not all of course held by the same people.

- (1) *bibo* has *bibitum* for its supine.
- (2) *bibo* has no supine.
- (3) *poto* has *potum* for its supine.
- (4) *poto* has *potatum* for its supine.

(1) need not detain us long; *bibitum*, &c., are monstrosities hatched by the later Latin; *bibitus* is as foreign to the genius of classical Latin as *gignitus* (some one calling himself Solinus) or *sistitus* would be, as $\tau\pi\pi\omicron\tau\omicron\varsigma$ or $\tau\delta\delta\omicron\tau\omicron\varsigma$ would be to that of Greek. For these forms of the end of the third century, see (Neue-Wagener iii. pp. 540 (*bibitum*, *bibitus*) and 583 (*bibiturus*).

(2) is in itself absurd; but must be taken in connexion with (3), which is apparently the common view and that of the *Thesaurus*.

Against it nothing more is required than to quote a few passages which show that the participle of *bibo* in classical times was *potus*.

Ovid Met. 15. 333 sq. 'ambiguus suspectus aquis quas nocte timeto; | nocte necant *potae*, sine noxa luce *libuntur*'; ex Pont. 3. 4. 55 sq. 'illa *bibit* sitiens lector, mea pocula plenus; | illa recens *potu* est, nostra tepebit aqua'; Pliny N. H. 20 §182 sq. *bibitur* [git] drachma una et contra araneos. distillationem narium discutit tusum in linteolo olefactum—difficultates spirandi addito nitro *potum*,' §217 'sanat...uentris et intestinorum fluctiones semen ex aqua *potum*. *bibitur* et in choleris cum ruta.' 21 §159 'prodest et orthopnoicis radix eius in aqua ieiunis *potu*. est autem candida intus et dulcis. *bibitur* et

contra serpentium ictus ex uino.' More examples could be quoted from these books: but they are surely needless.

So also in the compound *ebibo* and *epotus*. To drink a river up is *ebibere* Ov. Met. 8. 836 (*fretum*) 'ebibit amnes'; the river so treated is *epotus* Juv. 10. 177 '*epotaque* flumina Medis,' (but the fourth century writer Trebellius Pollio Claud. 6 §6 of the same thing '*epotata* flumina'). *epotus* again expresses the completion of the act of *bibere*; Ov. Met. 5. 451 sqq. 'dum *bibit* illa datum—neque adhuc *epota* parte'.

Just as *bibo edo* form a standing antithesis, so do their participles. I may quote Plautus Trin. 406 '*excessum, expotum, exunctum, elutum* in balineis' (for *ebibere* = *bibendo perdere* cf. Hor. Serm. 2. 3. 122); Cicero Cluent. 173 '*celerius potuit comestum* (or *comesum*) quam *epotum* in uenas—permanere.'

Celsus has an interesting variation. Apparently he uses *epotus*, not *potus*, as the participle of *bibo* as of *ebibo*; 5. 27. 11 sq. '*oleo multo epoto uomere—bibere antidotum—si cantharidas aliquis ebibit*.' This seems to be a medical use. Medicine is generally disagreeable to the palate and most of us can remember being told as children 'to drink it off and have done with it.' Cicero uses *bibisse* Cluent. 167 and *epotus* ib. 168 of the poison said to have been administered to Balbus. We must note that in this connexion *bibo* (not *poto*) is the proper word, or we miss the force of Lucretius' intentional deviation in the famous simile in 1. 936 sqq. '*sed ueluti pueris absinthia taetra medentes | cum dare conantur, prius oras pocula circum | contingunt mellis dulci flauoque liquore | ut puerorum aetas improvida ludificetur | laborum tenuis, interea perpotet amarum | absinthii laticem deceptaque non capiatur | sed potius tali pacto recreata ualescat*.' It is not so very easy to reproduce the ironic touch in this unusual substitute for *ebibat*: 'drink through,' or 'swill down' would give the sense intended. Compare Varro's description of the greedy tippling bees R. R. 3. 16. 35 '*aspargi eas oportet aqua multa quo facto non modo desistunt pugna sed etiam confereunt se lingentes, eo magis si multo sunt asparsae, quo propter odorem audius adplicant se atque obstupescunt potantes*.' There is irony again at Lucr. 4. 1097 sqq. '*ut bibere in somnis sitiens cum quaerit et umor | non datur, ardorem qui membris stingere possit | sed laticum simulacra petit, frustra laborat | in medioque sitit torrenti flumine potans*,' not *bibens*; that is just what he does

not do. For, as Lucretius says, the dreamer *bibere quaerit*.

In one compound of *bibo*, *potus* has its active sense. This is *adbibere* 'to drink in,' 'suck in,' which is almost entirely confined to the sense of taking in liquor, Plaut. Stich. 382 'quando *adbibero* adludiabo.' This verb, which must have been in more frequent use than would appear from the literature as the Schol. on Hor. Sermon. 2.6.68 uses it to explain 'siccata calices,' has for its participle *adpotus*; Plaut. Curc. 354 'postquam cenati atque *adpoti*;' Rud. 566 and Amph. 282 'probe *adpotus*' 'having taken one's liquor on board.' Gellius, 6.7.7., seems to have misunderstood this word as he says that *ad* has an intensive sense in it, as in 'adprobus...quod significat valde probus,' though according to Annianus' rule there should then be an accent on the prefix.

But it may be that *poto* also has rights in *potus*; and this we must now consider. From the point of view of the form it can have none. 'There the advocates of (4) are clearly in the right. *potus* is itself no more the participle of *potare* than *iactus* of *iactare* or *mactus* of *maclare*. As for the meaning *poto* was a frequentative verb and conveyed by its stem-inflection the idea of a repetition of the action of drinking. *potus* meant simply 'having been drunk' (passive) or 'having drunk' (active) whence, adjectivally, its common use, 'drunk' or 'tipsy.' *potus* then could only become the participle of *potare* through some confusion of the spheres of the two verbs.

This confusion had not taken place in the time of Plautus. I cannot find a single place in his writings where *poto* need not have its original force of 'drinking repeatedly,' or *drinking*, i.e. *tippling*. It would be waste of space to accumulate references, so I will simply give from my lists the occurrences of the verb in three of his plays. *Asinaria* 270, 602, 826, 851; *Mostellaria* 20, 36, 295, 394, 941, 958, 964, 1139; *Menaechmi* 186, 214, 476, 792 (*bis*), 914, 950 (ironical).

In one use, it is true, the verbs were already approximating. In the tenses which may express continued action in Latin, e.g. the present, there might be little difference between the verbs. 'I go on drinking' *bibo* and 'I take drinks' *poto* were practically equivalents. Hence in the region of conviviality, apart from those subtle associations which it is vain for us to try to appraise, *bibo* and *poto* are synonymous. Cicero Phil. 2 § 104 'ab hora tertia *bibebatur*'; ib. § 67 'totos dies *potabatur*'.

Horace *carm.* 1. 38 *fin.* 'me sub arta | uite *bibentem*'; 2. 11. 13 *sqq.* 'cur non sub alta uel platano uel hac pinu iacentes—*potamus*?'

One applied use of *poto* which is not due to confusion may be mentioned here. It is used metaphorically but quite correctly of wool fabrics 'soaking' in the dyer's vat. Horace Ep. 1. 10. 27 'Aquinatam *potantia* uellera fucum' where the pres. part. of *bibo* could not have been used, and in Martial 2. 29. 3 'quaeque Tyron totiens *epotauere* lacernae' where similarly *ebiberunt* would have been misconceived. Not so very far off is the use in Lucr. 4. 1127 *sq.* 'teriturque thalassina uestis | adsidue ac Veneris sudorem exercita *potat*.' The irony in 'exercita *potat*' is manifest.

One of the earliest invasions of *bibo*'s territory by *poto* seems to have been in the drinking of animals. To *bibere* Varro R.R. 2. 4. 17; 2. 5. 17; 3. 7. 5 and of the sacred chickens in the well-known story of the profanity of Claudius Pulcher (Cic. N.D. 2. § 7; Val. Max. 1. 4. 3) corresponds *potum* Virg. Ecl. 7. 11 'huc ipsi *potum* uenient per prata iuuenti, and Prop. 4. 4. 6 'quo dulcis ab aestu | fistula *poturas* ire iubebat oues.'

The 'nomen agentis' of *bibo* in these as in other senses was *potor*. It had the advantage of shortness over the more strictly correct *potator* from which it was not sharply distinguished; '*potatores* maximi' Plaut. Men. 259, '*acris potoris*' Horace Sermon. 2. 8. 37. On the other hand 'Rhodani *potor*' Hor. Carm. 2. 20. 20; but '*potator* aquae sub nomine Lethes | quae fluit' Sil. 16. 476. For the Greek συμπότης Cicero has *compotor* and Terence the fem. *compotrix*; in Ambrose it is *compotator*. It thus joined with *poto* to draw *potus* away from *bibo*.

From another side the word *potus* was ready to fall an easy prey to *poto*. *Potus* must have lost the active participial force early. We can trace it in *adpotus*, and there is just a recollection of it in a phrase like Hor. Ep. 2. 2. 214 *sqq.* 'Iusisti satis, edisti satis atque bibisti: | tempus abire tibi est, ne *potum largius aequo* | rideat et pulset lascivia decentius aetas.' In the sense of 'drunk' *potus* seemed to mean more naturally *qui potauit* than *qui bibit*.

Meanwhile under the influence of a well-known tendency in language, seen for example in *jeter* from *iactare*, the frequentative or intensive force was fading out of *poto*, and it could be used as a simple equivalent of *bibo* as it is in fact sometimes used in the Vulgate.¹ These, and perhaps

¹ I am not concerned with the late causative use

the deflecting force of cognate words which began with *pot-* succeeded finally in detaching *potus* from the now isolated *bibo*, and made it possible on the one hand for the prodigious *bibitus* to spring up, and on the other for Priscian to declare that the participle of *poto* was *potus*.

To sum up: *potum*, *potus*, *poturus*, is for classical Latin the proper supine and participles of *bibo* (and of *poto* if used in the simple sense of drinking); *potatum*, *potatus*, *potaturus* of *poto* in its own frequentative sense. Thus 'mecum i *potatum*' Plaut. Pseud. 1327; 'tamquam leuia quaedam uina nihil ualent in aqua, sic Stoicorum ista magis *gustata* quam *potata* delectant' Cic. Tusc. 5 § 14 (*poto* would have been impossible); '*potaturus* est apud me' Ter. Phorm. 837.

Of the two exceptions to the classical usage that I have noticed in the texts of the writers of classical times one is Celsus 4. 19 ad fin. where *potata* was condemned for a gloss by Targa and is omitted in Darem-*of poto* (= *potum do*) for which see Rönisch *Italia u. Vulgata*, p. 376.

berg's recension; it is certainly in disagreement with the usage of Celsus as already pointed out. The second is Valerius Maximus 2. 4. 5 '*calefactamque aquam pueris bibendam dedit qua potata*' e.q.s. Here there is very good MS. authority for *pota*. Valerius uses *potauit* in its proper sense at 3. 6. 6. In Pliny N.H. 20. 136 '*ad crapulae grauedines decoquantur folia poturis*' (*potaturis* E, d) either variant is correct as Latin.

I have set forth the facts relating to the classical usage of these two indispensable verbs because they are widely ignored. I do not claim that they are altogether unknown. For example, after I had discovered for myself the true supine of *bibo* I found in M. Brenouf's *Les Hellénismes dans la Syntaxe Latine* p. 268 and n. (2) 'Le supine n'était pas usité pour certains verbes; ainsi *bibitum* qui ne fut employé que très tard... Il était remplacé par *potum* ou *potatum*. Col. 12. 51. 3 *dabitur potatum imbecillis bubus*' Virg. Buc. 7. 11,' quoted above.

J. P. POSTGATE

¹ I have not been able to find this place.

DR. WISSOWA ON THE ARGEI.

(IN PAULY'S *Real-Encyclopädie*, ED. 2, VOL. I. PP. 689 *fol.*)

THIS important article, if (as seems to be the case in Germany) its conclusions be accepted, goes far to solve an old and provoking difficulty in Roman religious antiquities. The section on this subject in my 'Roman Festivals' was written, and indeed rewritten, before the article reached me; and had I fully grasped the importance of Dr. Wissowa's treatment of the subject I should doubtless have written it a third time. This, however, I failed to do until after my book was in print. Now, after most carefully considering Dr. Wissowa's arguments and conclusions, I feel compelled to make a few observations on them.

It will be remembered that there are two rites at Rome connected with the name Argei; (1) in all probability a procession round 24 (or perhaps 27) sacella or sacaria Argeorum, on March 16 and 17; (2) the casting of 27 (or possibly 24, or according to Dionysius 30) *simulacra hominum* made of rushes into the Tiber from the pons sublicius on May 14 (according to Ovid) or

May 15 (according to Dionysius).¹ Of the first of these rites we know nothing certainly, though in Varro L.L. 5. 45-54 we have fragments of what seems to be an itinerary for the use of a procession going round the sacella. Of the second we have tolerably explicit accounts; we know that the Pontifices (and according to Dionysius the *στρατηγοί*) were present at the ceremony, also the Flaminica Dialis in mourning, and that the Vestals themselves cast the simulacra into the river. The connexion between the two rites is not absolutely certain, but has generally been assumed as a fact since Jordan wrote his chapter on the Argei in his *Römische Topographie* (II. 237 *fol.*). Nor is it certain that the number of sacella and the number of simulacra was the same; this cannot be proved from the text of Varro (cp. L.L. 5. 45 and 7. 44). Dr. Wissowa concludes that the number in each case was 27,

¹ The references will be found in full in Wissowa's article, and the most important in my *Roman Festivals*, p. 111 *fol.*

following Mommsen's somewhat cautious note in *Staatsrecht* III. 125; this is the conclusion which best suits his own views,¹ and we may provisionally accept it, remembering, however, that it is not a certainty.

Thus it would seem that we have no very secure foundation for conjectures as to the real meaning of either of the rites. But since the appearance, first of Jordan's chapter, and secondly of that of Dr. Mannhardt in his *Antike Wald- und Feldkulte*, some new light seemed to be thrown on the mystery. We began to believe (1) that the sacella were the centres of some ancient 'Cultusordnung' of the districts which became the four Servian regions: (2) that the casting of the simulacra into the Tiber was a rite of very primitive character, possibly a rain-spell, which may be compared with many strikingly similar ceremonies now familiar to anthropologists. Dr. Wissowa's explanation is altogether different, and as startling as it is interesting. It may be briefly stated thus. Both rites are of late date, probably of the third century B.C., and of Greek origin: they are not survivals of primitive custom or worship, as the 'comparative anthropologists'² would persuade us. Probably (he writes) at some date between the first and second Punic war, a Sibylline oracle directed that, in order to assuage a famine or pestilence, twenty-seven Greeks (the traditional enemies of Rome, as he calls them) should be sacrificed by being cast into the Tiber. If I understand him rightly, he believes that these victims were first detained for a while at certain points in the four Servian regions, so as to spread their healing influence throughout the city (this would be the origin of the March rite): and that two months later they were taken in procession to the *pons sublicius*, and there sacrificed by drowning. He conjectures that the actual sacrifice only occurred on the first occasion, and that substitutes, in the form of the *simulacra*, took their place regularly in subsequent years.

The evidence brought together for this revolutionary theory is somewhat complicated: but the leading points in it seem to be as follows.

1. Argei really = 'Αργεῖοι, as the Romans themselves believed. The history of the

revival of this etymology is this: Mommsen, when writing the third volume of his *Staatsrecht*, applied to Willamowitz-Möhlendorf for an opinion about the word, and part of the latter scholar's reply is quoted on p. 123 of that volume. One sentence only seems to contain anything like a definite pronouncement; it runs thus 'Ein Name für das Hellenenvolk ist das Wort nie gewesen, höchstens in Anschluss an Homer von Dichtern, zum Beispiel von Ennius im Medea-prolog, so verwendet worden.' Next H. Diels, in his valuable book on the Sibylline oracles (p. 44, note) amplified this sentence while endeavouring to show that the name Ἀργεῖοι came to Rome through the Sibylline oracles: this is the amplification: 'Willamowitz (bei Mommsen *l.c.*) hat richtig vorgehoben dass der Name (*i.e.* Argei) griechischen Ursprungs ist ('Αργεῖοι), und bei den Griechen nur in der von Homer abhängigen Poesie synekdochisch für Ἕλληνες eintreten kann. Geht man von diesem Fundament aus, so ist, mein' ich, der Schluss zwingend, dass nur auf dem Wege griechischen Orakelpoesie, die ja mit epischen Materiale wirtschaftet, die Argei in den Römischen Cult, und von da in die Sprache übergegangen sein kann.' Dr. Wissowa now goes yet a step further, quoting Diels as having proved the equation Argei = 'Αργεῖοι, and approves his conclusion that there *must* have been an oracle in the third century ordering the sacrifice of twenty-seven Argei = Greek captives. In spite of these developments, a cautious inquirer will be apt to think that we are after all much as we were about the etymology of the name. I am quite unable to see that either Willamowitz, Diels, or Wissowa have proved anything either as to the history or the etymology of the word Argei. No parallel instance of its use has been discovered, in the Sibylline oracles or elsewhere; and the equation with 'Αργεῖοι is as hypothetical as ever. The etymology may be a little more likely than others, (see however H. Nettleship, *Contributions to Latin Lexicography*, s.v.), but an uncertain etymology is of no practical use without a history of the word—and that history is in this case not forthcoming.

2. Dr. Wissowa's own chief contribution to the argument is the following. The Argean rites are not to be found in the so-called Numan calendar, *i.e.* in the *Fasti* of which so many fragments survive; they are therefore, he argues, of later origin, *i.e.* later in all probability than the Decemvirate. Now we used to explain this absence from the

¹ He holds with Diels (*Sibyllinische Blätter*, p. 42 foll.) that the number 27 should be accepted as having special religious significance at Rome as well as in Greece and elsewhere.

² The inverted commas are Wissowa's, and speak his well-known contempt for the species.

Calendar by assuming that they were of the same character as the Septimontium, Paganalia, &c., which are also absent from the Calendar yet undoubtedly ancient; and that in the well-known definition of *publica sacra* in Festus 245 they are referred to as well as and together with the Septimontium, Paganalia, and Fornacalia. 'Publica sacra quae publico sumptu pro populo fiunt, quaeque pro montibus, pagis, curiis, sacellis.' The last words of this passage have generally been taken to refer to a different class of rites from those which were *publico sumptu*; the latter are those noted in the Calendar in large letters, while the other class comprises those divisions of the state which worshipped collectively,—pagi, montes, curiae, and lastly sacella, by which word the Argean sacella seem to be indicated. (Marquardt, Staatsverwaltung iii. 120: Mommsen, Staatsrecht iii. 123 foll.) Dr. Wissowa is naturally concerned to show that we have been all wrong in referring *sacella* in this passage to the sacella Argeorum, and that we have here no explanation at all of the absence of the latter from the Calendar. His argument seems to me a weak one. Varro, he says, uses both *sacellum* and *sacrarium* of the Argean chapels: but the latter he uses twice, the former only once: *sacellum* cannot therefore be the technical word in use at Rome for the Argean chapels, and these latter cannot be referred to in the passage of Festus. That *sacrarium* was the right word has indeed been shown by Jordan (Top. ii. 280). *Sacellum*, according to him, was a general word for an unroofed shrine, which might come into use in a loose way for the same thing indicated by *sacrarium*, which was properly a place in which sacred objects were deposited. I confess I do not see why Festus, or Verrius Flaccus before him, should not have used *sacella* for the Argean chapels in this general sense. Livy's expression is *loca sacris faciendis* (1. 21. 5): he avoids, as Dr. Wissowa says, a technical expression: rather, he does not use it because he does not know it: Varro himself vacillates: why should we expect to find the technical term in Festus alone? Too much surely should not be built on the use of a word in and after the Augustan age for an almost forgotten thing.

But whoever will prove that the *sacella* in Festus's gloss are not the sacella Argeorum, must also attempt to show that we have no reason to believe that the latter were the centres of an ancient religious division of the city. This question turns

almost entirely on the passage in Varro L. L. 5. 45 which has been already referred to. Prof. Robinson Ellis has been kind enough to obtain for me from Florence the exact reading of the Laurentian MS.: I find it is correctly quoted by Dr. Wissowa from the second Spengel edition. Varro is discussing the names of the seven hills; he deals with the Capitoline and the Aventine (with the Velabrum), and then goes on thus:—*Reliqua urbis loca olim discreta, cum Argeorum sacraria in septem et viginti partis urbi sunt disposita. Argeos putant e principibus qui cum Hercule Argivo venere Romam et in Saturnia subsederunt. E quis prima est scripta regio Suburana, secunda Esquilina, tertia Collina, quarta Palatina.* He then proceeds to take the four regiones one by one, with the names of the hills included in them, some of which, forgotten in his own day, he quotes from the document which he calls Argeorum sacra (or sacrificia).

There is certainly nothing in this passage as it stands to convince anyone that the sacraria indicated local divisions, except the words 'cum Argeorum sacraria in septem et viginti partis urbi sunt disposita'; and these words as they stand in the MS. do not suit with what follows: for after the parenthetical sentence about the Argei (if indeed he ever wrote that sentence) Varro goes on 'e quis prima est scripta,' etc., where the 'e quis' cannot refer to 27 partes urbis, for the regiones were four only. Either something has fallen out before the 'e quis,' or we must read with Spengel and Wissowa himself '*Reliqua urbis loca olim discreta, cum Argeorum sacraria septem et viginti in quatuor partes urbis sunt disposita.*'

This correction would be satisfactory enough, if we could be sure that the rest of the passage stands as Varro wrote it,—but this is exactly what I myself find it very difficult to believe. How are we to account for the insertion of the sentence 'Argeos dictos putant,' etc., between 'partes' and the relative? Why, again, should Varro here use the word *partes* for the four Servian regions, which elsewhere he calls by their proper name?¹ Still, though I have doubts about Spengel's improvement of the sentence, I agree with Dr. Wissowa that the general meaning of the passage, so far as we can discover it, taken in connexion with the whole of the context, does not suggest that

¹ After a fresh reading of his chapters 45–46, I am inclined to think that Varro here uses *partes* of four districts of the city before they became technically organised as *regiones*. 'E quis (partibus) prima est scripta regio Suburana,' &c., he adds.

the *sacraria* were necessarily the centres of religious divisions of the city. O. Müller did not so understand it, as may be seen by his note: and even in England Burn, who was a scholar and knew his literary authorities well, was not misled: 'Varro means,' he writes (*Rome and the Campagna*, p. 39, note 1), 'that the rest of the city was divided already into districts (*i.e.* regiones) at the time the Argean chapels were instituted.' But on the other hand the passage is too doubtful to admit of being used to prove that the *sacraria* Argeorum were *not* the sacella of which Festus speaks: from his words we are compelled to believe that there were in Rome some sacella which were the religious centres of some local divisions: and if they were not the Argean sacella, what were they? No attempt is made to answer this question except by referring to a passage in Cic. *de Leg. Agr.* ii. 14, 35,¹ which seems to me to have no bearing on the difficulty whatever.

3. A third argument used by Dr. Wissowa, but one on which he does not seem to lay much stress, is that two out of the three days of the Argeorum sacra (supposing that the third was May 14 and not 15 as Dionysius reports), are days of even numbers, and that thus the rule is violated, which holds good with a single exception² throughout the Roman calendar, that State festivals must take place on days of odd numbers. This, he argues, indicates that the Argeorum sacra were of later date than that of the drawing up of the calendar. He is here on ground which is peculiarly his own, and where I confess I hardly feel equal to following him. But I may venture to ask two questions: (1) can we be sure that the ancient moveable feasts which were undoubtedly older than the calendar, *e.g.* Ambarvalia and Compitalia, never took place on days of even numbers? and (2) are not the days which immediately precede Ides and other festivals closely connected with these in character (so Mommsen, *C.I.L.*, vol. i., ed. 2, p. 290), and would there not be less objection, as in the case of March 14, to retaining these as the days of ancient festivals, even after the formation of a regular calendar, than to fixing them on ordinary days of even number? March 16

precedes the Liberalia (anciently Agonia), and May 14 precedes the Ides. Again, it seems to me that those who believe that the sacra Argeorum belong to the same class of festivals as the Septimontium, etc. can as legitimately argue that, as not belonging to the State festivals proper, they might never have been subject to the rule of odd numbers, as Dr. Wissowa can argue that from the point of view which he adopts as to the date of the sacra, they ought to have been subject to that rule. So with another argument which he uses in passing, viz. that if the Argeorum sacra were older than the calendar, they would have had an influence on the character of the days: March 14 is marked C and May 14 F in the calendar, while all State festival days are N or NP. But the days on which the Compitalia were usually held (Jan. 3 and 4) are marked C: so also those on which the Paganalia were held (Ovid *Fasti* l. 658 foll.), and the date of the Ambarvalia was usually May 29, as we have reason to believe, which is also marked C.

These are Dr. Wissowa's chief arguments for his theory of the late and Sibylline origin of the Argean rites; and I confess that I find them far from convincing. I must add that there are also one or two difficulties which seem to me fatal to it. Why were not the decemviri sacris faciundis, who had charge of the Sibylline oracles and superintended the rites ordained by them, present at the ceremony? The *personnel* of the ceremony at the bridge emphatically suggests an ancient Roman origin: Pontifices, Vestals, and Flaminica Dialis in mourning. Dr. Wissowa has simply made no attempt to get rid of this objection to his view; it is in fact impossible to do so. He frankly acknowledges that the Flaminica is not known to have put on mourning for any but ancient Roman festivals (see my *Roman Festivals*, 115). Dionysius (i. 38. 3) says that the *σπαργγοί* were present, *i.e.* according to Jordan (*Top.* i. 1, 288) the praetor urbanus, who certainly did preside at some ceremonies of the *ritus graecus*: but so did he also at the Compitalia, as we learn from Gellius 10. 24. 3. Almost in despair, as it would seem, for his theory, Dr. Wissowa appeals to the fact that human sacrifice was foreign to the Roman character and practice, and insists that the drowning of twenty-seven persons must be Greek in origin: to which we might answer that those who have once been convinced that Mannhardt's explanation from parallel primitive customs

¹ 'Sunt enim loca publica urbis, sunt sacella, quae post restitutam tribuniciam potestatem nemo attigit, quae majores in urbe partim periculi perugia esse voluerunt. Haec lege tribunicia Xviri vendunt.' I know of no clue to the identification of the sacella here mentioned.

² This exception he has tried to explain in his work *de Feriis*, ix. foll. See my *Roman Festivals*, p. 44.

throws more light on the mystery than anything that has as yet been written about it, do not need to believe that it originated in human sacrifice at all.

Another difficulty, almost as fatal in my opinion, is this. If twenty-seven Greeks were really sacrificed at some date between the first and second Punic war, when records were beginning to be constant and reliable, why has every trace been lost of such an astonishing circumstance? It is exactly what the Epitomist of Livy would naturally have picked out to record, and that it would be in Livy's own work we may be absolutely sure. The much less striking sacrifice of a pair of Gauls and a pair of Greeks in 226 B.C. and again in 216 B.C., is frequently referred to (see Wissowa's references, p. 699); yet of the supposed oracle and its twenty-seven victims there is not even a hint to be found in all later literature. All memory of it must have vanished with astonishing celerity: for no Roman scholar ever alludes to it in attempting to explain the Argeorum sacra. Many such attempts were made, and Dr. Wissowa rightly brushes them aside: but it does not seem to occur to him to ask why the true

explanation should have been utterly forgotten of a rite so recent in origin as he believes it to have been.

I cannot but think it a pity that this eminent scholar should so absolutely decline to learn anything from the despised comparative anthropologists. I venture to say that if he had really studied, and not merely referred to, Mannhardt's *Baumkultus* and *Wald- und Feldkulte*, he would have been saved the trouble of constructing an entirely new theory on very doubtful foundations. He need not have agreed with Mannhardt's conclusions and explanations; but he might have recognised that they cover the known facts far better than one which, like that I have been examining, flies in the face of the evidence afforded by the leading features in the cult. It certainly cannot be said of Mannhardt's explanation, as assuredly it must be said of Dr. Wissowa's, that it leaves out of account not only the *personnel* of the procession to the pons subicius, but the importance of the bridge, and of the river itself, in the general character of the ritual.

W. WARDE FOWLER.

A HOROSCOPE FROM EGYPT.

IN Messrs. Grenfell and Hunt's *Oxyrhynchus Papyri*, II. we have at p. 137 a horoscope, which after communication with Dr. Rambaut they believe to be inexact. Not feeling satisfied with some of the assumptions made in their commentary, I referred the case to the Astronomer Royal and now Mr. P. H. Cowell of Greenwich Observatory having very kindly determined the position of all the planets, fixes the date of the horoscope in A.D. 14. The horoscope is entirely correct. He writes that Saturn was on the boundary then between Sagittarius and Capricorn, just leaving Sagittarius not to return for twenty-eight years: the Moon entered Taurus on September 29 and left it October 1. Two or three interesting consequences may be noticed. (1) The missing year of Tiberius' reign will be the first; he succeeded on August 14, and September 29 in this document is counted in his reign. This is evidence that has been needed for some time for finally determining how in Egypt the emperors' reigns were delimited. (2) The date according to the

old Egyptian reckoning comes out correctly as the night between September 29 and 30. (3) The date by the Augustan fixed calendar makes that calendar begin as it was intended by its patron to do, on August 30. Investigation is needed to ascertain whether this is not in reality the case in other instances, in which case Dr. G. F. Unger's rule (*I. Müller Hand. d. Kl. Altertums-Wissenschaft* vol. i. p. 778) will need revision. (4) The night is made to begin at sunset, which would have been on the night in question at Alexandria almost exactly at 6.0 p.m. The birth we are told was *ὑπὸ τετάρτῃ τῆς νυκτὸς* and the Sun was in the Sign next to that which was setting. The time therefore would be about 9.0 p.m. The next Egyptian day began about 3 a.m. (5) The Julian year diverged from the Egyptian year at the exact rate, of course, of one day in four years: it is conceivable that the Augustan year was based on the Sothic or fixed Egyptian year, which diverges from the vague Egyptian at a rather greater rate. If so, in every 112 years or

so, the Julian and Augustan would diverge by one day. An examination¹ of double dated Egyptian records shows that in 29, 80, and 137 A.D. the Augustan year began on August 29. From Censorinus we know enough about the Egyptian vague year to

¹ See Wilcken *Griechische Ostraka* i. 786 ff. It is to be observed that in our horoscope the fixed date gives the previous day, in *Brit. Mus. Pap.* cxxx. the subsequent, both in Roman and Augustan reckoning, but it is added that this day was ἐπιφωσκούρη.

make this certain. Either then a day's difference was set between the Julian and Augustan calendars at a revision about 112 years before the Sothic began in 139 A.D., or the intercalated day in the Augustan calendar was inserted 30 months after the Julian bissextile, e.g. in August 14 A.D.² This, however, appears to contradict *Oxyg.* *Papyr.* I. 45. 17.

T. NICKLIN.

² Cf. *Classical Review*, vol. xiv. Pp. 146-8.

NOTES.

ON A FRAGMENT OF CHRYSIPPUS.—In Gellius' *Noctes Atticae*, vii. 3, we read: 'in libro enim perī προνοίας quarto εἰσαρμένῃ esse dicit (sc. Chrysippus) φυσικὴν τινὰ σύνταξιν τῶν ὅλων ἐξ αἰδίου τῶν ἐτέρων τοῖς ἐτέροις ἐπακολουθούντων καὶ μετὰ πολλὸν μὲν οὖν ἀπαρβατῶν οὕσης τῆς τοιαύτης ἐπιπλοκῆς.'

Instead of the corrupt μετὰ πολλὸν μὲν οὖν Zeller (*Philosophie der Griechen*, iii. p. 157, note 2) suggests ἐπιπλοκομένων. It is clear that a participle is needed, but ἐπιπλοκομένων has little probability. So obvious a word as ἐπιπλοκομένων would not be readily corrupted, and even if it were, could scarcely change into μετὰ πολλὸν μὲν οὖν.

I venture to suggest μεταπολλυμένων, with the sense of 'perishing after.' The unfamiliar compound—μεταπόλλυμι is not quoted in Stephanus-Hase—would easily lend itself to corruption, and the meaning appears to be suitable. Fate may well be defined as α φυσικὴ σύνταξις τῶν ὅλων, 'one set of events succeeding the other from all eternity and perishing after their predecessors.'

J. ADAM.

ON DIONYSII HALICARNASEI DE THUCYDIDIS IDIOMATIS EPISTULA.

iii. (793, 15 R): ἐπιλογισμός.—The conjecture ἐπηλύτης, although supported by Marcellinus 52, is not easy. It is less difficult to suppose that Dionysius wrote ἐπιδημιουργός (Thuc. i. 56), a word that is certainly γλωσσηματικόν, since it has given rise to various scholia, e.g. ὁ Ἀσκληπιάδης τὴν ἐπὶ πρόθεσιν περιττὴν εἶναι λέγει.—ὄνομα ἀρχῆς ὁ ἐπιδημιουργός παρὰ Κορινθίους.

ix. (799, 1): οὐ καθ' ἐνὸς λέγεσθαι πεφύκασιν, ἀλλὰ κατὰ πολλῶν.—These words, which Herwerden, following B, omitted, are retained by Usener, who regards them as the comment on another Thucydidean example supposed to be lost from the text. But that they belong with the first part of the chapter is evident, since it is there that the substitution of the singular for the natural plural is under consideration; and inasmuch as the accepted text gives adequate explanations of that point, the words may be rejected as a gloss.

WINIFRED WARREN.

On the first of the passages treated above it may be worth while to observe that we are not compelled to decide between the rival palaeographical claims of ἐπηλύτης and ἐπιδημιουργός. Nearer than either to

the tradition would be ἐπιθειασμός, Thuc. 7. 75. 4 in the plural. The word would be γλωσσηματικόν to Dionysius, as for him the verb would have the sense of 'inspiring'; cf. *Ant. Rom.* 1. 81. 8.

J. P. P.

* * *

ἡμιτελής IN LUCIAN.—Whatever may be the meaning of ἡμιτελής in Il. ii. 701, cited by Mr. Bayfield (*C.R.*, xv. p. 447), there can, I think, be no doubt that Lucian in the passage also cited (*D. Mort.* xix. i.) intended it to mean 'half-finished.' The other passages where he uses the word seem to make this clear.

Catal. 8. The dead Megapenthes is asking Clotho to allow him to return to the upper world. ΚΛΩΘ. Τί δέ ἐστιν οὐ χάριν ἀφικέσθαι θέλεις; ΜΕΓ. τὴν οἰκίαν ἐκτελέσαι μοι πρότερον ἐπιτρεψον ἡμιτελής γὰρ ὁ δόμος καταλείπειται.

In this passage it may be noted that the fact that the house was 'without its master' would be no reason for granting the request made by Megapenthes πρὸς ὀλίγον ἀνελθεῖν.

Sacr. 5. τὸν μὲν γὰρ Διόνυσον ἡμιτελή, φασίν, ἐκ τῆς μητρὸς ἐτι καιομένης ἀρπάσας κ.τ.λ. (the uncompleted, half-finished Dionysus).

Isagom. 14. ὡς νῦν γε ἡμιτελής ἀφῆγμαι. (Menippus is regretting that he has only provided himself with an eagle's wing, and has not substituted an eagle's eyes for his own).

HERBERT W. GREENE.

* * *

SAYING OF ALEXANDER: RESERVE THE ONE EAR FOR THE PARTY CALUMNIATED.—I do not doubt that this striking saying occurs in other authors. I have only taken note of it in Basil.

Epist. 24 fin. (III 103 c, ed. Bened.): ἀκούοντες δὲ πάντως, εἰ μὴ τί ἄλλο, τὸ γοῦν τοῦ Ἀλεξάνδρου ποιήσομεν, τὴν ἑτέραν τῶν ἀκοῶν ἀκεραίαν ταμείεσθαι τῷ διαβαλλομένῳ.

Ididem *epist.* 244 2 (p. 377 c) ἡμῶν μὲν μακρὰν ἀφικισμένῳ, τὸν δὲ ψευδολόγων ἔγγυθεν ἔχοντων ταῖς καθ' ἡμῶν διαβολαῖς καρδίαν εὐκαταγώνιστον, καὶ οὐ δεδιδαγμένῃ τὴν ἑτέραν τῶν ἀκοῶν ἀκεραίαν φυλάττειν τῷ ἐπὶ παρόντι.

In epistle 199 canon 29 (p. 294 d) correct a corruption due to dittography. εἴ τις ὁμῶς ἐνεθροῦζειν τοὺς ὀφθαλμοὺς τοῦ ἀδελφοῦ. Read ἐθροῦζειν.

Basil *ep.* 94 fin. ἵνα δὲ μὴ τὸν πρὸ τῆς συντυχίας

χρόνον ταῖς διαβολαῖς τινων ὑπαχθῆς, ὑφείναι τι τῆς περὶ ἡμᾶς εὐνοίας ἀναγκασθῆς, τὸ τοῦ Ἀλεξάνδρου ποίησον' καὶ γὰρ ἐκεῖνον φασί, διαβαλλομένου τινος τῶν συνήθων, τὴν μὲν ἑτέραν τῶν ἀκοῶν ἀνείναι τῷ διαβάλλοντι, τὴν δὲ ἑτέραν ἐπιμελῶς ἐπιφράσθαι τῇ χειρὶ. ἐνδεικνύμενον, ὅτι δέοι τὸν ὀρθῶς κρίνειν μέλλοντα, μὴ ὅλον εὐθὺς τοῖς προλαβοῦσιν ἀπάγεσθαι, ἀλλὰ τὸ ἥμισυ τῆς ἀκρόατος ἀκέραιον διασῶζειν πρὸς ἀπολογίαν τῷ μὴ παρόντι.

JOHN E. B. MAYOR.

CICERO *Ep. ad Att.* xiii. 23. 2.—Libri ad Varonem non morabantur. Sunt enim † defecti, ut vidisti: tantum librorum menda tolluntur.

Various suggestions have been made for the corrupt *defecti*, amongst others *defecti*, *descripti*, *effecti*, *refecti*, *detexti*, *adfecti*. Of these *detexti*, the conjecture of Lambinus, is the least unsatisfactory and is adopted by Tyrrell and Purser in their edition of the Letters. I propose to read *defacati*. We thus get a good Plautine word, which would certainly have been corrupted, and which seems regularly to have been used of literary revision, cf. Sison. Apoll. I. 1. 3: sed scilicet tibi parui tuaeque examinationi has <litterulas> non recensendas (hoc enim parum est) sed defaecandas, ut aiunt, limandasque commisi, sciens te immodicum esse fantorem non studiorum modo verum etiam studiosorum.

GEORGE W. MOONEY.

ON HORACE, ODES III. AND IV

iii. 4, 49. magnum illa terrorem intulerat Jovi...

It has often been noted that this stanza 'mars the

effect of the picture of imperial calm.' In fact the current interpretation ruins the passage. Is it not possible to take away the point at the end of the stanza and explain *intulerat* as a rhetorical substitute for *intulisset*? The protasis would naturally follow in the form *nisi nil potuissent* or *possent*, but its place is taken by the rhetorical question, *quid possent*. In the Odes the pluperfect subjunctive is not found in the apodosis, its place being taken by the pluperfect indicative, e.g. iii. 16, 3. In cases where a corresponding affirmation would be in the imperfect indicative Horace uses the imperfect subjunctive in the apodosis. Thus in iv. 6, 19, *urere* suggests *urebat*, 'he was for burning,' 'was the man to burn.' Cf. iii. 14, 27.

iv. 11, 3. *apium*.

There can, I think, be little doubt that the *apium* of the Augustan poets is not parsley but wild celery, *apium graveolens*. Parsley will not suit Virgil's habitat for the plant, and Virgil is exactly supported by Dioscorides, who places the *apium rusticum* of the Romans in watery ground. The only argument adduced against wild celery is that the stiff leaves of this plant could not be used for wreaths. But they were. A wreath found on a mummy near Thebes (Egypt) in 1885 is composed of the leaves of this plant tied on to strips of papyrus and interspersed with petals and buds of *Nymphaea caerulea*. The leaves are not twisted but stand out from the papyrus strips, as vine leaves stand out from the *philyra* or like material in the wreaths of Dionysus. By the kindness of Mr. Anthony Gepp and Professor Meurer I have just seen a photograph of this beautiful wreath. The original is, I believe, at Rome.

J. SARGEANT.

REVIEWS.

MONRO'S *ODYSSEY* XIII.-XXIV.

Homér's Odyssey. xiii.-xxiv. Edited with English notes and appendices, by D. B. MONRO, M.A., Provost of Oriel College, Oxford. Pp. 512. Clarendon Press, Oxford.

EVERY student of the Homeric poems will welcome the appearance of this volume. It is a work worthy of the University from which it proceeds and of the scholar, who has already contributed much to the exact knowledge of the language of the Greek epic by his Homeric Grammar and other publications. The University of Glasgow, it may be noted, receives the compliment of the dedication.

The text and commentary occupy nearly 300 pages, and although Mr. Monro's annotations are in general terse and full of matter, the product of careful and keen

consideration, it is for that reason the more to be regretted that he did not allow himself at least another hundred pages for this section of his labours. Even then he would have fallen short of the number of pages, considerably over 500, taken up by the first twelve books and commentary in the earlier volume, of which this is the continuation and completion. It cannot be said that this economy of space is due to the existence of the work referred to, and has been rendered possible because of any free reference to its pages; for beyond a complimentary reference to the note on γ 315, little direct use seems to be made of the previous volume. Still this regrettable brevity has its compensation in the interesting and valuable appendices, six in number, for which the author has so been able to find accommodation pp. 289-501. We have also no

less than eighteen illustrations, of which the striking and pretty view of the Old Harbour of Corfu (p. 19), the comical naval battle (p. 95), the Icelandic Hall (p. 218), and the Homeric axe-heads (p. 176) may be mentioned as interesting and valuable. The last named indeed could hardly be dispensed with, if any definite idea of the nature of the contest proposed by Penelope is to be formed by the reader. The subjects of the appendices, which form so substantial a part of the book, are: 1. The Composition of the *Odyssey*. 2. The Relation of the *Odyssey* to the *Iliad*. 3. Homer and the Cyclic poets. 4. The History of the Homeric Poems. 5. The Time and Place of Homer, and 6. The Homeric House.

In discussing the Composition of the *Odyssey* Mr. Monro marks the predominance of the folk-lore element over that of heroic legend. The folk-lore tales (*Märchen*) belong he says to the realm of pure fancy, to an imaginary time and place. But the severance from semi-historical tradition seems scarcely so absolute as he would make it. To take one of the instances he adduces, it has been said and it seems indisputable, that *Laestrygonia* is only an obscured tradition of a Norwegian Fiord and the Land of the Midnight Sun, belonging to a time and place not so much imaginary as forgotten.

Nothing could, I think, be more admirable than the mode in which Mr. M. demonstrates the necessity for the appearance of *Telemachus* in the *Odyssey* in opposition to the view that 'the *Telemachia*,' as it is called, is either an independent poem or an enlargement inserted by a different author. Excellent too is the explanation and justification of the second council of the gods (c 1-42). Still Mr. M. is not entirely conservative. He does not accept as genuine the whole of the *Odyssey*, as we have received it from tradition. He rejects absolutely the song of *Demodocus*, part of the description of the Gardens of *Alcinous* (ll. 103-131), the concluding portion of the *Nekyia* (λ 565-627) and from ψ 297 to the end of the poem.

In App. iv. the examination and refutation of the ordinary conception of the *Homeridae* as a clan claiming descent from Homer or as a society of professional rhapsodists, whereas the term merely implies students and admirers of the Homeric poems, is interesting and important. Even more so is the argument by which *Pisistratus* and his alleged collection of the scattered poetry of Homer are, unless I am

much mistaken, finally disposed of. *Pisistratus* gets a great fall, and whoever undertakes to set him on the wall again will have enough to do. *Sudet multum frustra que laboret.*

Then we have a review of the literary criticism of the poems, which commenced with *Antimachus* at the end of the fifth century. A very high encomium is bestowed on *Aristotle* in this connection, though the story of his *Iliad* of the Casket is properly dismissed as 'a picturesque myth.' In the section dealing with the question of the antiquity of the vulgate text and with the various forms of interpolation, which have interfered with its integrity, we have a mass of well-ordered learning and criticism. Perhaps I may be allowed to take exception to one argument. It is inferred with respect to a Homeric quotation (ψ 77-92) in *Aeschines*, that because it was read by the Clerk of the Court (*γραμματεὺς*) and not spoken by the orator himself, we have therefore no security that the words really come from *Aeschines* at all. But this objection would only hold good, if the *γραμματεὺς* edited the speech afterwards, or if we had a verbatim report taken down by some one present at the trial. If *Aeschines* published his own speech, he must be held responsible for any quotation it may contain. Two general conclusions are reached. 1. That previous to the time of the *Alexandrine* critics the text had suffered much from interpolation. 2. At the same time copies existed not greatly different from our vulgate. Then follows a favourable estimate of the services rendered by *Aristarchus*, who besides his merits as a textual critic is credited with having interpreted obsolete words, maintained correct inflexions, noted the historical environment, the geography, the antiquities, the customs &c. and with having shown throughout 'a supremely rational spirit.'

In the next essay, 'The Time and Place of Homer,' we have a concise summary of the chief features of the Homeric Dialect and a few of the restorations of the original forms are given. Mr. Monro is undoubtedly right in saying that no restoration of the text can be complete; but yet it by no means follows, as we might almost suppose he means to recommend, that we should refrain from removing modernisations, even flagrant ones, because we cannot hope to resuscitate the primitive forms in their totality. For instance we have probably in all texts, certainly in all MSS., *κατήκιστα* (π 290), though it is quite certain that the

only admissible form is *κατηείκισται* (Herwerden), the simple verb being *αἰκίζω* not as afterwards *αἰκίζω*. A correction of this kind is quite a different matter from writing *πάνς* for *πᾶς*, *τόνς* for *τούς* or even *τᾶος* or *τῆος* for *τεῶς*, &c., which forms might with great advantage be confined to the obscurity of a note.

In dealing with the Homeric house Mr. M. argues very effectively for the existence of one threshold only to the *μέγαρον*, showing the practical identity of the *λαῖνος* and the *μέλιος οἶδός*, that in fact the two thresholds belong to the same doorway.

If we turn to the consideration of the text, a considerable advance will be found here on the editor's Oxford Homer of 1896. A few examples may be mentioned to make this clear. We have now:—

ν 194 *ἀλλοειδὲ' ἐφαίνετο* (an emendation first made by Payne Knight) for *ἀλλοειδέα φαίνεσκετο*. ν 400 *ἄνθρωπον* for *ἀνθρώπος*, a distinct improvement. ο 453 *περάσαιτε* for the impossible *περάσσητε*. π 206 *ἦλθον* *ἐικοστῶ* for *ἦλθον* *εἰκοστῷ*. 317 *νηλείτιδες* for *νηλῖτιδες*. 369 *φθίσαιμεν* for *φθίσωμεν*. ρ 60 *τελέσαι* for *τελέσση*. 81 *ἔχοντα* *σε* for *ἔχοντά σε*. 222 *ἄρα γ'* for *ἄρας*. τ 539 *αἰχέν'* *ἔαξε* for the absurd *αἰχένας ἦξε*. 586 *ἀμφαφόντας* for *ἀμφαφόωντας*. υ 138 *μυμνήσκοντο* for *μυμνήσκοιτο*. 315 *εἰ δὴ μὴ μ'* for *εἰ δ' ἦδη μ'*, perhaps a questionable change. 383 *πέμψωμεν* for *πέμψωμεν*. ψ 206 *ἀναγνούσης* for *ἀναγνούση*.

For these and other similar improvements Mr. Monro merits all praise; nor are we under less obligation to him for many valuable contributions in the notes to the better understanding of the text. I may refer to the note on *λυκάβας* (ξ 158–62), the new and ingenious explanation of ο 156–8, the examination and redistribution of ο 294–8, the new version suggested for ρ 413 *προικὸς γένεσθαι Ἀχαιῶν* (But would not *γένεσθαι* be required?), the note on ο 555 *προβιβάντα*. In τ 37 we have a new explanation of *μεσόδμαι* 'the stone bases of the wooden pillars' supporting the *μέγαρον*. This seems highly probable in itself; but the order of the enumeration *τοῖχον—μεσόδμαι—δοκοί—κίονες* seems peculiar. In ψ 243 *περάτῃ* is explained as 'passage,' a new view possessing strong claims to acceptance. I have some doubt about the proposed version of χ 14. It seems hardly natural enough for Homer. 'Who would expect a man to commit suicide by murdering another, who had all his friends about him?' is the question according to Mr. Monro, the implication

being that the murderer would be lynched on the spot. This might be taken from a modern writer, but is it quite like Homer?

If I now proceed to mention sundry points, in which I am unable to agree with Mr. Monro, I do so with a full and cordial recognition of the many great merits and high quality of this edition. In ν 34 I find the statement that for *βλάβεται* 'it is always possible to read *βλάβετο*.' This can only be so, if we take no account of metrical equivalence. In ν 91 *μνάεσθ'* is required for *μνάσθαι*. Mr. M. rightly points out that in l. 41 the metre is defective. Here it is so in a higher degree. In ξ 296 the local sense attributed to *ἴνα* seems doubtful. ξ 406 *πρόφρων* *κεν δὴ ἔπειτα Δία Κρονίωνα λιτοίμην*. Mr. M. renders this 'I would be fain thereupon to entreat Zeus' (*sc.* *Ζεὺς εἰνίος*) *i.e.* to make my peace with him. I submit that the true sense of the words is with strong irony: 'I should be very eager forsooth after such a deed to say a prayer to Zeus.' Eumaeus means he would have qualms about praying to Zeus. Neither of Mr. Monro's arguments avails here. *πρόφρων*, he says, implies *eagerness* to do something, not *confidence* in doing it. Granted: but then that is precisely what E. wishes to convey by his ironical remark 'I shall not be in any hurry to pray.' He would in fact be rather shy about saying a prayer to Zeus, and would be inclined to pray to any god rather than to Zeus *εἰνίος*. Nor again in this rendering is the force of the aor. neglected. The present would mean 'to say my prayers habitually': the aor. 'to breathe a single prayer.' Now if we compare the two versions, the one I have given and Mr. M.'s, it is plain that the present would suit his new version better than it does mine:— 'I should be fain thereupon to make many prayers to Zeus, to entreat Zeus many a time and oft.' He would importune Zeus with incessant prayers for forgiveness. The other version, which has the advantage of maintaining the irony of l. 402, is on the contrary made more effective by the aor. He would not say a single word that might draw the attention of Zeus to his case.

In ο 21 Mr. M. desiderates as a preliminary the restoration of the *F* of *οἶκον*. Surely P. Knight's *κείνοο οἶκον βούλετ'* is good enough and probable enough.

ο 373 is clearly nothing but an interpolation.

ο 524. It is eminently desirable, and indeed only reasonable, that *τελευτήσῃ* and similar forms should be recognised not only as future indicatives, but also as the correct

archaic forms of the non-thematic aor. subj. This would apply to ἀρκέσει (π 261) ἀλύξει (τ 558).

π 10. I suggest that ὑπό is here adverbial with the sense of 'faintly,' 'indistinctly.' The sound is subdued or muffled. The barking of the dogs makes it impossible to hear it very clearly; but like the *motif* in a piece of music it may be detected in the midst of the louder harmonies.

π 19. I am strongly inclined to believe that τηλύγετον is merely an erroneous tradition of τηύγετον cf. our shamefast and shame-faced.

π 195. ἡ κυκλική deserves much credit for preserving what is certainly the true reading here θέλγεις.

ρ 218. A manifest interpolation. That such a line ever came from the lips of the author of the *Odyssey* is a downright impossibility. The use of the article τὸν ὁμοῖον—τὸν ὁμοῖον is as informing as the Attic preposition.

ρ 387. τρύγοντα ἐ αὐτόν was probably ἔφε γ' αὐτόν. The emphasis given by γε is quite justified by the sense here. Contrast Ξ 162 where no such emphasis exists. That the particle should have disappeared is only natural. In face of the later αὐτόν it could hardly be preserved. In θ 396 δέ ἐ αὐτόν should rather be δ' ἐ γ' αὐτίς.

ρ 447. οὕτως is in my view far better explained as indicating a place at some distance from the speaker.

ρ 484. The apodosis is virtually in the voc. οὐλόμενε, O lost one, if etc. This form of expression is quite natural in English.

ρ 586. I should much prefer to read the line thus:—

οὐκ ἄφρων τὸ ξείνος οἶεται, ὥς περ ἂν εἴη.

'The stranger—no fool he—thinks of this just as it would be.' To join ἄφρων with οἶεται more closely than this merely begs the question.

σ 3. I am afraid that ἀζηχῆς still remains a riddle unsolved. The insuperable difficulty for etymologists in many cases is that the ancients in transmitting an obsolete word practised no machine-like accuracy, and never scrupled to make a modification that seemed to them to simplify matters, to bring the word a degree nearer to the comprehension of their own day, e.g. τηλύγετος.

σ 408. κατακεῖτε as fut. indic.—not imperative—needs some consideration. Surely we have to deal with 'a direct request,' and that is why the apology of the next line is needed.

τ 159. κατεδόντων. This is perhaps best explained as a 'causal genitive' with ἀσχαλάα.

ν 23. ἐν πείσῃ. The other explanation of this unique word, 'obedience' should at least be mentioned. That the phrase means 'in bondage' is hard to believe.

ν 83. ἔχει. If the first interpretation, that of Faesi, be right, as Mr. M. declares, why does he end by suggesting ἔπει? The traditional reading both here and in μ 209, which he refers to, is decidedly the best. All that is necessary in the latter place is to restore the true order of the words τὸδ' ἐπι μείζον κακόν.

ν 106. ἤατο rather suggests that the mills were placed on trestles or stands like our sewing-machines.

ν 224. ὁλομαι takes an acc. without any such objective clause as here follows, e.g. N 283 etc.

ν 273. There seems to be a double meaning here. Ostensibly Antinous says:—'Zeus does not allow us to do otherwise than be silent under his rebuke; otherwise we should have answered and confuted him.' The veiled meaning is of course:—'we should have killed him before now.'

φ 26. Perhaps the curious ἐπίστωρ means 'one who goes in quest of,' the whole forming an apt description of a knight-errant.

φ 50. I cannot regard the explanation of σανίδος as at all probable.

χ 126. Possibly ὀρθοθήρη may mean a swing-door, or if not, a staircase-door.

χ 219. βίας is a very strange word here and certainly requires some comment.

χ 408. εἵατο is a very excellent suggestion.

ψ 3. I would suggest ἐριγμαίνοντο as possibly concealed under ἐρικταίνοντο. It would meet the requirements of the passage well enough.

ψ 16. Instead of ἐρέουσα read ἐνέπουσα and the difficulty disappears.

ψ 316. In the original possibly:—

οὐδ' ἄρα πῶ ἐ φίλην ἐς πατρίδ' ἐκέσθαι αἶσ' ἦν (K αἶην rather points to this).

ω 8. ἐκ πέτρης I should say depends certainly on ὀρθαθοῦ and not in any degree on the verb.

ω 128. May not ἄλλον be explained here by reference to the previous line, so that the meaning would be 'other than the design to have us removed altogether,' ἡμῖν φραζομένη θάνατον καὶ κῆρα μέλαιναν?

ω 240. I can hardly agree that this line is the only real exception to the rule men-

tioned. What is the unreality about E 734, to take only one example?

ω 343. This line may be looked upon as an interpolation introduced by some one, who was not pleased to see *διατρύγιος* δε *ζκαστος* without a verb.

I will conclude with the following list of desiderata for the editor's kindly consideration: χ 12 *όλοιτο* for *οϊόιτο*, ω 67 *νῶι* for

νῶιν, τ 215 *ξείνος* not *ξείνε* for *ξείνέ γ'*, φ 434 note on *κεκορυθμένος*, ω 67 *ἐν ἐσθῆτι* without the superfluous τ', φ 125 *τανύσσεσθαι* (Jordan) for *ἐρύσσεσθαι*, ρ 322 *ἀπαμείρεται* for *ἀποαίννται*. ω 485 *θείομεν* (*θήομεν*) *ἐκκλησιν* for *ἐκκλησιν θέομεν*, unless he is prepared to stand by *θείομεν*. In τ 579 I am glad to see *ἄμα σποίμην* for the usual *ἄμ' ἐσποίμην*.

T. L. AGAR.

CESAREO'S *ANTIGONE* OF SOPHOCLES.

Sophocle: 'Antigone,' con note di PLACIDO CESAREO; Torino (Loescher). 1901.

IF any considerable number of Italian editions of the Classics can be compared with this, scholarship in that country leaves little to be desired. The purposed scope of the editor's work may be given in his own words:—'Ho procurato di rendere ai giovani il senso intimo d' ogni passo (o, quando ce ne poteva esser più d' uno, tutti quanti con le rispettive difese dei vari sostenitori), discutendo, vagliando, scegliendo quello che mi pareva il migliore; insomma mi sono attenuto a un' analisi il più che da noi si poteva scrupolosa, non diremo già fine... Ma ciò a cui abbiamo dato il miglior posto è appunto l' arte; chè non s' abbia a dire una tragedia di Sofocle si possa intenderla senza apprezzarla nel suo senso estetico e gustarla. Abbiamo quindi, volta a volta, notato le figure, le immagini, i concetti, la posizione delle parole nel periodo e nel metro, tutte le leggi generali e le anomalie peculiari, le quali formano la bellezza dei vari luoghi, o vi contribuiscono.'

This comprehensive design Sig. Cesareo has carried out with admirable success. His scholarship is accurate, and he shows a literary and dramatic taste superior to that of several of his predecessors in the same

field. An acquaintance at first hand with the works of English and German editors has enabled him to take a comprehensive view of all points of difficulty, and his judgment is, in the present writer's opinion, rarely at fault. His style is clear and concise; and if the few translations which are given are somewhat lacking in distinction (senza caratteristico distintivo), this is perhaps due to a desire to make them as literal as possible. In the result, we have a commentary which is at once thorough, appreciative, and scholarly, and which Italian teachers and students should hail with satisfaction. If boys are meant to be included under the term 'giovani,' the notes should be relieved of a good deal of matter which can have no interest for them,—in particular, the frequently recurring lists of editors' names, and the enumeration of untenable and improbable views. There are many points and passages on which Sig. Cesareo would be quite safe in simply giving his own opinion. Also there should be a good deal of translation (not literal) into Italian of the best literary style. The editor has already before him an unsurpassable model in the translations of Prof. Jebb, the first appearance of which marked an epoch in English classical scholarship.

M. A. BAYFIELD.

MARCHANT'S *XENOPHON*.

Xenophontis Opera Omnia recognovit E. C. MARCHANT. Tomus II. *Commentarii, Oeconomicus, Convivium, Apologia Socratis*. Oxonii.

MR. MARCHANT has brought out the second volume of his useful *Xenophon*. Like

Schenkl's second volume (1876), which it much resembles, (I hope it will not resemble it in being the last), it contains the *libri Socratici*. It is very convenient to have these together in one fairly handy volume. Using as I understand mainly the collations of other scholars, but making himself well

acquainted with the literature of the subject, Mr. Marchant has produced a very serviceable and at this time of writing no doubt the best text. In accordance with the principles of the series in which it appears it is strictly conservative in the actual text adopted, but in the brief critical notes he has mentioned many certain or probable conjectures. I should have been glad to see rather more of these, for they add considerably to the usefulness of the book. In *Mem.* 3. 5. 6 for instance, it is quite certain that ἔστ' ἄν...δείσωσιν cannot be right in the sense of *when or as long as they fear*, and Coraes' suggestion that ἔστ' ἄν should change places with ὅταν in the line before ought to be given. In 2. 1. 24 ἀεὶ ἔσῃ surely should be mentioned among the emendations of διέσῃ, and in 4. 4. 16 it should be noted that many critics propose to insert a substantive, which seems sadly wanted, after τοῖς αὐτοῖς. In *Oecon.* 8. 4 one would expect to find Zeune's ἀγλευκίστατον for ἀκλειίστατον mentioned along with, or in preference to, Wyttenbach's ἀηδέστατον, just as Orelli's ἀγλευκός is duly given a few lines before. There are some places too, where perhaps no plausible change has been proposed, but which cannot be right as they stand (e.g. *Symp.* 8. 4.), in which the editor gives no indication that the text is not perfectly satisfactory. He has however put a like restraint on his own conjectural powers, for the suggestions he makes are extremely few and trifling. It may be noted here that in

Mem. 1. 4. 1, though ὧς is supported by the papyrus fragment, οἷς is a quite certain restoration, as various scholars have seen. This bears upon the value of papyri.

It is no doubt outside the plan of the series to enter upon discussions as to genuineness, interpolations, and so on. At the same time it would have been useful and interesting even to the ordinary reader to have some indications of the extensive proposals for purging the *Memorabilia* and also the *Oeconomicus* of alleged accretions. Such an account need not have been as minute as that of Gilbert in his preface to the *Memorabilia*, but the bare statement in Mr. Marchant's preface that there have been such proposals is hardly enough. When too a good scholar has given as much time to a book as the preparation of such a text implies, one would be glad to have his opinion on the general question, if not on details. I am pleased to see that Mr. Marchant seems to accept the *Apology* as genuine.

Besides one or two other misprints (e.g. *Symp.* 4. 49 Νῆ Δί', ἔφη, ὁ Σωκράτης for Νῆ Δί', ἔφη ὁ Σωκράτης, a misprint which is taken over straight from Dindorf) there is one in the mention of an emendation of my own. In the corrupt words τῷ Νικίον τοῦ ἐπηλύτου ἱππῶ (*Oecon.* 11. 4.) I had conjectured τῷ ἐπηλύτῃ. By some error this appears in Mr. Marchant's note as τῷ ἱππηλύτῃ, which readers will find puzzling.

H. RICHARDS.

PANTAZIDES' *ANABASIS* AND GEMOLL'S *LEXICON TO XENOPHON*.

Ξενοφώντος συγγράμματα. Edited by I. PANTAZIDES. Vol. I.—*Anabasis*. Athens, Sakellarios, 1900. Pp. 646. Price 10 francs.

THIS finely printed book, published under the auspices of the Greek Philological Society of Constantinople, is quite an *édition de luxe*. The chief aim of the series to which it belongs is to satisfy the wants of ordinary Greek readers of the Classics who have not capacity or leisure πρὸς τελείαν κατάληψιν τῶν θαυμασιῶν ἔργων τοῦ δαμονίου πνεύματος τῶν προγόνων. Sixty-six pages of *prolegomena* dealing with the life of Xenophon and other matters give a useful summary of the literature of the subject. The text is furnished with a brief, but adequate

apparatus criticus and an eminently business-like commentary, which, though designed for the 'general reader,' contains many notes superior to any I have come across in other editions of the *Anabasis*. In textual matters Dr. Pantazides is a conservative. It is refreshing to find an editor of Xenophon nowadays who has not fallen under the influence of Cobet and his admirers; for surely no author has fared as badly as Xenophon at the hands of some of his critics, who have ruthlessly corrected many of his deviations from the strict Attic standard of accidence and syntax, or, like Hartman, have found *insulsa emblemata* everywhere. Writing as long ago as 1858, Dr. Pantazides pointed out the need of caution in this respect, μήποτε τὰ ζιζάνια

συλλέγοντες ἐκρίζωσωμεν ἅμα αὐτοῖς τὸν σῖτον, and now he says:—ταῦτα καὶ νῦν ἔτι πολὺ μᾶλλον φρονοῦμεν καὶ διακηρύττομεν, βλέποντες μετὰ πόσης τόλμης οἱ νεώτεροι τῶν κριτικῶν φέρονται πρὸς τὰς ἀθετήσεις χωρίων ἀσφαλῶς καθ' ἡμᾶς γνησίῳ προϋόντων τοῦ Ξενοφοντείου καλάμου. For scholars the most valuable part of this edition is the appendix of 200 pages dealing at some length with a large number of important passages, which are handled with the good sense for which the whole book is remarkable.

Schulwörterbuch zu Xenophons Anabasis Hellenica und Memorablen. By W. GEMOLL. Leipzig, Freytag, 1901. Pp. 340. Price 4 M.

DR. GEMOLL is well known as an editor of Xenophon. His clearly arranged and admirably illustrated lexicon is noteworthy as an indication that the German schoolboys of the twentieth century are to be pampered like our own. The pictures, over ninety in number, are very well selected, and there are two good maps. It is worth noticing that neither Dr. Gemoll nor Dr. Pantazides have availed themselves of Prof. W. M. Ramsay's researches in Asia Minor (*Journal of Hellenic Studies*, vols. iv. and viii.) for their maps of the Route of the Ten Thousand; the situation of Keramon Agora should certainly be altered.

G. M. EDWARDS.

PRAECHTER'S HIEROCLES THE STOIC.

Hierokles der Stoiker. Von KARL PRAECHTER. Leipzig, Dieterich. 1901.

THIS book is intended to prove that the quotations given by Stobaeus from Hierocles do not belong to the Neo-Platonic writer of that name but to a philosopher of the Stoic school. Whether this was the same as the author of the phrase ἡδονὴ τέλος πόρνης δόγμα, cited as 'verba Hieroclis Stoici viri sancti et gravis,' by Gellius (9. 5. 8) is regarded by Herr Praechter as doubtful; but he considers that there is much more to be said for the identification of the philosopher quoted by Stobaeus with another philosopher named Hierocles of Hyllarima in Caria who began life as an athlete, and who must as being entitled 'of Hyllarima' have lived before the days of Hadrian, who refounded that city under the name of Hadrianopolis. The passage from Stephanus Byzantinus in which this Carian Hierocles is mentioned has been thought to be derived from the treatise of Philo περὶ πόλεων καὶ

οὗς ἐκάστη ἐνδόξους ἤνεγκε. The argument of Herr Praechter takes the form of a careful investigation of the views on various leading subjects attributed to the Hierocles of Stobaeus, and the conclusion arrived at is that they differ on the whole from those of the Neo-Platonic Hierocles: though it is admitted that on certain points, specially in what is said of duty to parents (p. 53) and of luxury in the furnishing of houses (p. 90), there is a close parallel. On p. 89, l. 3 there appears to be a misprint of HS. (Hierokles der Stoiker) for HN. (Hierokles der Neo-platoniker). The supposition of Bock quoted on p. 123 who 'beide' (viz. Jerome and Hugh of St. Victor) 'auf eine gemeinsame Quelle, Tertullian de nupt. angust. zurückführt,' is improbable. Is there any reason to believe that Hugh did not depend wholly, as is scarcely doubtful in the case of John of Salisbury in the next generation, upon Jerome for the Theophrastean discussion of matrimony?

C. C. J. WEBB.

GOW'S HORACE, SATIRES I.

Horace, Satires I. Edited by JAMES GOW, Litt. D., Head Master of Westminster: Cambridge University Press, 1901.

DR. GOW here gives us not only an excellent schoolbook but a very considerable contri-

bution to our knowledge of the Satires. The merits of the late Arthur Palmer's edition are not quite such as fit it for teaching purposes, but Dr. Gow's notes are models of perspicuity and provide neither too much nor too little. Where they run to

some length, as on the difficult passage 6. 7-22, they throw light on the darkness. In this passage Dr. Gow has not only found a consistent and reasonable explanation of the text but also achieved the even more difficult task of understanding and stating in an intelligible form the view taken by Orelli.

The lines in which the text differs from recent editions are not very many, but although some of the readings may not ultimately stand, it is distinctly in advance of its predecessors. In 3. 10 we have Dr. Postgate's *si* for *qui*, and this correction will surely be accepted as certain. The same corrector's *et quantis* for *atque aliis* in 6. 111, is less convincing, though the MSS. text is undoubtedly corrupt. In 3. 103, Dr. Gow accepts Professor Housman's transposition of *voces* and *sensus*, getting the sense which long ago Fröhlich vainly endeavoured to extract from the MSS. readings. In 5. 15, the omission of *ut*, supported by some MSS., is in all ways an improvement. In 6. 14 Dr. Gow will not have *notante*, and his own suggestion of *quid autem* seems to deserve more attention than he ventures to claim for it. In 3. 120-121 he successfully defends the text against Palmer's unhappy *nunc vereor* and others. Now that it is well established that *non vereor ut* for *non vereor ne non* is not sound Latin, there should be no difficulty in taking *ut caedas* as a substantival clause. Indeed, as the clause precedes the main verb, it is hard to see how a living sense of the Latin could ever find any difficulty in the passage. In 6. 126, Munro's *pulsum* for *lusum* is perhaps unnecessary. In face of such a construction as *ludere aleam, ludere par impar*, the construction here seems to be the same as in *post ignem aetheria domo | subductum* and *memor mutatae togae*. This view must, however, assume that *trigon* may mean the game as well as the ball.

On 5. 38, Dr. Gow suggests that the journey to Brindisi is commemorated by the ode on Murena's augurship. The journey can hardly have taken place earlier in the year than February, while the ode (3. 19) seems to refer to January. Possibly, however, even at Formiae a north wind in February might make a man shiver with Paelignian cold

'fremere saeva cum grandine vernus Juppiter.'

On 5. 16 Dr. Gow's suggestion that *viator* is not a passenger on the boat but a traveller on the towpath is strongly supported by the contrast between *viator* and *navita* in *Car.* III. 4. 30-32.

I will note a few trivial points on which I venture to disagree. It is not quite accurate to say that 'Caesar's park ... was ... a good way down the river from the Pons Sublicius,' and the apparent implication that Horace would cross by that bridge to see his sick friend, real or imaginary, can hardly be accepted. He would probably cross by the Pons Aemilius and so by the Lungaretta and up the Janiculum. Dr. Gow states somewhat too roundly that 'the construction *dignus qui* does not occur in Augustan poets,' but it is true that in the one notable exception, *Aeneid* vii. 653, there is a special reason for its adoption. In 4. 23 we cannot actually understand *mei*, for *scripta mei* will hardly stand. How often it happens that the word of the ellipse is not definitely conceived. On 4. 63 would it not be more accurate to say that Cicero's usual formula is not *hactenus haec* but *haec hactenus*? In 2. 8 the metaphor of *stringat* is as likely to be from gathering fruit or reaping ears of corn as from stripping leaves off trees. I will only add that Dr. Gow's edition is one which no Horatian will choose to be without.

J. SARGEANT.

ELLIS' *AETNA*.

Aetna. By ROBINSON ELLIS, LL.D., Corpus Professor of the Latin Language and Literature. Oxford 1901.

This very complete and exhaustive edition includes a critical recension of the text based on a new examination of MSS., a prose translation facing the text, and an exegetical

commentary as well as elaborate prolegomena dealing with the history of the poem and the MSS. in which it is preserved. It is a model of criticism at once brilliant and cautious, giving full weight, and yet no more than is due, to diplomatic tradition on the one hand and to the imperative claims of language and metre on the other. It

has been the fortune of this poem to have amongst its editors intemperate champions of both of these schools. It has had, on the one hand, editors like Baehrens who are ready to employ conjecture not only in correction of MS. tradition when in conflict with the acknowledged laws of language syntax or metre, but in removal of such idiosyncrasies as may well be characteristic of individual writers, and in the assimilation of the natural diversities of style to a uniform standard. It has had, on the other, its Sudhaus who in blind adherence to MSS. translates right through Latin which in the sixteenth century would have been universally pronounced to be impossible and therefore corrupt.

The admirable edition of Munro (1867) which made such an epoch in the criticism of the poem, strange to say, approximates in some passages to the exponents of the latter view. For instance in 504ff. he keeps to a without changing a letter: the result is:

eminet examen: plagis ardentia saxa,
scintillas procul esse fides, procul esseruentis,
which he persuades himself is Latin and means 'the fact that burning stones, that sparks are far away, far away, as they fall to the ground,¹ is a proof that this is caused by blows.' In the present edition the passage runs:

Emitat examen plagis, ardentia saxa
Scintillant: procul este pedes, procul este ruentes,

which is translated 'at each blow a swarm of sparkles shoot out, the burning rocks flash fire: away, swift feet, away with all your speed.' Here we have at least Latin and English, though *ruentes* is hardly the word one would have expected for 'with all your speed.' Indeed, *ruentes* seems to be better taken with the succeeding words *incolumi feruore cadunt*.² His reading and explanation of v. 507

vix uncis quisquam fixo dimoverit illas

is greatly to be preferred to the *iunctis* and *fazo* of Munro, whose conjectural skill throughout has hardly maintained the brilliant promise of *Hyla* and *Ladonis* in the opening lines of the poem.³

Among the places (which are numerous) in which Prof. Ellis has either convinced us that he has restored the true text or at least has made a more plausible suggestion than other editors we would give a high place to his *ducit namque omnis hiatus* 96, *novent* (for *movent*) *hoc plura necesse est* 148, *gyros* 324, *rigent* 384, *crispantur* 393, *bruta* 409, *carbo* 411, and especially his brilliant and certain vindication of the hitherto misunderstood reading of the MSS. in 212 *spiritus inflatis nomen, languentibus aer*, where he shows that 'two conditions of imprisoned air, in tension or in subsidence, are contrasted,' the former being called *spiritus* (something like our 'gas,' except that it does not connote anything inflammable). His distinction he proves by passages from Seneca, to whose correspondent Lucilius Junior the poem seems to be rightly attributed. It would be interesting here to give a few of the arguments by which the Editor has supported his conjectures, but this would demand far too much space, and we must content ourselves with referring our readers to the book itself. Less probable but very interesting are the following: *quidquid et infernist, falsi consortia adhaerent* 84, *ingens* for *ignes* 188, *itis* for *istis (ipsis)* 271 (where, however, we prefer Baehrens' *sic avidis semper quaevis res carior ipsis*), *niuis in sese* 283, *bruta* for *tutū* 409, *haud equidem mirum scaterest* 456, *simans* 494, *rhidas* 531, *artem* 553.

The number of passages obelised is considerable. For instance, in 23 he prints *quidquid in antiquum iactata est fabula carmen*. Would it be rash to suggest (in a desperate passage) that we have here a ἀπαξ εἰρημίων *fabile*, which would certainly have been corrupted into *fabula*? As the best MSS. add *et* after *quidquid*, we might perhaps read *quodque et in antiquum iactatū est fabile carmen*, which would mean 'ay, everything that can be uttered has been hitched into some lay of old.' Verses 79, 80 are thus printed:

[Mentiti uates stygias undasque canentes]
Hi Tityon ἥποινα stravere in iugera foedum.

Now it seems to us that he might have avoided both the *athetesis* and the *obelus*, without calling on conjecture more than he is constantly obliged to do in this difficult and very corrupt poem. He might have given his own excellent *ualles* for *uates* and Scaliger's *canesque* for *canentis* (*canes* = *Furias*), correcting with Unger *foedum* to *setum*: the phrase *poena...setum* is strongly supported by Aen. vi. 598 and other

¹ *Ruentis* we take to be a misprint for *ruentes*.

² D'Orville's *procul este, sudas, procul este, tridentis* is too violent a desertion of the MSS., but it is very attractive—just the forcible-feeble way in which the minor poet would have described the uselessness of stakes and levers in getting rid of the lava; and it falls in with Prof. Ellis's conjecture *uncis*.

³ In many other places, conspicuously in 493, 502, 535, Munro elicits from his reading a meaning which can hardly be found in it.

passages quoted by the Editor. *In iugera* in the sense of 'over whole acres' seems quite possible in such a poem. At all events *ualles* (as well as *adierunt* for *viderunt* in 77) is deserving of a place in the foot-notes. The Editor, who is unusually free from bias in favour of his own conjectures, has relegated both suggestions to the Commentary.

In 52 in reading *per inertia* for the *que tertia* of the MSS. he has given the most poetical suggestion that has been made; but there is much to be said for Suringar's hypothesis of a gloss. The passage (51-53) might have run originally

*Impius et miles metuentia cominus astra
Provocat admotisque deos ad proelia signis.*

In 69, *tum Liber cessata* (*cessat* or *celsa* MSS.) *venit per sidera*, no satisfactory parallel for *cessata* = *quiescentia* is given in the notes: it is not the same as *cessata...spectacula* in 389. In the puzzling passage 292, which so well illustrates the difficulties besetting the poem, and which he gives as *nam veluti sonat urna ciens Tritona canorum*, we prefer Munro's *sonat hora duci Tritone canoro*. It has strong MS. authority, *ora duc* of C, and the musical Triton might have sounded the hour for a *naumachia* such as that in Suetonius, *duci* being the Emperor. *Sonat urna* might, of course, easily have been corrupted into the *sonatura* of the Vatican codex, but could a hydraulic machine be called *urna*, and would not *ciere* be a somewhat strange word for setting the Triton going?

It will be seen from these necessarily few and brief quotations, that, if there is nothing in the present work quite so certain or so brilliant as the Editor's *ne frit quidem* for *nec erit quidem* in Plaut. *Most.* iii. l. 61, yet there is still much to charm those who are still capable of being delighted by an ingenious and scholarly emendation and who find a high pleasure in following the arguments by which it is supported. In this respect the Commentary is extremely full and complete, and as much so in the defence of the conjectures of others (e.g. the *trecenti* of Buecheler and Sudhaus in 579) as of the Editor's own.

The date and authorship of the *Aetna* are fully discussed in the Prolegomena. He rejects the claims of Cornelius Severus, Manilius, and Virgil. The date, he holds, must be subsequent to Virgil and probably

before the Silver Age, possibly in the reign of Augustus, but most probably in the later Claudian or early Neronian era. He thinks it may be plausibly assigned to Lucilius Junior, the correspondent of the younger Seneca, with whose works, and in particular the seven books of *Natural Questions*, the poem shows a close and very intimate agreement.

As to the MSS. of the *Aetna*, the great question is, what is the relative value of CS on the one hand and of the Gyraldinian variants on the other. C is the Cambridge tenth century codex first completely collated by Munro. S is the *Fragmentum Stabulense*, an eleventh century codex containing most of the *Aetna*, once in the Monastery of Stavelot, now in the National Library of Paris. The Gyraldinian readings refer only to vv. 138-285; they belong to a very early codex now lost, but used in the sixteenth century by Silius Gyraldus. Baehrens makes of these readings a first-class as compared with other MSS., C and S included. Prof. Ellis in a very well sustained argument shows the absolute superiority of C, and of S (which agrees very closely with C), not only to all the fifteenth century MSS., but to the Gyraldinian variants. Of the variants plainly not due to conjecture the editor gives many examples, the most interesting of which are the following: (α) 226 *ingenium sacrare caputque attollere caelo* against *sacra per ingentem capitique attollere caelum* of C; compare the curiously parallel phrase of Seneca (*Nat. Quest.* Pref. to Bk. iv. § 10) *ingenium consecrare*: (β) 213 *nam prope nequicquam pars est violentia* against *par est* of C, for *parsest* is a corruption of *persest* (*per se est*) the admirable conjecture of Wagler: (γ) 165 *aquasque* against *-a quaeque* of C, for the variant leads to the now generally accepted emendation of Munro, *ocuatque*. But in addition to these Prof. Ellis gives other classes of variants, some plainly wrong, some hardly intelligible, many imperfectly or wrongly reported, and very many such as could have been made (some, as we have seen, have actually been made) by well-trained scholars. He has certainly established his thesis that when the Gyraldinian variants are in marked antagonism to CS we are bound to give our first consideration to CS, our second to them.

R. Y. TYRRELL.

GLOVER'S *FOURTH CENTURY*.

Life and Letters in the Fourth Century. By
T. R. GLOVER, Cambridge University
Press. Pp. 398. Price 10s.

THE appearance within a few years of two such books as Mr. Glover's *Life and Letters in the Fourth Century* and Mr. Dill's *Roman Society in the last Century of the Western Empire* may be held to mark a widening of English interest in ancient history and a wish to follow it to its end and link it with what came after, such as that which has existed in France for some time and found expression in de Coulange's work and in Mr. Boissier's *La Fin du Paganisme*. Mr. Glover's plan for studying his period is, like some of Boissier's chapters, chiefly biographical, and has the advantages and the drawbacks of that method. The interest which biography and talk about persons so readily excite is forwarded, in Mr. Glover's case, by a pleasant style and by considerable skill in the arrangement of materials. It is always agreeable too to listen when a student has submitted the authors to a fresh reading and gives us the result of an independent estimate; and there is something for everyone's taste in a list of subjects which takes in Ammianus Marcellinus, Julian, Quintus of Smyrna, Ausonius, Women Pilgrims, Symmachus, Macrobius, St. Augustine, Claudian, Prudentius, Sulpicius Severus, Palladas, Synesius, and Greek and Early Christian Novels.

It will at once be seen from this enumeration how wide is the ground traversed, and how many topics of both Christian and Pagan interest are involved in these names. But on the other hand the interest is, as it were, cut into sections. One feels at the end of the volume a certain want of unity in what one has read; there is a lack of positive conclusion. We have had a pleasant hour with Achilles Tatius or with Ammianus, but what is left us when the hour is over? What is the general tendency of the period? What is the general view of political or literary history into which these authors fit?

Something is done to meet this feeling by the introductory chapter (pp. 1-19). This is more closely packed with thought—or at all events moves more among generalizations—than the other chapters. Mr. Glover gives us in it a sketch of (1) The Empire, its good side and its weakness; (2) Art, Edu-

cation, and Literature; (3) Philosophy; (4) The Church. But his authorities here are not very different from those dealt with singly in the body of the book. A fuller survey, at either the beginning or the end of the work, would have laid a firmer foundation for the single studies. It would also have entailed a much wider use of evidences other than literary. Monumental evidence, which exists of course in many different kinds, would usefully supplement the literary sources (as we can judge from Mr. Glover's own use of the sepulchral monument of Vettius Agorius Praetextatus). It suggests many new problems; it discloses undercurrents; it reveals the life of little people. The letters of Symmachus show us abundantly the gentleman and the well-to-do man of the period; but we cannot gather from them the hopes and fears and troubles of the poor man in town and country. Moreover, while monumental evidence may, like any other, be misinterpreted, it can hardly be edited or dressed-up, and seldom positively falsified or forged; whereas 'The correspondence of Symmachus was edited by his son' who 'carefully removed anything unsafe, anything beneath the dignity of a great man, anything relating to common life or business or passing events': and Mr. Glover does not find Claudian's account of the transaction at Pollentia very satisfactory.

Chiefly of course we want to know all that can be discovered or inferred about the economic condition of the sinking empire. There is perhaps no time when the influence of economic factors is more clearly and more immediately manifest than in the case of a state which has had the command of abundant funds and now has a difficulty in making both ends meet. The connection between antecedents and consequents is there not only plain, it is worked out quickly. That there was enormous distress of this kind is well known, and Mr. Glover just brings the fact within the frame of his picture by mentioning 'the Decurions, the long-suffering upper class' [p. 108. On p. 4, 'the middle classes paid all the taxes.'] But that is hardly enough, if we are to see the Life of the Fourth Century as well as its Letters. We want to have the causes set forth which crippled the means of the State, the effects which followed in the national or collective life, and the ways in which

they told upon all ranks, on separate classes and individuals. How were various trades affected? How were agriculture and commerce modified? How soon did the civilized institutions, the costly organization, the liberal foundations, begin to feel the pinch? It is likely that, even though the books fall us here, yet archaeology can be made to tell a great deal more on these points than it has yet told.

There are some other large aspects of life about which *Life and Letters* has little to say. There is the law. There is the spoken language, the decaying Latin. This too is only just hinted at in mentioning, as one feature of the writings of St. Silvia of Aquitaine, 'peculiar spellings, which show a Latin wearing down towards French.' But such changes or corruptions, popular pronunciation and popular idiom, could be largely illustrated from early Christian inscriptions.

We have always found a great difficulty in understanding the feeling of the 'Romans' about their troubles during the many centuries in which the empire was, as we say, decaying. If some, as certain Christians, see the hand of God striking terrible blows, other writers, both Christian and pagan, seem quite unconscious of their real position. Their apparent indifference or apathy or ignorance puzzles us, but Mr. Glover does not feel this so much. Indeed, he seems to think there was more trouble and alarm in men's minds than we find there. He speaks in particular of 'the distress caused by the Gothic invasions, partly to be traced to the feeling that, if Rome fell, there was no possible power to take her place' (p. 3); and this is borne out by a quotation from Synesius on p. 326. But on the other hand he himself says that 'One might read the letters of Symmachus without forming any clear idea of the dangers, internal and external, of the Empire, just as it is almost impossible to gather from Miss Austen's pages that England was at war with Napoleon.' 'To the barbarians Symmachus makes no allusion in his letters.' Synesius 'gives no hint of having heard of the capture of Rome by the Goths.'

There is at least one very luminous suggestion thrown out in Mr. Glover's introduction. (He does not claim the thought as his own, referring readers to Seeck, *Gesch. des Untergangs der antiken Welt*. The suggestion, however, if not the application, is to be found, if we mistake not, in Mr. F. Galton's *Studies in Human Faculty*). Mr. Glover says:

'Faction, with its retaliatory massacres, had in Greece steadily eliminated eminence and capacity. In Rome much the same thing had befallen in the last century of the Republic and in the years of usurping and suspicious Emperors. The level therefore of Greek and Roman genius steadily fell.'

The proscriptions had done far-reaching harm by 'removing the brave and independent, and leaving only the weaker to be the fathers of a new generation.' Again, 'the tendency to asceticism and celibacy which went with the general revival of religion did not help the world, the finer natures leaving no children. The same unhappy result followed the persecutions of the Christians.' All this is important; and the agencies mentioned cannot possibly have failed to take effect, in the long run and on a large average. Yet in the very generations which are in question races new, healthy, and undecimated, were being taken up into the Empire and sending their representatives up to the very top of the State.

The great subject of religion suffers more than most from not being dealt with in any one central place of the book, and not having its parts grouped into one picture. The chief divisions of the matter, with which the author deals, are (i) Christianity, in more places than one; (ii) Manichaeism; (iii) Neoplatonism, in more places than one; (iv) Mithras-worship. Survivals of older civilized worship, as the Egyptian, or barbarian cults, as in Gaul and Britain, hardly come within his scope. On the four divisions just enumerated he has much to say that is well worth hearing; but it is not focussed. His judgement is very fair and unprejudiced. The weakness of paganism and the corruption of Christianity are justly set against each other. The chapter on Women Pilgrims finds fresh material in the *Peregrinatio Silvae*. That on St. Augustine, one of peculiar interest, is cut disappointingly short by the wish to deal with him chiefly as a man of letters and not to handle fully his theology, his influence on the church, or his great work as Bishop of Hippo.

The successive essays are not of course all equally full or of equal importance. Some are more penetrating than others, as well as more agreeable, and the paper on Claudian stands very high in both these respects. But much always depends upon the degree of sympathy felt by the writer for his hero,

a bond which cannot be commanded; and Mr. Glover has evidently little sympathy with the Emperor Julian, to whom he gives thirty pages. These thirty pages we have read three times, and always with a strong sense of disappointment. It is not only with the handling of the topic that we are disappointed; it is also discouraging to find how possible it is for two readers who have both honestly spent time over original documents to come to very different conclusions. But then too, Julian has always excited strong feelings, whether of good will or of antipathy. We can recall no second critic who has held the scales in the matter of that ruler with the severe impartiality of Dr. Wordsworth; and we confess that we do not always think Mr. Glover quite fair to Julian. It is not that he designs to give the apostate less than his due; he means to be fair, and he thinks, we are quite sure, that he is fair; but he is unconsciously too angry with the man to do real justice to either the man or the emperor.

Here is a general statement of Mr. Glover's than which nothing could be better:—'In what follows I have generally of set purpose avoided the testimony of the more hostile authorities.' In another place he has a very good word for Julian, speaking of 'his manliness, his purity and piety, the intense earnestness and dutifulness of his nature.' But the whole attitude of the chapter when he gets beyond these generalities, is hostile and even carping. Poor Julian's very appearance is brought up against him; Gregory of Nazianzus is the witness; while the contrary testimony of busts and statues is altogether ignored. Yet the bust in the Capitoline Museum at Rome, if we can rely upon it, would alone give us a favourable impression of the sitter. But the real unfairness of the chapter is let out most clearly in speaking of 'the malignity and hatred with which ecclesiastical writers have, or are supposed to have, pursued his memory.' The words which we have italicised should never have been used unless they were going to be fully justified.

There is little tangible to be said (and proved) against Julian. He was on the wrong tack, that is certain and admitted: he wrote flattering and insincere panegyrics on Constantius, a ruthless despot in whose power he was: he sent a specially severe governor to a city which had personally insulted him. What else there was, which was worth talking about, we hardly know. The legends of Julian's putting Christians

(St. John and St. Paul) to death are, very properly, not mentioned by Mr. Glover: and we see little to set Mr. Glover so strongly against him except want of sympathy, in fact incompatibility of temper. It cannot be denied that he was a ruler of very considerable practical ability. To say he degenerated in the latter part of his life (pp. 56, 59, 75), is rather to beg the question; and further, how long did the poor man have to degenerate in, or to show his degeneracy? Critics of Julian do not always realize how short his time was, how much he did in it of hard and needful work, and how little opportunity there was for certain things which they impute to him or expect of him. Mr. Glover's own useful table of dates reminds us that Julian was proclaimed Emperor in Gaul in 360 [the text says 360 in one place, 361 in another], and died in Asia in June 363. He had to fight for his throne and life at the beginning of this time, and to organize and lead an expedition into Persia in the second half of it. How long then had he to arrange anti-Christian reforms, and to see 'the world over, his reformation producing disorder and ill-will?' The shortness of his days, as well as their fullness, prevented his doing half of what is credited to him, and of course he left his plans little more than plans. But what would have been said of him if he had not tried to reform and improve paganism?

Of Julian's religious views one would wish to speak with all caution, and I shall certainly not attack his adversaries' characters or plans with the same acerbity which Mr. Glover shows to Julian. It is better to leave them untouched. But, as to the Emperor himself, is it really true that he believed in his own god-head (pp. 59, 76)? We greatly prefer Mr. Glover's other expression, that Julian thought himself 'the chosen vessel of Heaven.' He was not (he thought) a god, but was 'chosen by the gods to restore the old faith.' He was annoyed 'when men applauded him in a temple; there they must adore the gods, and not the Emperor' (Letter 64). His belief in magic and in the appearances of gods to mortals seems to us weak, but is not so weak as compared with the standard of his age, and such superstitions are not confined to the fourth century or to paganism. As Mr. Glover tells us in another place, 'The prayers of Synesius, both as a neo-Platonist and as a Christian, were mainly for freedom from anxieties, from attacks of demons, and from the influence of matter.'

But in writing thus we have no wish to initiate a controversy and no hope of converting Mr. Glover. People will go on differing about Julian to the end of time; and all that can be done, when one has an adversary at once so well informed, and so opposed, is to set out at least some of the points of difference, and there leave the matter.

There is no other large section of the *Life and Letters* on which we find ourselves so much at variance with the author (though we might, if space were unlimited, have something to say about the judgement of M. Aurelius expressed on p. 307); and it is pleasant to dwell rather on the care and

accuracy and clearness of sight which have gone to the making of so notable a book. The many interwoven translations give us excellently the sense of the originals: sometimes even the style is cleverly conveyed. The long-winded prolixity of Ammianus can perhaps not be reproduced without the appearance of caricature; but the rendering of a very different writer on p. 137 gives no inadequate notion of her style. It is probably the exigencies of rhyme which make Mr. Glover's verse-translation of the first epigram of Palladas on p. 313 go rather wide of the original Greek.

FRANKLIN T. RICHARDS.

KALBFLEISCH'S *PAPYRI ARGENTORATENSES GRAECAE*.

Papyri Argentoratenses Graecae, editae a CAROLO KALBFLEISCH. (Rostock. Program, 1901.)

THE Strassburg papyri, which form a small but interesting collection, are being published in what appears to be a haphazard and inconvenient fashion. Some have been edited by Kaibel and Reitzenstein in various articles in *Hermes*; one, a very interesting historical fragment, has been made the text of a considerable volume by Prof. Keil; for the facsimile of the valuable Hesiodic fragment on the marriage of Peleus and Thetis, it is necessary to have recourse to the *Sitzungsberichte* of the Berlin Academy; while two medical papyri have been assigned to Prof. Kalbfleisch, and form the subject of a *Program* emanating from the University of Rostock. They are not large fragments, nor are they specially important; but they are worth publishing, and have been carefully edited by Prof. Kalbfleisch. Four good photographic facsimiles form a very praiseworthy feature of the edition, and enable scholars who have no means of seeing the originals to form their own opinions as to date and readings. The first papyrus (Pap. Argent. Gr. 90) deals with diseases of the eye, classifying their causes and giving recipes for their treatment. It

consists of two fragments, each with writing on both sides; and Prof. Kalbfleisch, supported by Wilcken, thinks that all the writing is by one hand, though written at different times. This is possible, and the identity of subject is in favour of this view; but it is difficult to feel certain, in view of the marked differences in the hands. The papyrus may be assigned with confidence to the second century. It is much mutilated, and its restoration would require a knowledge of Greek medicine to which I cannot pretend. The other document (Pap. Argent. Gr. 1), which contains three fairly complete columns and two which are very defective, treats of intermittent fevers. It is written in a clear, neat, semi-uncial hand (much reduced in the photograph) of the second century, and its doctrines, in the editor's opinion, point to a date between Celsus and Galen. Prof. Kalbfleisch suggests Agathinus of Lacedaemon, a physician of the 'pneumatic' school, who lived in the second century, as a possible author. The *verso* of the papyrus is occupied by accounts, assigned by Wilcken to the end of the third century or the beginning of the fourth. It hardly seems necessary to place them lower than the third century.

F. G. KENYON.

DAVIS' A FRIEND OF CAESAR.

A Friend of Caesar: a Tale of the Fall of the Roman Republic. By WILLIAM STEARNS DAVIS. New York: the Macmillan Company, 1900.

'He was delighted to find scribbled on the wall, "Artemisia to her Agias: you are real mean."' (p. 142) 'If this book,' says the preface, 'serves to show that Classical Life presented many phases akin to our own, it will not have been written in vain.' It is apparently not written for the scholar, whose temper will be tried by fussy footnotes, which inform him that Baiae was a famous watering-place, or that *pulcherrima* means 'most beautiful.' The lay reader, for whom it is intended, will have three facts impressed on his memory, that the Romans spoke the language of the modern melodrama, garnished with occasional *poli* and *hemi*s to preserve the local colour, that Julius Caesar when not ranting was engaged in twaddling, and that the best Greek wine in Rome was to be obtained at 'the Big Eagle restaurant down on the Vicus Jugarius.' The language and sentiments of the characters, partly historical and partly imaginary, are about as much like those of Cicero's contemporaries, as the language and sentiments of Rasselas are like those of Abyssinians of the eighteenth century. Here is a specimen of Caesar's after-dinner conversation:

"Therefore while we love we do indeed dwell in the Islands of the Blessed: but when the vision

fades away, its sweet memory remains to cheer us in our life below, and teach us that where the cold intellect may not go, there is indeed some way, on through the mists of the future, which leads we know not whither; but which leads to things purer and fairer than those which in our most ambitious moments we crave." The voice of the conqueror of Gaul and German sank with a half tremor; his eye was moist, his lips continued moving after his words had ceased to flow.' (p. 214)

But best of all is the thrilling scene at the Rubicon—transpontine indeed, but fortunately too long to quote. Indeed Mr. Davis has a fine turn of eloquence. The following soars far beyond us:

'The azure above glowed with living brightness, and by night the stars and planets burned and twinkled down from a crystalline void, through which the unfettered soul might soar and soar, swimming onward through the sweet darkness of the infinite' (p. 242).

To give Mr. Davis his due, the archaeology is fairly correct, though we may doubt whether the Latin for storehouses is *horreae*, or whether Gallic horses were called *mammi*, or whether Chrysippus was born 180 B.C. What are we to make of this sentence: '*Vina Opimia* is the best'? What was the *ius osculûi*? Where is the town of Coma? Who is Calverly? and who Ichomachus? What authority is there for the black shoes of the Equites? or for the quotation 'that majesty that doth hedge about a king'? or for the grammar of 'whom she was sure was in the house'?

J. H. VINCE.

CORRESPONDENCE.

THE EARLY AGE OF GREECE.

PROF. P. GARDNER in the English Historical Review (1901, pp. 743-6) framed some strictures upon my 'Early Age of Greece' which I have hitherto had no opportunity of answering. I should have dealt with them in a postscript to my reply to Mr. Myres in the last number of the *Classical Review* had space allowed.

Dr. Gardner says that I call 'the Achæan theory (of the origin of 'Mycenean' culture) as much out of date as the geocentric scheme

of astronomy.' In dealing with Dr. Gardner's belief in the Achæan theory I said: 'Dr. Gardner comforts himself with the reflection that most archaeologists have held the Achæan theory, but he forgets that there was a time when the majority of astronomers believed that the sun revolved round the earth.' This does not assert that the Achæan theory is out of date, but it shows that the fact that the theory is held by Perrot and the majority of archaeologists

(the only grounds put forward for his belief by Dr. Gardner) is no evidence of its truth.

Against Dr. Gardner and the majority of archaeologists I maintained that the Mycenaean culture was not that of the Homeric Achaeans, but of a section of the indigenous Mediterranean race, and I further hold that the Achaeans of Homer had come down from central Europe in the early Iron Age. Dr. Gardner has now come over to me, for he now says that the recent discoveries in Crete 'prove that in Crete at least the race of the Mycenaean civilization was not Hellenic,' but, when he states that the 'character of the palace at Cnossus' &c. 'all seem to point to a culture in relations with those of Egypt and Babylon, a cousin perhaps of the Canaanite civilization, but having no relation whatever to anything Greek,' he does not face my arguments to show that the full growth of the Mycenaean art in Crete is to be ascribed to influences from continental Greece (p. 202) confirmed by Mr. Evans' discoveries there cited. Further, if there was a non-Aryan people in Crete, they would have been the Eteocretans, but Bosanquet's excavations at Praesus, a chief city of that race, have shown that it certainly was not a cradle of the full Mycenaean culture.

He says that I 'hopelessly confuse the question of race and the question of the character of civilization.' Yet my words (p. 74) 'that the same primitive culture was spread over the whole of the Mediterranean and even central Europe' show that I do no such thing.

He says that my proposition that 'the race that produced the Mycenaean culture was a Greek-speaking race called by the historians Pelasgi' is 'baseless and extravagant,' and he says that my 'way of citing and trusting ancient writers is one which is generally supposed to have been extinct among scholars since the days of Niebuhr.' It is enough to refer him to my replies (C.R. pp. 82 col. 2 and p. 83 col. 2) to similar charges by Mr. Myres (C.R. p. 71 col. 2 and p. 75 col. 2). Dr. Gardner blames me for using Homer and Aeschylus, yet he himself (*Man. Gr. Antiq.* p. 152) cites Callimachus to prove that 'the Pelasgians planted in Dotian territory near Lake Boebeis in Thessaly a grove in honour of Demeter.'

Dr. Gardner 'welcomes' my chapter on the

Homeric age, but he does not tell the reader that it proves that the Mycenaean culture was that of the Pre-Achaean Pelasgi, while that of the Homeric Achaeans is that of the full Iron Age which I identify with the culture of the early Iron Age of central Europe. He would thus appear to have given up his old belief that the Achaeans had created the Mycenaean culture! I hold that the Achaeans were a large fair-haired people who came from central Europe. Dr. Gardner now admits 'that the Achaeans were a fair-haired race, and that they came down into Greece from the north.' 'But' (says he) 'why should the Achaeans be Celts rather than Germans, if they are not to be (what seems after all most natural) Hellenic?' But he might have seen on my page 369 that I, like the ancients, include Germans in the term Celts. Over two dozen reviewers have noticed this and I have dealt with the point in my reply to Mr. Myres *supr.* p. 88 col. 1. Dr. Gardner in suggesting that the Achaeans are Hellenic is only again adopting my doctrine (*Early Age*, 112-3). Thus Dr. Gardner is another of my converts. Yet in the face of these admissions he calls my theory 'baseless and extravagant.'

He says that 'the best authorities' will not accept my dates for Hallstatt. 'The best authorities' are dealt with in my reply to Mr. Myres (C.R. 89). Dr. Gardner objects to my arguments from philology (1) pointing out that I do not suggest a Celtic derivation for Achilles, and (2) saying in reference to certain labialized forms in Greek (e.g. ἴππος, πέτρες) that he 'has asked the highest authorities to whom he has access and their reply is adverse to giving any weight to Mr. Ridgeway's view.' Unluckily for my critic Mr. J. H. Moulton (*Lond. Qu. Rev.* 1902) has pointed out in support of my view that Fick (*Personennamen*) has already identified Ἀχλὺς with *Agilulfs*. Dr. Gardner's reliance on authority has proved unfortunate for him in the case of the Achaeans, and the date of Hallstatt; equally so is his trust in his philologist friends, for they evidently did not know Fick's derivation of Achilles. Can Dr. Gardner's 'best authorities' show that ἴππος is a true Greek form, or can they meet my arguments based on the Arcadian dialect?

WILLIAM RIDGEWAY.

ARCHAEOLOGY.

AN ALLUSION TO THE MYCENAEAN SCRIPT IN PLUTARCH.

SINCE the discovery of a Mycenaean system of writing in Crete, the most brilliant among the many archaeological triumphs of Mr. A. Evans, it may be allowed to scholars to surmise that here and there, in the by-paths of classical literature, may be preserved some faint or legendary allusions to the existence of such a prehistoric script. The Keeper of the Ashmolean has himself in one of his public lectures called attention to one passage in an ancient author that proves the occasional find of 'Mycenaean tablets' in the classical period (Dictys Cret. Prolog.). I venture to cite another, of which the evidence seems to me unmistakable, but which has not yet been noticed, so far as I am aware, in this connection. Having been recently engaged upon the investigation of hero-cults in Greece, I came upon the following narrative in Plutarch's dialogue 'de Genio Socratis' (c. 5, p. 575 E)—the grave of Alceme near Haliartus was opened in the fourth century B.C. by the Spartan king Agesilaos, in order that the Lacedaemonians might secure the sacred relics of the ancestress of the Heracleidae: 'no vestige of the body was found in the tomb, but a bronze armlet of moderate size and two amphorae full of earth that had been petrified by course of time (. . . the text is here impaired, but the enumeration of the articles in the tomb is continued), *a bronze tablet containing many letters of wonderful antiquity: for the writing conveyed no information at all, although the letters were quite clear when the tablet had been washed; but the type of the characters was of a peculiar and foreign kind, very like the Egyptian.* (πίναξ χάλκεος ἔχων γράμματα πολλὰ θαναστὰ ὡς παμπάλαια· γνώναι γὰρ ἐξ αὐτῶν οὐδὲν παρέιχε, καίπερ ἐκφανέντα τοῦ χαλκοῦ καταπλυνθέντος, ἀλλ' ἰδίως τις ὁ τύπος καὶ βαρβαρικός τῶν χαρακτήρων ἐμφερέστατος Αἰγυπτίους). Wherefore Agesilaos, as they said, sent a copy of it to the Great King, requesting him to show it to his priests, in case they might be able to interpret it.' The story bears upon it the stamp of genuineness, and Plutarch was both an honest man and an enthusiastic antiquarian. The Alcemenemyth belongs to a Mycenaean stratum, and the tradition of her cult contains a legend of

stone-worship. The Spartans in the fourth century would as naturally desire to acquire her relics from Boeotia as formerly they had desired to carry off the bones of Orestes from Arcadia. The tomb of Alceme would be a Mycenaean tomb, found in a neighbourhood that was a great centre of Mycenaean culture and that was associated by legend with Crete. The writing on the bronze tablet was evidently neither 'classical' Greek nor Phoenician, nor Egyptian, though 'very like Egyptian.' This is exactly how we should expect a Greek of the fourth century B.C., or of Plutarch's period, to describe the newly revealed 'Eteokretan' or even the specially Knossian script. The story preserved by Plutarch, which could not possibly be a freak of either popular or learned mendacity, bears important corroboration to the theory well maintained by Mr. Evans, that a similar system of writing prevailed over a very wide Mycenaean area: and it also shows that the classical use of bronze tablets as material for writing descends from the Mycenaean period.

LEWIS R. FARNELL.

BIENKOWSKI'S ICONOGRAPHY OF BARBARIANS.

De Simulacris barbararum gentium apud Romanos. Ed. PETRUS BIENKOWSKI. Cracow and Vienna. 1900. 10 M.

THIS is a work published, under the auspices of the Academy of Cracow, in Polish and German. The author explains that it is part of a much larger work, a *Corpus* of representations of Barbarians in ancient art. He has chosen an excellent task, which combines historic, artistic and ethnographic interest; and the first instalment is of a character to show that he has all the ability necessary to its complete accomplishment. He is somewhat handicapped by having to print in two languages. What a pity it is that Latin has ceased to be the usual vehicle for learned dissertations!

As a sort of *prodromus* or introduction to his *Corpus*, Dr. Bienkowski gives us in the present publication an account of the allegorical impersonations of races and provinces which are to be found on Roman monuments. These allegorical figures are almost always female. As, however, in all ancient

art, excluding only Roman portraits, women are rendered in a more generalised and ideal fashion than men, it is often almost or wholly impossible to discriminate between figures of barbarian captive women, and impersonations of barbarous races. For example, we cannot determine whether the so-called Thusnelda of Florence, one of the most fascinating works of ancient art, really represents a German queen or Germania.

Dr. Bienkowski's essay falls naturally into two parts. The first includes the personifications of barbarous races; the second the figures which stand for provinces of the Roman Empire.

It is a curious fact that the German types come out better in Graeco-Roman art than those of most other peoples. Some of the Roman statues of them have a curiously modern air: an example is the beautiful head at St. Petersburg, which might almost pass for a northern Madonna. But yet there were points of contact between the Germans and Greek art. The Germans had a custom of covering their breasts but little: the men as Tacitus tells us went into battle *more patrio nudis corporibus*: and even the women in spite of the German climate seem not to have worn an under garment with long sleeves, like the women of Gaul and Asia Minor. Tacitus says *nudae brachia et lacertos; sed et proxima pars pectoris patet*. This quite suited the customs of Greek art; and the figure of Thusnelda, already mentioned, is almost purely classical in pose and dress. An apparent exception is the figure supposed to be Germania on the so-called Trophies of Marius on the Capitol (Bienkowski, p. 39) which wears long sleeves and is swathed in ample garments: but it is very doubtful whether this woman represents any German race. Her dress, and the arms with which she is associated, including scale-armour and bows, seem to point rather to Sarmatia and the neighbourhood of the Black Sea.

One of the most interesting series of statues in Rome is the set of representations of Provinces of the Empire which were originally set up, probably in the time of Hadrian, in connection with the so-called Basilica of Neptune, and some of which are now in the Museum of the Capitol. These were fully discussed by Dr. Lucas in a paper in the *Jahrbuch* of the Institute for 1900: but Dr. Lucas was not altogether successful in understanding or attributing the statues, probably because he missed the true key to them, which is furnished by that remarkable series of coins issued in

the reign of Hadrian, and commemorating his journeys into the various provinces of the Roman Empire. On these coins we have not only figures of the provinces visited, but the name of the province in each case. They thus enable us to attribute the uninscribed statues of the Basilica of Neptune. At p. 52 Dr. Bienkowski fully recognises the importance of this numismatic clue; but for some unexplained reason, he does not engrave as a series these interesting coins, a fact the more to be regretted as they are not, so far as I am aware, anywhere satisfactorily figured. The statues of the Basilica also deserve to be better known; they embody, as no other sculptural works do, the extent, the variety, and the orderliness of the Roman Empire, when it had reached its widest extent. And although they are not great original works, they are singularly pleasing and graceful. Modern sculptors have so often set before them the task of creating allegorical types of countries and cities, that it might naturally interest them to see how such problems were solved in the art-loving age of Hadrian.

P. GARDNER.

ADLER'S MAUSOLEUM AT HALICARNASOS.

Das Mausoleum zu Halikarnass. By F. ADLER. Berlin. 12 M.

THE restoration of the Mausoleum is certainly among the most interesting problems offered us by ancient architecture. Many points in respect to it are unsettled, and in regard to some of these it may be doubted if they will ever be settled. It is a great gain to have a treatise on the subject from so able and experienced an architect as Dr. Adler, who has been interested in the Mausoleum, as he tells us, from the day of its discovery by Newton. Dr. Adler's reconstruction can scarcely be regarded as final: but it is careful and workmanlike, and shows mastery of the materials.

On the whole Dr. Adler's conclusions are conservative. He rejects the opinion of Trendelenburg, who maintained that we have no authority for raising the building on a lofty podium, and the decidedly novel and striking views of Mr. Oldfield. Though he condemns Pullan's elevation as clumsy and unsightly, his own is not unlike it, except that he reduces the heaviness and the height of the podium. The latter he

effects, without diminishing the total height of the building, by inserting on the top of the pyramid a huge base to support the chariot of Pythis, and a platform above the columns of the pteron, on which he places in a row the numerous lions found among the remains. In a plan now in my possession Newton had placed these lions on the steps of the pyramid; Dr. Adler's disposition of them seems certainly happier, if it is consistent with existing remains.

Perhaps the most crucial point in any reconstruction of the Mausoleum is to be found in the way in which the restorer deals with Pliny's statement as to the area of the tomb. The main part of the building, he says, was a pteron or temple surrounded by columns; and he goes on to say that of this pteron the sides were 63 feet in length, and the front and back less, while the circumference was 411 (or 440, cxi or cxl) feet. But it is obvious that if the longer sides were only 63 feet, the circumference of the whole could not reach 252 feet. Mr. Oldfield met this difficulty by giving the pteron a cruciform plan, which enabled him to keep Pliny's figures intact. Dr. Adler objects that for such a plan there is no precedent among Greek buildings. But it may be rejoined that the plans of the Erechtheum and the Propylaea at Athens are roughly cruciform and easily lend themselves to further development. Dr. Adler himself adopts the simple expedient of altering Pliny's 63 to 89, and taking 440 feet as the circumference not of the pteron, but of the basis on which it rests. However, as the text of Pliny is in question, philologists also will have a right to an opinion, and they will probably think that to accept all Pliny's measurements as correct, save one, and in case of that one to introduce an almost impossible correction of lxxxix for lxiii is an extreme measure.

P. GARDNER.

MONTHLY RECORD.

GERMANY.

Rhenish Provinces.—Much progress has been made during 1901 in the exploration of various Roman military posts along the Rhine. At Urmitz a new *castellum* has been laid bare, of later date than the surrounding earthworks, but older than the fort built by Drusus; it probably dates from the time of Julius Caesar or Agrippa. The excavation of the camp of the legions at Neuss (Düsseldorf) has also been completed, and a large officers' house with colonnaded courtyard and store-rooms explored, in which were found many interesting objects. At Haltern in Westphalia the excavation of the Roman

fort named Aliso (Tac. *Ann.* ii. 7), has been continued with successful results. An older fort was found, considerably larger than the other, but obviously of a temporary character; this was probably the actual one built by Drusus in B.C. 11, the other being formed within it shortly afterwards. The later camp was extraordinarily rich in small objects, fragments of pottery, glass vessels, coins, silver clasps, tools, and weapons; a shaft 26 feet deep, made in an unsuccessful attempt to find water, was also brought to light. Excavations have further been made at Andernach, Remagen, and Blankenheim in the Eifel, with finds of bronzes, coins, and inscriptions.¹

ITALY.

Casaleone, Venetia.—A recent find of coins has been made, numbering some 1040, all more or less in bad condition; they are all denarii and quinarii of Republican date, ranging (as far as examined) from the second century to the end of the first. There seem to be no rare types. Another treasure was found on the same spot in 1889.²

Torre de' Passeri (Samnite territory). A relief of Luna marble has been found, apparently part of a large base or altar. It represents Athena Hygieia before an altar, with the serpent twisted round her spear, followed by Demeter with ears of corn. Probably the whole monument represented a series of divinities like the Borghese altar and other well-known examples; it is a Roman copy of a Greek fifth-century original.³

Pompeii. During June 1901 a well-preserved bronze statuette, about 2 ft. 4 in. high, was brought to light, representing a robust nude youth in chlamys and winged sandals, probably Perseus; it is a good specimen of Roman work.²

SICILY.

Gela. Dr. Orsi has begun a second campaign, and excavated a large number of tombs, but only two sites were at all fruitful; the results will shortly be published in detail in the *Monumenti Antichi*. Numerous good Attic vases were found, including a fine b.f. example of Herakles contending with Triton; a base of a cup signed by Chachrylion; a krater used to contain ashes, with Theseus and the Minotaur; a beautiful r.f. vase with Mnemosyne (the name inscribed); and many amphorae and lekythi. Two white lekythi give new *kalós*-names: on one is ΕΛΑΙΟΝ ΚΑΛΟΣ [Surely this is ΕΥΑΙΟΝ ΚΑΛΟΣ (Euaion), as on the B.M. vaso Ε 379?—H.B.W.]; on the other ΔΙΟΔΑΤΟΣ ΚΑΛΟΣ and ΛΥΧΟΣ ΚΑΛΟΣ. The last name Orsi regards as equivalent to ΛΙ+ΑΣ, (occurring on the white lekythos in the B.M.D50).²

GREECE.

Antikythera.—The divers continue to make discoveries. A third colossal figure of a horse, well preserved, with Gorgoneion on the breast and beautifully-executed harness, has been found, in addition to many torsos and bases of statues or groups; also a fragment of a nude Apollo by a tripod. Numerous vases have turned up, some with inscriptions indicating their contents, such as $\frac{H}{X} \frac{IA}{K}$, which may be interpreted as *ἡμιαφόριον ἰδ χόας* (or *χοίνας*) κ',

¹ *Berl. Phil. Woch.* 4 Jan. 1902.

² *Notizie degli Scavi*, June 1901.

³ *Notizie degli Scavi*, May 1901.

i.e. half-amphora No. 11, containing 20 measures. Some well-preserved glass, including a vessel of steel-blue colour with reliefs, and fragments of the ship itself, complete the list.⁴

Aegina.—Excavations were resumed in October, and the work on the temple has been completed. The clearing of the east front shows clearly the three different periods of the remains older than the existing temple. On this side the bare rock has been reached, and the finds include numerous bronzes and terracotta idols, and a *tridacna* shell with Phoenician engraving. The chief task at present is to find the traces of the older foundations, to which end a mine has been dug at the north-west corner of the peristyle, but no traces of the older building appeared, only a Cyclopean circuit-wall. The older blocks seem to have been used up as foundations for the existing temple. Several pieces of the horizontal pediment-cornices have been identified, with holes and sinkings for the figures; these will help the future reconstruction of the pediments. Eighteen types of roof-tiles from the older temple have been found.

Dr. Thiersch has traced ancient remains in other parts of the island, and the remaining half of the *Damia* and *Auxesia* inscription (see *C.R.* 1901, p. 477) has turned up, the inscription being now complete, and cleaned from all incrustations. It is a stele of Pentelic marble, and dates from the Athenian occupation of the island, the letters being small and carelessly cut, not *στοιχειδόν*. The alphabet is Ionic, of the second half of the fifth century, but Ε and Ο are still used for η and ω, Η being employed for the aspirate. Ξ is used for ξ, Λ for λ, and Σ for σ. The text of the 45 lines is published by Furtwaengler. Its chief import is that Herodotus' pair of goddesses were known as *Mnia* and *Auzesia* in *Aegina*, as also at *Epidaurus*. Each had a separate cult-chamber, *Mnia* having a cultus-image of cypress-wood, and an *opisthodomos* with an image of *Dionysos*.⁵

H. B. WALTERS.

Revue Numismatique. Part 4, 1901.

E. J. Seltman. 'Artemis sur une monnaie archaïque de Syracuse.'—D. E. Tatchella. 'Numismatique d'Odessus.'—A. Dieudonné. 'Monnaies grecques récemment acquises par le Cabinet des Médailles.' The acquisitions include:—*Ephesus*. An unpublished octobol, with the head of Arsinoë II, wife of Lysimachus, struck for Ephesus when temporarily named Arsinoë B.C. 288–280. *Ephesus*. Bronze of Antoninus Pius. rev. standing figure of the philosopher Heraclitus holding an object which Dieudonné considers to be a club. *Miletus*. A rare gold stater, probably struck soon after the battle of Magnesia, B.C. 190.—R. Mowat. 'Martelage et

abrasion des monnaies sous l'empire romain; leurs contremarques.' The *memoriae damnatio* of the emperors takes effect on coins (though rarely) by the erasure of their names and portraits. The case of Geta is the best known and several Greek cities of the province of Asia erased his head on their local coins. A particularly bizarre effect is produced on coins where the heads of Geta and his brother have been originally represented side by side, and the head and titles of Caracalla alone continue visible. The inconvenience involved in a defacement of the currency is doubtless the cause why offending emperors were not 'erased' to the same extent as in the lapidary inscriptions and other public monuments. Mowat notes instances of the erasure of the name, of *Sejanus* on coins of *Tiberius* struck at *Bilbilis* in Spain.

Revue belge de Numismatique. Part 1, 1902.

L. Renard describes a hoard of Roman coins (Sept. Severus to Postumus) discovered in 1883 at *Gives* (*Ben-Ahin*) in the province of *Liège*. A summary is added of finds of Roman coins found in the various provinces of Belgium.—A. de Witte publishes some terra-cotta moulds of coins of *Valentinian II*, *Gratian*, *Arcadius* and *Theodosius II* discovered in *Egypt*. Moulds of this kind have never been found in Italy: those found in France and Great Britain are chiefly of the third century A.D.

Journal international d'archéologie numismatique (Athens). Vol. iv. part 2, 1901.

Vlasto. 'Les monnaies d'or de Tarente.'—Mahler. 'Der Didymäische Apollo des Kanachos.'—Rouvier. 'Numismatique des villes de Phénicie: Dora, Enhydra, Marathos, Orthosia.'—Svoronos. 'Ἐρμηνεία τοῦ ἐξ Ἐλευσίνος μυστηριακοῦ πίνακος τῆς Νυμνίου.' Svoronos also writes (p. 153 f.) on the supposed gold 'coin' with hieroglyphics signifying 'good gold' and cites the opinions of Maspero, Dattari, and Hill. This strange piece is at present in the hands of an Armenian coin-dealer and I believe that most Museum authorities are of Mr. Hill's opinion that it is a modern fabrication. An important exception is M. Svoronos who, however, thinks that it is not a coin but an *exagium* used by money-changers for testing the weight of gold staters current in *Egypt*. But is there any other instance of a weight being made in gold? M. Dattari considers the piece to be authentic because of its *provenance*. According to his statement, it formed part of a hoard of *Philippi* and other gold staters found about 'six years ago by some Arabs working on the land of a Pacha.' The treasure was then divided, 'à ce que l'on dit,' into three, and was sold in the bazaar at *Cairo*. 'L'antiquaire A. D. qui acheta la pièce avec les hiéroglyphes me la montra tout de suite après l'avoir achetée.' All this is somewhat vague and it is not clear whether the statement that the 'exagium' formed part of the stater-find is made from hearsay or from M. Dattari's personal knowledge.

WARWICK WROTH.

⁴ *Berl. Phil. Woch.*, 28 Dec. 1901.

⁵ *Ibid.*, 21 Dec. 1901.

SUMMARIES OF PERIODICALS

Journal of Philology. Vol. 28. No. 55. 1901.

Notes on the Ontology of the Philebus, J. M. Schulhof. *Plato Theaetetus* 179 E-180 A, R. D. Archer-Hind. *Adversaria* V., Robinson Ellis. *Hermas and Cebes*, C. Taylor. *Emendationes Homericae* (Od. xvii-xix), T. L. Agar. *Lexicographical Notes*, E. W. Watson. *Hermas and Cebes—a reply*, St. George Stock. *Note on Hermas and Cebes—a reply*, C. Taylor. *Controversies in Armenian topography*, B. W. Henderson. *The Lex de Imperio Vespasiani*, F. B. R. Hellems. *Notes on Clement of Alexandria III*, H. Jackson. *Xenophon Cyngeticus* xii. 6, H. Jackson. *The date and origin of Pseudo-Anatolius De Ratione Paschali*, T. Nicklin. *Tibulliana*, J. P. Postgate. *Plutarch de Pythiae oraculis* 25. 407 A, H. Jackson.

Hermathena No. 27. 1901.

Notes on Cicero Ad Atticum xiv, J. S. Reid. *The Hellenic element in the Epistle to the Hebrews*, A. R. Eager. *Ἀττάκτα on Cicero's Letters*, J. S. Reid. *Notes on the Annals of Tacitus*, L. C. Purser. *Fragment of a Greek Romance*, J. G. Smyly. An attempted restoration of text from a Papyrus acquired by Dr. Mahaffy at Medinet-el-Fayoum. *Two passages in Sophocles*, J. B. Bury. On *Antig.* 3 foll. and *O.C.* 547. *The Greek MSS. used by St. Jerome*, J. H. Bernard. *Horace, Ode iv. 4, and the Second Aeneid: some remarkable resemblances*, H. T. Johnstone. *Notes and emendations on Varro De Lingua Latina*, R. Ellis. *Latin verbs in -io with infinitives in -ere*, C. Exon. *Review of Ridgeway's Early Age of Greece*, G. Coffey.

American Journal of Philology. Vol. xxii, 1. Whole No. 85. 1901.

A further collection of Latin proverbs, M. C. Sutphen. *A study of the Leyden MS. of Nonius Marcellus*, W. M. Lindsay. *The ἱερείαι of Hellanicus and the burning of the Argive Heraeum*, B. Perrin. *Mutars Pulices*, K. F. Smith. *A commentary on Lucilius Non.* 351, M. The parentage of Juvenal, F. J. Marchant. *An Epic fragment from Oxyrhynchus*, G. M. Bolling. *Notes, Sophocles Ajax* 143, H. N. Sanders. H. C. Elmer reviews W. K. Clement's *Prohibitions in Silver Latin* and W. K. Clement replies.

Whole No. 86.

A further collection of Latin proverbs, M. C. Sutphen. *Aristotle's de Anima*, F. Shorey. *Some irregular forms of the Elegiac distich*, K. F. Smith. *Indian glosses in the Lexicon of Hesychius*, L. H. Gray and M. Schuyler, jr. K. F. Smith notices the new *Thesaurus Linguae Latinae* and J. J. Robinson Gradenwitz's *Einführung in die Papyrskunde*.

Revue de Philologie. Vol. 25, 4. Oct. 1901.

Sur un nouvel édit de l'empereur Julien (Fayûm Papyri), H. Dessau. The editors have hitherto attributed this edict to Alexander Severus. *Sur les manuscrits de Thucydide*, H. Stuart Jones. In reply to an art. of M. D. Serruys in the last no. *Terentius Phormio*, L. Havet. Various notes on the text. *Terentianus, Haut.* 67-70, T. Kakridis. In 69, stops after *denique* not before. *Orphica*, Fr. 221, 227, 228, 254 Abel, P. Tannery. *Langue et style de Victor de Vita* (2nd art.), F. Ferrère. *Note sur une inscription de Trézène*, B. Haussoullier. *Le Miletien Lichas fils d'Hermophantos*, B. H. In the *Sitzungs-*

berichte de l'Académie de Berlin 1901, p. 903 sqq. the dedication in honour of Lichas of Miletus is to be attributed to the end of the third or beginning of the second century B.C.

Rheinisches Museum für Philologie. Vol. 56, 3. 1901.

Coniectanea, F. Buecheler. On Plutarch (*quaest. conviv.*), Martyrius de B et V grammaticum tractatum, Philoxenus, Capri orthographia and the Carmen de figuris. *Zu griechischen Geographen*, R. Kunze. Corrections in the text of Strabo and Steph. Byz. from Eustathii Comment. ad Dion. Perieg. *Vindiciae Ovidianae*, K. Helm. On the *Metamorphoses*. *Zu Arrian's περίπλους πόντου Εἰδήσεων*, F. Reuss. On the genuineness of this work, which is only found in Cod. Palat. 398 in the form of a letter to Hadrian. The writer defends the genuineness of the second part against Brandis. *Zu Ovids Fasten Buch I und II*, R. Wuensch. Deals chiefly with the readings of Cod. Ursinianus and the traces of a double recension. *Heron und seine Fachgenossen*, K. Tittel. (1) Heron's Mechanik und Poseidonios, (2) Heron and Geminus, (3) Heron and Philon. *De codice rescripto Parisino 7900 A*, H. Dessauer. This contains Terence, Horace, Lucan, Juvenal, and Martianus Capella. *Bronzeinschrift aus Ligurii*, M. Fränkel. On a bronze slab in the Berlin Museum with the inscr. *Ανθοῦνν ηερπυροε αελεκαρ*. *Das Geschichtswerk des älteren Seneca*, R. Klotz. There is no ground for supposing that Seneca published or intended to publish his father's *historiae*. *Thukydides, Antiochos und die angebliche Biographie des Hermokrates* J. Steup. Does not agree with H. Stein's hypothesis in the last vol. of Rh. Mus. that Thucyd. is indebted to this supposed biography. *Zu den Scholien zu Germanici Aratea*, M. Manitius. *Das Alter des Codex Romanus Vergili*, E. Norden. *Προμνηστινος*, O. Hoffmann. Derives from *πρόμνηστος*. *Ὀνομα κη ἐπιπατρόφιον*, F. Solmsen. An inscr. from Tanagra. *Zur Lex Manciana*, O. Seeck. A contradiction of A. Schulten in no. 1 of this vol. of Rh. Mus.

Part 4.

Zu den Sintfluthsagen, H. Usener. Gives additional matter to his work on the subject. Wellhausen has strengthened the view that the original kernel of the stories of the Flood was the setting forth of the birth of the god of light by the proof that the worshippers of Jahveh had this as the foundation. *Zwei Nominalbildungen auf—μα*, F. Sohnsen. The word *γράσμα* occurs in a dialect-inscr. from Argos and *γράφμα* from Crete. *γράφμα* came from *γράφμα*. The suffix *μα* answers in Greek to the original suffix *smen*, and must be presupposed in words like *παράδειγμα* = *παράδειγμα*. *Zu Tacitus*, F. Rühl. The judgment of Tacitus (*Ann.* i. 62) on the burial by Germanicus of those who fell in the Varus-fight is supported by the inscr. on a cenotaph of the optio M. Caelius (C. I. Rh. 209). Exx. are given of T.'s fondness for referring to the language of other authors. The opinion of Seeck that the two great historical works of Tacitus made up a whole of thirty books is considered unsound. *Das angebliche Testament Alexanders des Grossen*, A. Ausfeld. Brings new material for the elucidation of this subject. The testament is in Ps.-Kall. iii. 33. Next is given the letter of Alexander to the Rhodians, by which the testament was entrusted to them. The writer

concludes that the composition of the letter and of the testament dates from the flourishing period of Rhodes, the second half of the third century B.C., and that both were founded on a forgery belonging to the first decade after Alexander's death. *Die Porusschlacht*, C. Schubert. A new estimate of the sources. He shows that besides Ptolemy and Aristobulus, Arrian used other worthless authorities. It is not possible to give a general estimate of these sources, every piece of information must be tested. *Zu Avienus*, A. Breysig. A continuation from the last vol. *Nochmals die Bundesurkunde aus Argos*, A. Wilhelm. Defends his own restoration of C.I.G. 1118 as against Fränkel in no. 2 of this vol. of Rh. Mus. *Zu Corp. Inscr. Graec.* ii. 2555, P. Deiters. The remains of a treaty of union between two Cretan communities which is to be placed not long after 146 B.C. *Textkritisches zu Ciceros epistulae ad Quint. fratrem*, L. Gurlitt. *Neues über Epikur und einige herkulanensische Rollen*, W. Crönert. Claims that a number of these rolls contain fragments of Epicurus, and describes some other papyri which contain fragments of Philodemus. *Ἡρόδοτου Θουρίων*, H. Stein. These words cannot have been the beginning of the history. *Das Geburtsjahr des Marcus Brutus*, O. Seeck. Agrees with Vell. Pat. in placing this 78 B.C. *Mummius Achaicus und die Lex Varia*, F. Rühl. *Bentley's Noten zu Suetons Schrift de grammaticis et rhetoribus*, M. Ihm. *Zum Nom. sg. semifer und vir*, F. Sommer. *Etruskische Monatsnamen und Zahlwörter*, F. Skutsch. *Zu den Abendmählern*, A. Klotz. Ammianus quoted to show that these are magic-formulae as maintained by Dieterich. *Zur Vasengeschichte*, H. Usener. U. brings forward two formulae which were intended to purify for Christian use vases taken from heathen graves.

Neue Jahrbücher für das Klassische Altertum, etc. Vol. 7, 6/7. 1901.

Verschollene Sagen und Kulte auf griechischen und italischen Bildwerken, O. Rossbach. Gives many exx. from vases and coins of legends that have perished. B. Gerth reviews together Riemann and Goelzer's *Grammaire comparée du grec et du latin* and Gildersleeve's *Syntax of Classical Greek from Homer to Demosthenes*, Part I. K. Lehmann shows on what grounds the spot in the neighbourhood of Berry-au-Bac assumed by Göler and Napoleon (Stoffel) as the site of the battle on the Axona (*Caes.* B.G. ii. 5-12) is inadmissible, and points out what requirements any assumed site must satisfy. The number of troops of the United Belgae is put much too high at 360,000, which is after all only the information of the Remi.

Part 8.

Der Thesaurus linguae Latinae, S. Reiter. Relates the early history of attempts to produce this work down to the undertaking in 1894. *Die Entstehung der Ciceronischen Briefsammlungen*, L. Gurlitt. Tiro began to collect in 46 B.C. and published all that was available to him. The letters previous to 58 B.C. did not belong to this number for they were involved in the destruction of Cicero's house in this year, except a few which were to be found in the hands of the addressees. There is no reason for thinking that C. or Tiro corrected the letters for publication, nor did Tiro intentionally separate consecutive letters or change the chronological order. *Aus der Geschichte der Astrologie*, W. Kroll. Seeks to find the source from which Ptolemy and the other writers of the Empire created their astrological system. All depend on the Babylonians, the inventors of the science, and the quotations point to

an alleged work of Nechepso and Petosiris, which existed at Alexandria probably between 170 and 100 B.C. and became the foundation for all later astrology. F. Koepf reviews Bury's *History of Greece*.

Part 9.

Zur Eröffnung des XLVI. Versammlung deutscher Philologen und Schulmänner in Strassburg i.E. (1 Oct. 1901), E. Schwartz. In an opening address shows how modern philology has far outgrown its earlier limits of classicism. *Pasquino, Schicksale einer antiken Marmorgruppe*, O. Waser. This fragment, dug out about 1500, was decorated with verses which in time became satirical, mostly in Italian. The mutilated group depicts Menelaus with the body of Patroclus and is perhaps a predecessor of the Laocoon group. *Flugschriften aus der Zeit des ersten Triumvirats*, O. E. Schmidt. The circuli or political clubs provided the soil for the growth of the numerous political pamphlets of this time. To them belong the speeches in *Clodium et Curionem* of the summer of 61 whose illicit publication in 58 did so much harm to Cicero; both the commentaries on his consulship in Latin and Greek prose in 60; Varro's *Triumpvires* directed against the Triumvirs; the edicts of Bibulus against Caesar early in 59; Caesar's replies to the speeches of C. Memmius and especially after the (probable) perjury of L. Vettius against Pompeius to which Curio retorted with his *dialogus in Caesarem*. Curio's speeches were also of this nature. To him and to Cicero these writings had far more serious results than to Varro, Catullus, Bibaculus, and others who had no influence in political life. *Horaz als Darwinist*, M. Schneidewin. In Epp. ii. 2. 213 *vivere si recte nescis, decede peritis* the reference is not, as Orelli and Krüger take it, to physical death, but to spiritual and social death as the result of ignorance of the art of living. *Platonis Euthydemus*, E. R. Gast. Shows the connexion between the Euthydemus and the Protagoras. Both dialogues handle the question, what is the value of knowledge and how we proceed through σοφία to ἀρετή. They form an amusing introduction to a more serious treatment.

Wochenschrift für Klassische Philologie. 1901.

23 Oct. W. Strehl, *Grundriss der alten Geschichte und Quellenkunde*. 1. Griechische Geschichte. 2. Ausgabe von P. Habel. 11. Römische Geschichte (A. Höck), favourable. C. Robert, *Studien zur Ilias*. Mit Beiträgen von F. Bechtel (Hoerenz). Concluded. 'Shows extraordinary acuteness and accuracy.' *Omero, L' Iliade comment*, da O. Zuretti. III. I. ix-xii (C. Rothe), favourable. J. Moeller, *Studia Maniliania* (Breiter). 'A diligent and learned study.' *Taciti opera minora*, rec. H. Furneaux (Ed. Wolff). 'Shows sound judgement and sagacious use of recent researches.'

30 Oct. W. v. Landau, *Die Phönizier* (A. Höck), favourable. E. Weissenborn, *Leben und Sitten bei Homer* (G. Vogrinz). 'Good on the whole but weak in mythology.' Th. Wetzel, *Untersuchungen zum 16. Buch der Ilias* (C. Rothe). *Ciceronis epistulae*. 1. *Ad familiares*, rec. C. Purser (W. Sternkopf), favourable. P. Giles, *A Short Manual of Comparative Philology*. 2 ed. (H. Zierner), very favourable.

6 Nov. N. Wecklein, *Platonische Studien* (A. Döring). On the Crito, and on the relation of the Platonic Symposium to the Xenophontean. 'Not convincing.' W. Soltan, *Unsere Evangelien* (E. Rodenbusch), favourable. P. Rasi, *Di un pentametro controverso nella regina elegiarum* (K. P. Schulze). Defends the MSS. reading in Prop. iv. 11, 66 *consule*

quo facto tempore rapta soror. Augustini de civitate Dei libri xxii ex rec. E. Hoffmann (G. Pfeilschifter). 'Deserves all recognition, but cannot be considered definitive.' F. F. Abbott, *The use of repetition in Latin* (H. Ziemer). 'Too much attempted in a few pages.'

13 Nov. H. Die's, *Herakleitos von Ephesos* (A. Döring). Makes a great advance on Bywater's 'Reliquiae.' Guil. Vollgraff, *De Ovidii mythopoeia* (J. Tolkiehn), unfavourable. G. Iazé, *De Ciceronis librorum de legibus temporis et libi i primi compositione* (Hoyer), unfavourable. F. Boscaino, *Note epigrafiche* (v. Domaszewski), unfavourable. W. Liebenam, *Städteverwaltung im Römischen Kaiserreiche* (E. Kornemann). 'A great collection of materials.'

20 Nov. F. v. Reber und A. Bayersdorfer *Klassischer Skulpturenarchiv* iv. 6-24. (W. Amelung), very favourable. J. Bernoulli, *Griechische Ikonographie* i. (G. Körte), favourable. Xenophontis *Hippiarchia*, rec. P. Cerochi (W. Gemoll), favourable. G. Grasso, *Studi di geografia classica e di topografia storica*. 3 fasc. (R. Oehler). 'Shows much critical skill.' Giov. Oberziner, *Origine della plebe romana* (A. Höck). 'Comprehensive and thorough study.' P. Iasi, *Postille Virgiliane* (K. P. Schulze). On four passages in the Eclogues. H. Weitz, *Das pseudotullianische Gedicht Adversus Marcionem* (G. Pfeilschifter), favourable.

27 Nov. R. Menge, *Einführung in die antike Kunst*. 3. A. (R. Oehler), very favourable. W. Belck, *Beiträge zur alten Geographie und Geschichte Vorderasiens*. I. (V. Präseke), favourable. Herodotus, ed. von H. Stein. I, 1 (1. Buch) 6. A. (W. Gemoll), very favourable. W. Nestle, *Euripides, der Dichter der griechischen Aufklärung* (M. Schneidewin). 'Ought to be in the library of every gymnasium.' W. Volkmann, *Eine Anmerkung zur Technik des Ovid* (O. Güthling), favourable.

4 Dec. M. Consruch, *Zur Überlieferung von Hephæstions ἐκκεφάλιον περὶ μέτρων* (C. Haeblerin). 'Deserves all recognition.' Horatius' Oden und Epoden, ed. von A. Kiessling, 4. A. von R. Heinze (O. Weissenfels). 'Up to the level of our present knowledge.' L. Maccari, *Osservazioni ad Orazio. Primo saggio* (K. P. Schulze), favourable. Virgil, *The Aeneid*, Books vii.-xii., by T. E. Page (H. W.), favourable. S. Rubin, *Die Ethik Senecas in ihrem Verhältniss zur älteren und mittleren Stoa* (E. Badstüber), favourable. R. Horton-Smith, *The theory of conditional sentences in Greek and Latin* (O. Weissenfels), unfavourable. W. Weinberger, *Studien zur Handschriftenkunde* (C. Haeblerin), favourable.

11 Dec. G. Dakyns, *The march of the ten thousand, being a translation of the Anabasis* (O. Güthling), favourable. G. v. Wartensleben, *Begriff der griechischen Chreia* (C. Haeblerin), favourable. M. Wegscheider, *Geburtshilfe und Gynäkologie bei Aëtios von Amida*, favourable on the whole. *Propertii carmina*, ed. J. Phillimore (K. P. Schulze), favourable.

18 Dec. W. Gemoll, *Schulwörterbuch zu Xenophons Anabasis, Hellenika, und Memorabilien* (W. Vollbrecht). 'A very admirable production.' Cicerone *De Oratore, Brutus, Orator*. Antologia dal M. Nicolini (O. Weissenfels), very favourable. Fr. Haussen, *Zur lateinischen und romanischen Metrik* (H. Draheim). 'Thorough and judicious.' Chr. Muff, *Humanistische und realistische Bildung* (G. Schneider). 'Deserves the serious consideration of all educated people.'

25 Dec. B. L. Gildersleeve, *Syntax of classical Greek from Homer to Demosthenes*, First part (J. Sittler), very favourable. Cicero, *Pro Archia*, ed. by G. H. Nall, favourable. G. N. Olcott, *Studies in the word-formation of the Latin inscriptions, substantives and*

adjectives (W. Heraeus). 'An excellent contribution to our knowledge of the vulgar Latin.' G. Ferrara, *Di alcune prelese: irregolarità nella metrica dei melodi bizantini* (H. G.), favourable.

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1 Jan. A. Baumgartner, *Geschichte der Weltliteratur*. I. Die Literaturen Westasiens und der Niländer 3. and 4. A. (L. Feder), very favourable. H. Francotte, *La législation athénienne sur les distinctions honorifiques* (O. Schulthess). 'Full of learning.' P. Giardelli, *Note di critica Plautina* (P. Trautwein), favourable. J. Curschmann, *Zur Inversion der römischen Eigennamen*. I. Cicero bis Livius (R. Macke), very favourable. A. Gruber, *Studien zu Pacianus von Barcelona* (G. Pfeilschifter), favourable.

8 Jan. *Recueil des inscriptions juridiques grecques*, par R. Dareste, B. Haussoullier, Th. Reinach. II. 1 (O. Schulthess). 'Deserves the warmest reception.' H. Jackson, *Text to illustrate a course of elementary lectures on the history of Greek philosophy from Thales to Aristotle*. (A. Döring), favourable on the whole. E. Samter, *Familienfeste der Griechen und Römer* (P. Stengel), favourable. O. Richter, *Topographie der Stadt Rom*. 2. A. (D. Detlefsen), favourable.

15 Jan. *Studien zur Paläographie und Papyruskunde*, herausg. von C. Wessely. I. (W. Crönert), very favourable. Fr. Graf zu Sayn-Wittgenstein-Berleburg, *Reisebilder aus Sizilien und Korfu* (E. Wolff), favourable. F. Hitzig, *Iniuria* (B. Kübler). 'A comparative study in law in the best sense of the word.' Caesaris opera. II. *Commentarii de bell. civ. cum libris de bell. Alexandrino Africano Hispaniensi*, rec. R. du Pontet (E. Wolff). 'Makes no important advance in the study of Caesar.' F. F. Abbott, *A history and description of Roman political institutions* (G. v. Kobilinski), favourable. F. N. Finck, *Die Klassifikation der Sprachen* (O. Weissenfels), unfavourable.

22 Jan. H. Reinhold, *De Gracitate Patrum Apostolicorum librorumque apocryphorum Novi Testamenti quaestiones grammaticae* (A. Deissman), favourable. J. Kubik, *Belehrung und Anschauungsunterricht bei der Lektüre des Sallust und des Bellum civile Cäsars* (Th. Opitz), favourable. F. Knoke, *Das Schlachtfeld im Teutoburger Walde—Das Varusslager bei Iburg—Die römischen Forschungen im nordwestlichen Deutschland—Eine Eisenschmelze in Habichtswalde bei Stift Leeden—Ein Urteil über das Varusslager im Habichtswalde* (E. Wolff). A series of polemical writings against A. Wilms and others. H. C. Newton, *The epigraphical evidence for the reign of Vespasian and Titus* (v. Domaszewski), unfavourable. W. M. Lindsay, *Nonius Marcellus' dictionary of republican Latin* (O. Froehde). 'Its study arouses much interest.'

29 Jan. K. Schirrlitz, *Der Beweis für die Identität der Tapferkeit und des Wissens in Platons Protagoras* (Karlowa). 'Thorough and acute.' F. Heerdegen, *Über parenthetische Sätze und Satzverbindungen in der Kranzrede des Demosthenes* (C. Hammer), favourable. J. Schmidt, *Schülerkommentar zu Cäsars Denkwürdigkeiten über den gallischen Krieg*. 3. A. (A. Reckzey), favourable. R. Novak, *In Panegyricos Latinos studia grammatica et critica* (R. Helm). 'An excellent critical work.' K. Reissinger, *Über Bedeutung und Verwendung der Präpositionen ob und propter*. II (E. Wolff). O. Krell, *Altörmische Zeichnungen* (C. Koenen). From the technical point of view of an engineer.

5 Feb. W. Reichel, *Homerrische Waffen*. 2. A. (A. Körte). 'Very valuable.' Cicero, *Select Orationes*, ed. by B. L. D'Ooge (W. Hirschfelder), very

favourable. A. Heisenberg, *Analekta. Mitteilungen aus italienischen Handschriften byzantinischer Chronographen* (G. Wartenberg). 'Opening the way for future investigation.'

12. Feb. *The Amherst Papyri*, by B. Grenfell and A. S. Hunt. II (C. Wessely). 'A publication that does honour to the Oxford University Press.' R. Reitzenstein, *Zwei religionsgeschichtliche Fragen nach ungedruckten griechischen Texten der Strassburger Bibliothek* (H. Steding), favourable. S. Eitrem, *Zur Ilias - Analyse. Die Aussöhnung* (Hoerenz). A. Morshead, *The house of Atreus, being the Agamemnon, Libation-Bearers, and Furies of Aeschylus translated into English verse* (H. Draheim), favourable. Cornelio Tacito. *Gli Annali*, comment. da V. Menghini. II, libro III (E. Wolff), favourable. N. G. Politis. *Ἑλληνες ἡ Ρωμιοί* (G. Wartenberg).

Archiv für lateinische Lexikographie und Grammatik. Vol. xii, 2. 1901.

Das Defectivum 'odī' und sein Ersatz, G. Landgraf. Shows why the original verb 'odire' was not used and how the want of it was made up. *Sprachliches zum Bellum Hispaniense*, E. Wölfflin. In the Ashburnhamensis we find the title lib. xiii de bello hispanico. Hence it is probable that books I and II of *Bellum civile* formed originally only one book. Some critical notes follow. *Paricida*, E. Wölfflin. Luňák's meaning 'qui caedem parat' suits the sense but not the form. *Zu Caecilius Aurelianus*, G. Helmreich. Proves that the editio princeps (1529) in many places gives a better text than the Leyden (1567). *Pullus 'Hahn'*, J. Cornu. In the *peregrinatio ad loca sancta* we find *pullus* constantly used for *gallus*. *Die neue Epitoma Alexandri*, E. Wölfflin. *Grammatisch-lexikalische Notizen*, F. Skutsch. Notes on the following words *Necesse*, *Carpetum*, *Jubatus*, *Lucricupidinein atque accipitrem pecuniae* (from *Plautus* not from *Plato* as quoted in *Apuleius*), *Accipetrina*, *Alienus laniena*, *Meridie*, *Emerc* (=to take), *Septembri*—to *Decembri*—, *Magnanimus*. The presents in -io, *Apprimus* and kindred words. *Zur Phrasologie der lateinischen Grabinschriften*, J. E. Church junr. I. The forms with *situs*. II. The forms with *quiesco*. *Zur Geschichte der Pronomina demonstrativa*. II., Meader-Wölfflin. I. hic...ille. 2. hic...hic. 3. ille...ille. *Die römische Soldaten-*

sprache, W. Heraeus. An exposition of Kempf's treatise 'Romanorum sormonis castrensis reliquiae collectae et illustratae.' *Fufidius*, E. Wölfflin. This is to be read in *Cic. vii. 5. 2* for the corrupt *Itiviviv*. *Ampla*, O. Hey. = *ansa* in the *Rufinus* transl. of *Adamantius*. *Conquinisco, conquezzi*, E. Wölfflin. In the *Epit. Alexandri* (Wagner) §101 *conquezit* must be read *conquievit*. *Die Endung—por* in *Gaipor, Lucipor*, etc. A. Zimmermann. *Hibus dans Terence*, L. Havet. Must be read for the second *illis* in *Phorm. 332*. *Cathedra*, J. Cornu. In *Juv. vi. 90* foll. *molles cathedras*=mulieres delicatiores. *Die Captivi des Plautus*, W. Christ. Rightly referred by *Lindsay* to an original by *Poseidippos*. Perhaps *P.* brought out the *Αἰχμάλωτοι* for the new town of *Pleuron* rebuilt about 235 B.C. *Zu den Donatscholien*, P. Wessner. The words *deturpo*, *infructifer*, *similitudinarius*, *specifico* are found in interpolations. *Causator*, G. Landgraf.=accusator in *Schol. Gronovianus* to *Cic. Rosc. Am.* § 51.

Mnemosyne. Vol. 30, 1. 1902.

ΝΑΡΔΟΣ ΠΙΣΤΙΚΗ, S. A. Naber. For *νάρδου πιστικῆς* in *S. Mark xiv. 3*, *S. John xii. 2*, proposes *νάρδου σπειστικῆς* i.e. *liquidac*. *Emendatur Aristotelis* περὶ ἑρμηνείας c. X §5, I.C.V. Reads αὐται μὲν σύνδυο (for οὐν δύο) ἀντίκεινται ἀλλήλοις. *Thucydidea* (continued), I. C. Vollgraff. Notes on Book iv. with reference to *Hude's* edition. *Aristophanea*, H. van Herwerden. Notes on the *Acharnians*, *Knights*, and *Clouds* with a few on the *Frogs*. **ΟΙΣΟΜΕΝ—ΘΗΣΟΜΕΝ**, H. v. H. Substitutes *θησόμεν* for *οίσομεν* in *Plat. Rep. 477 E*. *De Argonautarum vellere aureo*, J. Vürtheim. After disposing of the view that *vellus*=*nubes*, V. maintains that the intended sacrifice of *Phrixus* (=φρίξ *mare agitata*) was a sacrifice by the *Minyae*, a maritime people, to the sea, and that the victim was wrapped in the fleece of a ram, since its curly appearance presented the image of the sea curled by the wind. *Ad Plutarchum*, J. J. Hartman. In *Lyc. 12* reads τοῦ διακόνου φέροντος ἀγγεῖον ὑπὲρ τῆς κεφαλῆς ἐβαλλε. *Ad Aristophanis Aves* (continued), J. van Leeuwen J. f. Various notes. *Tacitea*, J. J. Hartman. Fortifies with further examples the opinion of E. Wölfflin that in the lives of *Galba* and *Otho* *Plutarch* followed *Tacitus*.

The Classical Review

APRIL 1902.

A CLASSICAL ASSOCIATION FOR SCOTLAND.

THE foundation on March 1 of a Classical Association for Scotland at a meeting presided over by Prof. G. G. Ramsay, of which we give an abbreviated report in another column, is a fact of some considerable significance. It shows that in one part, at least, of the United Kingdom it is realised that the position of Classical Studies is seriously threatened, and that steps should be taken to arrest the advancing peril. The declared objects of this society are 'to bring together for practical conference all persons interested in Classical study and education, to promote communication and comparison of views between universities and schools, to discuss subjects and methods of teaching, and examination, and any other questions of interest that may from time to time arise.' As a memorandum of association, this is comprehensive enough; and if the new body will fairly face the situation, its action and its example cannot fail to be of service to the cause of Classics. The main tasks of any union of Classical teachers are two, and these the two chief speeches at the Edinburgh meeting respectively

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recognized. Its first task is to provide the greater efficiency in teaching to which Prof. Butcher referred. Some twenty-five years ago the teaching of modern languages was much inferior to that of Latin and Greek. This is no longer the case, and it is now the turn of Classical teachers to learn. Its second duty is the 'guidance of the public mind' to which Prof. Ramsay alluded, in order that subjects of manifestly higher educational value may not be forced to retire before subjects of apparently more commercial utility. We would not undervalue the intellectual sympathy and co-operation of teachers. But the chief *raison d'être* of a Classical Association at the present time is to have a policy and to 'do something.' And it is in this sense that we hope the Classical Association of Scotland will be the fore-runner of a Classical Association in England, where it is in some respects even more required. And if this hope be realized, it will not be too sanguine to expect that community of interests between the two societies will lead to community of action.

UNCONSCIOUS ITERATIONS.

(WITH SPECIAL REFERENCE TO CLASSICAL LITERATURE.)

I.

I HAVE chosen this title for my paper because I wish on the one hand to exclude intentional repetitions that aim at producing certain definite effects, and on the other hand to include the recurrence not only of words or combinations of words (but also of tones, rhythms, gestures—in short, of any and every mode by which thought can be expressed. The subject thus marked out is, I am aware, too large to be adequately handled on the present occasion and by the present writer: but something will have been gained, if I can formulate the main principles involved in it and raise sundry problems connected with it that must ultimately be solved.

In setting aside as irrelevant to my topic¹ the phenomena of conscious and purposed iteration, I cannot but express a hope that they may some day meet with the attention that they deserve. Reduplication, for example, is a great linguistic law that will not be 'properly based' till philologists have extended the Indo-Europæan horizon and taken into account the Bantu, the Mongolo-Tatar, and the Malayo-Polynesian families. Again, the popular—perhaps one should say, the instinctive—appreciation of rime and refrain, with its far-reaching consequences in prose as well as in verse, is a theme by no means exhausted; while the scientific study of such rhetorical tropes as depend for their effect on iteration has hardly been begun. These and many other adjacent subjects offer abundance of material for future investigators: I must content myself with one small corner of the field, and that possibly the least important.

hist. an. 7. 6. 586a 12 εἰσὶ δὲ καὶ γυναῖκες οἰκότα αὐταῖς γεννῶσαι, αἱ δὲ τῷ ἀνδρὶ, ὥσπερ ἡ ἐν Φαρσάλῳ ἵππος ἡ Δικαία καλουμένη.

or—

rhet. 2. 24. 1402a 8 ἔστιν δὲ τοῦτο οὐ καθόλου, ὥσπερ καὶ Ἀγάθων λέγει 'τάχ' ἂν τις εἰκὸς αὐτὸ τοῦτ' εἶναι λέγει, βροτοῖσι πολλὰ τυγχάνειν οὐκ οἰκότα.'

Even within the comparatively narrow domain of unconscious repetition in classical literature there is need of division of labour. The iteration of tones, rhythms, and gestures—though dependent upon the same principles that regulate the iteration of words—must in practice be discussed by various experts. Characteristic musical phrases cannot as yet be determined; habitual cadences we leave to Professor Blass, and mannerisms of gesture to Dr. Sittl.

Confining ourselves, therefore, to unconscious iteration of a verbal sort we may affirm that it results from two distinct—not to say opposite—causes. On the one hand, *the recurrence of an idea or a train of ideas often involves the repetition of previously used expressions.* On the other hand, *an expression once used haunts the memory for a time and tends to recur by virtue of its own persistence.* In the one case the thought suggests the expression. In the other, the expression—as I shall endeavour to prove—actually suggests the thought. The two types of iteration are here distinguished as *A* and *B*: each of the two has its varieties or subdivisions (*a*), (*b*), and (*c*).

A. When a speaker deals with a theme more than once, he not unfrequently slips into language that he has used before—a fact sufficiently familiar to all college lecturers. Now, a college lecture being a temporary convenience rather than a possession for ever, such echoes and reminiscences of previous treatment matter little, if at all. Who would blame Aristotle on the ground that he repeated his illustrations in closely similar language? For instance—

pol. 2. 3. 1262a 21 εἰσὶ δὲ τινες καὶ γυναῖκες καὶ τῶν ἄλλων ζῴων, οἷον ἵπποι καὶ βόες, αἱ σφόδρα πεφύκασιν ὅμοια ἀποδιδόναι τὰ τέκνα τοῖς γονεῦσιν, ὥσπερ ἡ ἐν Φαρσάλῳ κληθεῖσα Δικαία ἵππος.

poet. 18. 1456a 23 ἔστιν δὲ τοῦτο εἰκὸς ὥσπερ Ἀγάθων λέγει, εἰκὸς γὰρ γίνεσθαι πολλὰ καὶ παρὰ τὸ εἰκός.

¹ See, however, the connexion which I propose to establish in a sequel to this article.

or—

de mir. ausc. 156. 846a 22 φασιν ὡς ἀνδριάς ὁ τοῦ Βίττιος ἐν Ἀργεὶ ἀπέκτεινε τὸν αἴτιον τοῦ θανάτου τῷ Βίττι, θεωροῦντι ἐμπεσών. εἰκεν οὖν οὐκ εἰκῇ τὰ τοιαῦτα γίνεσθαι.

poet. 9. 1452a 7 οἶον ὡς ὁ ἀνδριάς ὁ τοῦ Μίττιος ἐν Ἀργεὶ ἀπέκτεινε τὸν αἴτιον τοῦ θανάτου τῷ Μίττι, θεωροῦντι ἐμπεσών· εἰκε γὰρ τὰ τοιαῦτα οὐκ εἰκῇ γενέσθαι.

or again—

anal. post. 2. 10. 93b 35 λόγος εἷς ἐστι διχῶς, ὁ μὲν συνδέσμῳ, ὥσπερ ἡ Ἰλιάς, ὁ δὲ τῷ ἐν καθ' ἑνὸς δηλοῦν μὴ κατὰ συμβεβηκός.

met. 7. 6. 1045a 12 ὁ ὀρισμὸς, λόγος ἐστὶν εἷς οὐ συνδέσμῳ καθάπερ ἡ Ἰλιάς, ἀλλὰ τῷ ἐνὸς εἶναι.

poet. 20. 1457a 28 εἷς δέ ἐστι λόγος διχῶς, ἡ γὰρ ὁ ἐν σημαίνων, ἡ ὁ ἐκ πλειόνων συνδέσμῳ, οἶον ἡ Ἰλιάς μὲν συνδέσμῳ εἷς, ὁ δὲ τοῦ ἀνθρώπου τῷ ἐν σημαίνων.

These and many similar examples appear to us perfectly reasonable and right because we make allowance for the fact that they occur in distinct courses of lectures and were very

possibly addressed to different audiences. We should even condone an occasional reiteration in the same course: *e.g.*

pol. 2. 6. 1265a 17 δεῖ μὲν οὖν ὑποτίθεσθαι κατ' εὐχὴν, μηδὲν μέντοι ἀδύνατον λέγεται δ' ὡς κ.τ.λ.

pol. 7 (6). 4. 1325b 38 διὸ δεῖ πολλὰ προϋποτεθεῖσθαι καθάπερ εὐχομένους, εἶναι μέντοι μὴθὲν τούτων ἀδύνατον. Λέγω δὲ οἶον κ.τ.λ.

But, when a lecture is to be printed in permanent form, literary style becomes of greater importance and the reader has a right to demand an avoidance of such repetitions. An instance in point¹ is afforded by the sermons of the late Canon Liddon. When actually preaching, he did not hesitate to repeat whole paragraphs from former discourses. But, when it came to printing, he scrupulously omitted them. Thus in his *Easter Sermons*, vol. i. p. 154, he prints—

* * * * *

[Here follows a passage which traverses ground already occupied in Sermon v.] and *ib.* p. 203—

* * * * *

[Here followed a passage substantially identical with part of Sermon v.].

If such care is exercised by a popular preacher, then *a fortiori* from an artist in words, a consummate poet or the like, we expect something better than *crambe repetita*; and, where we find him lapsing into verbal echoes of himself, it is fair to assume that the lapse is unconscious, or, to speak more accurately, subconscious.

Iteration of this kind must of course be distinguished from self-quotation meant to be recognised as such. The distinction is not, as a rule, difficult to draw, but for the sake of clearness I will give one or two modern examples. Robert Browning, in stanza xvi. of his *Easter-Day*, makes the

speaker, overtaken by the Judgment, argue thus in defence of his past life:—

I resolved to say,
'So was I framed by thee, such way
I put to use thy senses here!'

Similarly, in *The Ring and the Book*, Pompilia, as death approaches, considers what excuse can be offered for Guido's conduct. She too concludes—

Pompilia 1730:

So he was made; he nowise made himself.

And the Pope, who sits in judgment on her case, likewise reflects—

The Pope 357:

And, in the last resort, the man may urge
'So was I made, a weak thing that gave way,' etc.

Thus far we have had merely recurrent thought couched in similar diction. But later in the same poem we get definite self-quotation on the poet's part. He puts into the mouth of Guido the following words—

Guido 939:

'I am one huge and sheer mistake,—whose fault?

Not mine at least, who did not make myself!'

Someone declares my wife excused me so!

2100:

So am I made, 'who did not make myself':
(How dared she rob my own lip of the word?)

¹ I have to thank the Rev. A. Wright, Vice-President of Queens' College, Cambridge, for this striking example.

Note that here Browning by punctuation and explanatory line informs us that he is quoting Pompilia's excuse. We are meant to realise the iteration, and are left in no doubt or uncertainty as to whether it is intentional or not. Again, Dr. Butler, in an unpublished volume of his *Translations*,¹ discusses the meaning of a certain couplet in *Crossing the Bar*:—

When that which drew from out the bound-
less deep

Turns again home.—

and throws light upon it from two other poems of Tennyson, in which the same thought and much of the same phraseology recurs. One is the *De Profundis*, where (stanza ii. 1) we read—

Out of the deep, my child, out of the deep,
From that true world within the world we

see,

Whereof our world is but the bounding
shore.—

and (stanza ii. 2)—

that which should be man,

From that one light no man can look upon,
Drew to this shore lit by the suns and moons
And all the shadows.

The other is the *In Memoriam*, the closing verses of which tell how—

A soul shall draw from out the vast
And strike his being into bounds.

These are examples of coincident language, not of self-quotation. We are not meant, while reading one passage, to think of another. When Tennyson quotes himself, he lets us know it—sometimes by a very skilful touch, e.g. by the single word 'then' in the following lines:—

In Mem. liv. 17:

but what am I?

An infant crying in the night:

An infant crying for the light:

And with no language but a cry.

cxxiv. 19:

Then was I as a child that cries

But, crying, knows his father near.

My contention, then, is that verbal iterations occurring in first-class literature, when not due to self-quotation of an obviously intentional kind, should be regarded as subconscious.

¹ 'Crossing the Bar' and a few other *Translations*, by H. M. B. 1890, p. 9 ff.

So far as our own literature is concerned I anticipate that this will readily be granted. On turning to the classics, however, I may be met by the objection (and it is one that must be faced before we proceed further) that there is a *via media* between subconscious iteration and avowed self-quotation, viz. conscious but unavowed repetition. This would not be tolerated in modern books: but I shall be told, and I do not deny it, that the ancient orators occasionally repeat whole passages from their own speeches or even from those of others² without acknowledgment, and that in so doing they must have had the fullest consciousness of what they were about. Either, then, I should admit that many of the examples discussed in the present paper may be similar cases of repetition conscious and unavowed, or I should explain the practice of the orators as due to exceptional causes, causes not operant in the said examples. I have no hesitation in accepting the latter alternative, and shall attempt to show the peculiar and distinctive character of these oratorical iterations. Professor Jebb (*Attic Orators*² i. p. lxx) ascribes them to the orators' recognition of the principle that 'if a thought, however trivial, has once been perfectly expressed, it has, by that expression, become a morsel of the world's wealth of beauty' and as such is henceforth common property. But whether the Greeks really carried their idealism to this length I venture to doubt. Theon, the rhetorician, points out that Demosthenes, for example, constantly varied the expression of any given sentiment³: *progygyni*. 1 (Walz i. 145 ff.) ἀλλὰ μὲν καὶ αὐτὸς ὁ Δημοσθένης πολλάκις ἑαυτὸν παραφράζει οὐ μόνον τὰ ἐν ἄλλοις λόγοις αὐτῷ εἰρημένα ἀλλαχόσε μεταφέρων, ἀλλὰ καὶ ἐν ἐνὶ λόγῳ πολλάκις φαίνεται ταῦτα μυριάκις εἰρηκώς: τῇ δὲ τῆς ἐρμηνείας ποικιλίᾳ λανθάνει τοὺς ἀκούοντας. Aristotle *rhet.* 3. 2. 1413 b. 19 ff. approves of such variation: τὸ πολλάκις τὸ αὐτὸ εἰπεῖν ἐν τῇ γραφικῇ ὀρθῶς ἀποδοκιμάζεται, ἐν δὲ ἀγωνιστικῇ καὶ οἱ ῥήτορες χρώνται ἔστι γὰρ ὑποκριτικά. ἀνάγκη δὲ μεταβάλλειν τὸ αὐτὸ λέγοντας κ.τ.λ. And Quintilian, by no means an unsympa-

² Prof. T. D. Seymour, in the *Class. Rev.* xv. 109, has a note on 'Isaeus as an imitator of Lysias.' On the marked resemblances between Isocr. *paneg.* and Lys. *or. fun.* see Dr. Sandys' edition of Isocr. *paneg.* pp. 73, 88, 90, 96. Böckh, *Gr. trag. princ.* p. 241 ff., and F. Schröder in *Dissert. Philolog. Argentorat.* vol. vi. collect and discuss similar cases of borrowing in Greek tragedy. Meineke, *F.C.G.* i. 358 f., does the same for Greek comedy: cp. Sittl *Gr. Lit.* iii. 488.

³ So did Cicero, as Professor Reid observes in his note on *acad. post.* 1. 4.

thetic judge, condemns those who are given to repeating their rhetorical flights: *inst. or.* ii. 4. 29 'necesse est, his, cum eadem iudiciis pluribus dicunt, aut fastidium moveant velut frigidi et repositi cibi; aut pudorem deprehensa toties, audientium memoria, infelix supellex, quae, sicut apud pauperes ambitiosos, pluribus et diversis officiis contortatur.' Even the proverb δις καὶ τρίς τὸ καλόν refers to the theme selected rather than to the wording employed.¹ Perhaps the true explanation of the repetitions actually found in Greek speeches lies not so much in any philosophical acceptance

of an ideal expression as in the practical difference between, say, oratory and poetry. The orator aimed primarily at producing a special effect on a particular audience and only secondarily, if at all, a general effect on posterity. His orations therefore were differently conditioned from the works of the poet, who appealed to subsequent readers at least as much as to his original hearers. This seems to be the reason why no examples of iteration can be cited from lyric or dramatic² poetry comparable *e.g.* with that of Dem. *Aristocrat.* 98-99 = *Androt.* 7:--

Aristocrat. (B.C. 352)

- 98 μὴ δὴ τοῦθ' ἔμιν ἔατε λέγειν, ὡς γέγονεν, ἀλλ' ὡς ἔστι δίκαιον γίνεσθαι . . .
99 οὐ γὰρ εἴ τι πώποτε μὴ κατὰ τοὺς νόμους ἐπράχθη, σὺ δὲ τοῦτ' ἐμμήσω, διὰ τοῦτ' ἀποφεύγειν σοι προσήκει, ἀλλὰ τοὐναντίον πολὺ μᾶλλον ἀλίσκεσθαι διὰ ταῦτα. ὥσπερ γάρ, εἴ τις ἐκείνων ἦλω, σὺ τὰδ' οὐκ ἂν ἐγραψας, οὕτως, ἂν σὺ νῦν ἀλῶς, ἄλλος οὐ γράψαι.

Here, if we neglect a few trivial alterations, we have an identical passage occurring in two speeches of the same orator. The repetition was presumably conscious and certainly unavowed: but it was justified by the fact that the two speeches were delivered on separate occasions with little likelihood of being printed in parallel columns after the manner of modern journalism. Had Demosthenes in these circumstances been debarred from repeating himself he might have complained with better reason than the rhetorician Philargos ὡς δευὰ πάσχοι τῶν ἑαυτοῦ εἰργόμενος (*Philostr. soph.* ii. 8. 3). But the poet, whose works would be memorised by many and quoted by all, enjoyed no such license. Only in one province of poetry was conscious and unavowed iteration normal or frequent, namely in early epos.³ And that was because the early epic poet stood in much the same position as the later orator, his recitative being addressed to a particular audience on a special occasion.

Androt. (B.C. 355)

- 7 σὺ δὴ μὴ λέγ' ὡς γέγονεν τοῦτο πολλάκις, ἀλλ' ὡς οὕτω προσήκει γίνεσθαι. οὐ γὰρ εἴ τι πώποτε μὴ κατὰ τοὺς νόμους ἐπράχθη, σὺ δὲ τοῦτ' ἐμμήσω, διὰ τοῦτ' ἀποφεύγειν ἂν δικαίως, ἀλλὰ πολλῶ μᾶλλον ἀλίσκοιο· ὥσπερ γὰρ εἴ τις [ἐκείνων] προήλω, σὺ ταῦτ' οὐκ ἂν ἐγραψας, οὕτως, ἂν σὺ δίκην δῶς, ἄλλος οὐ γράψαι.

The later epic poet, who issued his works for the benefit of a reading public, was bound to have a larger repertory of transitions and similes and episodes. Such iterations as are found in late epos are purely conventional and due to the tradition of a less sophisticated age.

The truth of the foregoing explanation can be tested in the case of Isocrates. If we except the six forensic speeches of 402-393 B.C., all the discourses of this orator were meant to be read rather than heard; and the protracted pains that he bestowed upon their composition are notorious. We should therefore expect him in his later efforts to keep clear of the *formulae* excusable enough in the work-a-day business of the law-courts. In point of fact he does not altogether refrain from repeating himself; but, where he does so, he thinks it necessary to acknowledge the repetition and even to offer an elaborate defence of it. Thus in the *Panegyricus* 145-149 he had cited

¹ See Plat. *Gorg.* 498 B with schol. *ad loc.*, *Phileb.* 59 E, and the *Paroemiographi*.

² The fact that five plays of Euripides (*Alc. Med. Andr. Hel. Bacch.*) end with a practically identical system of anapaests, and three others (*Or. Phoen. Iph. Taur.*) with a similar but shorter system, is a special case. See Weil on *Med.* 1415 ff. In much the same way one speech of Isaeus (vii.) and two of Demosthenes (xx. liv.) end with the words οὐκ οἶδ' ὅ τι δεῖ πλεῖω λέγειν· οἶμαι γὰρ ὑμᾶς οὐδὲν ἀγνοεῖν τῶν εἰρημίων. Another speech by Isaeus (viii.) and two more by Demosthenes (xxxvi. xxxviii.) use the same formula with slight additions.

³ See the evidence cited by G. Hermann *de iteratis apud Homerum* 1840 (Opusc. viii. 1-22), C. E. Geppert 'Nachahmungen u. wiederholte Verse' in his *über den Ursprung der homerischen Gesänge* Leipzig 1840 ii. 236-252, R. Peppmüller *de extrema Iliadis rhapsodia* i. *de versibus iteratis* Halle diss. 1868, Christ *die Wiederholungen ähnlicher u. gleicher Verse in der Ilias* 1880 (Sitzungsber. d. k. bayer. Akad. hist.-phil. Klasse 1880 pp. 221-272), Lentz *de versibus apud Homerum perperam iteratis* Bertenstein progr. 1881, K. Sittl *die Wiederholungen in der Odyssee* München 1882, etc.

the *Anabasis* as proof of Persia's weakness : in the *Philippus* 90-93 he alludes to the

same events and, in so doing, repeats one or two of his former phrases :—

Panegyricus.

147 τοσούτων αὐτῶν ἤτους ἦσαν, ὥσθ' ὁ βασιλεὺς ἀπορήσας τοῖς παροῦσι πράγμασι καὶ καταφρονήσας τῆς περὶ αὐτὸν δυνάμεως τοὺς ἄρχοντας τοὺς τῶν ἐπικούρων ὑποσπόνδους συλλαβεῖν ἐτόλμησεν, ὥς εἰ τοῦτο παρνομήσει συνταράξων τὸ στρατόπεδον, καὶ μᾶλλον εἴλετο περὶ τοὺς θεοὺς ἐξαμαρτεῖν ἢ πρὸς ἐκείνους ἐκ τοῦ φανεροῦ διαγωνίσασθαι.

Over thirty years had elapsed since the publication of the *Panegyricus*; yet Isocrates feels it incumbent upon him to add the following significant justification of the paragraph in his *Philippus*: 93 καὶ μηδεὶς ὑπολάβη με βούλεσθαι λαβεῖν, ὅτι τούτων ἕνα πέφρακα τὸν αὐτὸν τρόπον ὄνπερ πρότερον. ἐπιστάς γὰρ ἐπὶ τὰς αὐτὰς διανοίας εἰλόμην μὴ πονεῖν γλιχόμενος τὰ δεδηλωμένα καλῶς ἐτέρως εἰπεῖν· καὶ γὰρ εἰ μὲν ἐπιδίδειν ἐποιούμην, ἐπειρῶμην ἂν ἅπαντα τὰ τοιαῦτα διαφεύγειν, σοὶ δὲ

πρὸς Καλλιμάχον

41 καίτοι χρὴ μέγα παρ' ὑμῖν δύνασθαι τὴν κατηγορίῳν, οὐχ αἷς ἐξεστι χρῆσθαι καὶ πρὸς τοὺς μὴ δὲν ἡμαρτηκότας, ἀλλ' ἄς οὐχ οἷόν τ' εἰπεῖν ἄλλ' ἢ κατὰ τῶν ἡδικοτήτων.

but even calls upon an imaginary clerk to read long extracts from his earlier works, viz. *Paneg.* 51-99, *De pace* 25-56, 133-145, *Nicocl.* 14-39, *Soph.* 14-18. In defence of this novel procedure he pleads the infirmity of old age,³ which will not suffer him to speak his sentiments at length (*de antidosi* 59). Whether these apologies on the part

Philippus.

91 ἀλλ' ὅμως τηλικαύτης συμφορᾶς συμπεσοῦσης οὕτω σφόδρα κατεφρόνησεν ὁ βασιλεὺς τῆς περὶ αὐτὸν δυνάμεως, ὥστε προκαλεσάμενος Κλέαρχον καὶ τοὺς ἄλλους ἡγεμόνας εἰς λόγον ἐλθεῖν, καί τοις μὲν ὑπισχνούμενος μεγάλας δωρεὰς δώσειν, τοῖς δ' ἄλλοις στρατιώταις ἐντελῆ τὸν μισθὸν ἀποδοῦς ἀποπέμψειν, τοιαύταις ἐλπίσιν ὑπαγαγόμενος, καὶ πίστει δούς τῶν ἐκείνοις νομιζομένων τὰς μεγίστας, συλλαβὼν αὐτοὺς ἀπέκτεινε, καὶ μᾶλλον εἴλετο περὶ τοὺς θεοὺς ἐξαμαρτεῖν ἢ τοῖς στρατιώταις οὕτως ἐρήμους οὖσι συμβαλεῖν.

συμβουλευόν μωρὸς ἂν ἦν, εἰ περὶ τὴν λέξιν πλείω χρόνον διέτριβον ἢ περὶ τὰς πράξεις, ἔτι δ' εἰ τοὺς ἄλλους ὁρῶν τοῖς ἐμοῖς χρωμένους αὐτὸς μόνος ἀπειχόμεν τῶν ὑπ' ἐμοῦ πρότερον εἰρημένων.¹ τοῖς μὲν οὖν οἰκείους τυχόν ἂν χρῆσάμην, ἦν σφόδρα κατεπεῖγν καὶ πρέπῃ, τῶν δ' ἄλλοι τῶν οὐδὲν ἂν προσδεξάμην, ὥσπερ οὐδ' ἐν τῷ παρελθόντι χρόνῳ. In the *Antidosis* Isocrates goes further, and not only borrows an occasional expression from a previous speech²—

πρὸς Ἀντιδόσεις

91 ἐγὼ δ' ἡγοῦμαι τοῦτο γὰρ καὶ τοὺς ἀμαθεστάτους γινώσκειν, ὅτι δεῖ πιστάς εἶναι καὶ μέγα δὲ ναμεινάσθαι τῶν κατηγοριῶν, οὐχ αἷς ἐξεστι χρῆσασθαι καὶ περὶ τῶν μὴ δὲν ἡδικοτήτων, ἀλλ' ἄς οὐχ οἷόν τ' εἰπεῖν ἄλλ' ἢ κατὰ τῶν ἡμαρτηκώτων.

of Isocrates were sincere or assumed makes no difference to my argument. The offering of any apology proves, I maintain, that the repetition of well-put phrases was not a recognised principle of oratory but a practical habit of the orators—justified by the practical consideration that in ordinary circumstances it would remain undetected. That

¹ This defence of repetition is itself partially repeated in *de antidosi* 74 καὶ γὰρ ἂν ὅπως εἴην, εἰ τοὺς ἄλλους ὁρῶν τοῖς ἐμοῖς χρωμένους ἐγὼ μόνος ἀπειχόμεν τῶν ὑπ' ἐμοῦ πρότερον εἰρημένων, κ.τ.λ.

² Cp. also *paneg.* 97 καὶ τοὺς μὲν θυρόβους τοὺς ἐν τῷ πράγματι γενομένους καὶ τὰς κραυγὰς καὶ τὰς παρακλήσεις, ἀκοῖν πάντων ὅσῃ τῶν ναυμαχούντων, οὐκ οἷδ' ὅ τι δεῖ λέγοντα διατρίβειν—*Eubag.* 31 καὶ οὖς μὲν θυρόβους τοὺς ἐν τοῖς τοιοῦτοις καιροῖς γιγνομένους καὶ τοὺς φόβους τοὺς τῶν ἄλλων καὶ τὰς παρακλήσεις τὰς ἐκείνων τί δεῖ λέγοντα διατρίβειν;

³ The same plea may be held to excuse much in the *Panathenaiscus*, which was written in 342-339 B.C. when Isocrates was very nearly a hundred years old. W. Christ *Gr. Lit.*³ p. 384 says of it: 'der Panathenaiskos ist zur Hälfte aus Phrasen älterer Reden zusammengesetzt,' and Blass *Att. Ber.*² ii. 325 speaks of its 'starke Ausplünderung des früher Geschriebenen.' But the orator disarms criticism in his *prooemium* by dwelling on his age and adding: 4 τούτου δ' ἕνεκα ταῦτα προείπον, ἵν' ἦν τις ἐν μέλλων δειχθήσθαι λόγος μαλακώτερος ὢν φαίνεται τῶν πρότερον διαδεδομένων, μὴ παραβάλλωσι πρὸς τὴν ἐκείνων ποικιλίαν, κ.τ.λ.

justification breaks down the moment that the orator begins to think of readers, not hearers.

(a) I assume, then, that in literature intended for the public at large self-repetition as distinct from self-quotation is subconscious, not deliberate. And I proceed without further delay to illustrate it. Good illustrations may be found in Shakespeare's works.¹ The following speak for themselves:—

Venus and Adonis 331 ff.

'An oven that is stopp'd, or river stay'd,
Burneth more hotly, swelleth with more
rage:

So of concealed sorrow may be said;
Free vent of words love's fire doth
assuage;

But when the heart's attorney' etc.

Two Gentlemen of Verona ii. 7. 19 ff.

Jul. 'Thou wouldst as soon go kindle fire
with snow,
As seek to quench the fire of love with
words.

Luc. I do not seek to quench your love's hot
fire,
But qualify the fire's extreme rage,
Lest it should burn above the bounds
of reason.

Jul. The more thou damm'st it up, the more
it burns;
The current, that with gentle murmur
glides,
Thou know'st, being stopp'd, im-
patiently doth rage;
But, when his fair course' etc.

Titus Andronicus ii. 5. 36 f.

'Sorrow concealed, like an oven stopp'd,
Doth burn the heart to cinders where it is.'

Hecuba

1 ἦ κ' ὡ νεκρῶν κευθμῶνα καὶ σκότου πύλας
λίπ' ὧν, ἔν' Ἀϊδης χωρὶς ῥέκισται θεῶν,
Πολύδωρος.

10 πολὺν δὲ σὺν ἐμοὶ χρυσὸν ἐκ-
πέμπει λάθρα
πατήρ.

220 ἔδοξ' Ἀχαιοῖς παῖδα σὴν Πολυ-
ξένην
σφάξαι πρὸς ὀρθὸν ᾠμ' Ἀχιλλεῖου
τάφου.

Again, *Twelfth Night* ii. 4. 117 f.

'She sat like Patience on a monument,
Smiling at grief.'

Pericles v. 1. 138 ff.

'yet thou dost look

Like Patience, gazing on King's graves, and
smiling

Extremity out of act.'

And, *Macbeth* ii. 3. 146 f.

'the near in blood,

The nearer bloody.'

Richard III. ii. 1. 92

'Nearer in bloody thoughts, and not in
blood.'

A convincing example from Greek literature is afforded by two of the tragedies of Euripides. The *Troades* was produced in the year 415 B.C., the *Hecuba* about ten years earlier.² Both plays deal with events connected with the fall of Troy; and both consist of a series of episodes somewhat loosely strung together on the thread of a single personality—that of the old Trojan queen. Obviously here, if anywhere, we are likely to find echoes and reminiscences. Euripides was quite alive to the danger, and carefully excluded from the later play the scenes that he had described in the earlier. Thus Polyxena's death, which occupies so large a part of the *Hecuba*, is dismissed with a bare mention in the *Troades* (39 f., 618 ff.); while Polydorus and Polymestor—the other prominent characters in the *Hecuba*—are not even named in the *Troades*. Euripides, then, in the conscious planning of his plots avoided repetition. All the more noteworthy is his unconscious use of words and phrases from the older piece. The following list does not pretend to completeness; but it will serve:—

Troades

1 ἦ κ' ὡ λιλῶν Αἴγαιον ἀλμυρὸν βάθος
πόντου Ποσειδῶν, ἐνθα κ.τ.λ.

18 πολὺς δὲ χρυσὸς Φρύγιά τε σκυ-
λεύματα
πρὸς ναῦς Ἀχαιῶν πέμπεται.

39 ἦ παῖς μὲν ἀμφὶ μνήμ' Ἀχιλ-
λεῖου τάφου
λάθρα τίθηκε τλημόνως Πολυξένη.

¹ I am indebted to Dr. J. Lawrence, of Bedford College, London, for those here given.

² See the arguments in Haigh *Tragic Drama of*

the Greeks p. 295, n. 1, W. Christ *Gr. Lit.*³ p. 266, n. 1, H. Weil *Sept Tragédies d'Eur.*² i. 209 f.

Hecuba

{ 320 διὰ μακροῦ γὰρ ἡ χάρις.
(cp. 1177 ὥς δὲ μὴ μακροὺς τείνω λόγους)

65 καὶ γὰρ σκολιῷ σκίπῳ νι χερὸς
διερεῖ δομένα σπένσω βραδύνουν
ἧλυσιν ἀρθρῶν προτιθέισα.

23 αὐτὸς δὲ βωμῷ πρὸς θεομήτῳ πίτνει,
σφαγεῖς Ἄχιλλέως παιδὸς ἐκ
μυιφόνου.

413 τέλος δέχου δὴ τῶν ἐμῶν προσφθεγ-
μάτων.
ὦ μῆτερ, ὦ τεκοῦσ', ἄπειμι δὴ
κάτω.

56 ὥς πράσσεις κακῶς,
ὅσον περ εὖ ποτ' ἀντισηκώσας δέ σε
φθείρει θεῶν τις τῆς πάροισ' ἐν-
πραξίας.

751 τολμᾶν ἀνάγκη, καὶ νύχῳ καὶ νύχῳ
τύχῳ.

741 ἀλλ' εἴ με δούλην πολέμιαν θ'
ἡ γοῦμένος
γονάτων ἀπώσαιτ', ἄλγος αὖ προσθείμεθ'
αἶν.

348 κακῇ φανοῦμαι καὶ φιλόψυχος
γυνή.

409 ἀλλ', ὦ φίλη μοι μῆτερ, ἡδίστην
χέρα
δὸς κ.τ.λ.

441 ὥς τὴν Λάκαιναν ξύγονον Διοσκόρον
Ἑλένην ἴδοιμι διὰ καλῶν γὰρ ὁμ-
μάτων
αἴσχιστα Τροίαν εἶλε τὴν εὐδαίμονα.

{ 59 ἄγετ', ὦ παῖδες, τὴν γραῦν . . .
62 λάβετε, φέρετε, πέμπετ', ἀείρετέ μου
γεραίᾱς χειρὸς προσλαζύμεναι.

910 ἀπὸ δὲ στεφάναν κέκαρσαι
πύργων.

5 κίνδυνος ἔσχε δορὶ πεσεῖν Ἑλ-
ληνικῷ.

{ 269 ἡ Τυνδαρίς γὰρ εἶδος ἐκπρεπεσ-
τάτη.
(cp. Alc. 333 οὗτ' εἶδος ἄλλως ἐκπρεπεστάτη
γυνή.)

21 ἐπεὶ δὲ Τροία θ' Ἑκτορός τ' ἀπόλ-
λυται
ψυχῇ κ.τ.λ.

Troades

87 ἔσται τάδ' ἡ χάρις γὰρ οὐ μα-
κρῶν λόγων
δεῖται.

148 ἐξάρξω γὰρ μολπὰν
οὐ τὰν αὐτὰν οἶαν δὴ
σκηπτρῷ Πριάμου διερεῖδο-
μένα
κ.τ.λ.

619 τέθνηκέ σοι παῖς πρὸς τάφῳ Πολυ-
ξένη
σφαγεῖς Ἄχιλλέως, δῶρον
ἀψύχῳ νεκρῷ.

629 ὦ μῆτερ, ὦ τεκοῦσα, κάλλιστον
λόγον
ἄκουσον.

634 ὁ δ' εὐτυχήσας ἐς τὸ δυστυχὲς πεσὼν
ψυχὴν ἀλάττει τῆς πάροισ' ἐν-
πραξίας.

{ 642 πρῶτον μὲν, ἔνθα καὶ νύχῳ προσῇ καὶ
μῇ προσῇ
ψόγος γυναιξίν, κ.τ.λ.

{ 914 ἴσως με, καὶ νύχῳ καὶ νύχῳ κακῶς δόξω
λέγειν,
οὐκ ἀνταμείψει, πολέμιαν ἡ γοῦ-
μένος.

658 κακῇ φανοῦμαι τῷ θανόντι.

692 ἀλλ', ὦ φίλη παῖ, τὰς μὲν Ἑκτορος
τύχας
ἔασον.

767 ὅλοιοι καλλιῆστων γὰρ ὁμμά-
των ἄπο
αἰσχρῶς τὰ κλεινὰ πεδὶ ἀπώλεσας
Φρυγῶν.

769 ἀλλ' ἄγετε, φέρετε, ῥίπτειτ', εἰ
ῥίπτειν δοκεῖ
δαίνυσθε τοῦδε σάρκα.

778 βαῖνε πατρώων
πύργων ἐπ' ἄκρας στεφάνας.

868 αὐτὸς τε καὶ γῇ δορὶ πεσοῦσ'
Ἑλληνικῷ.

987 ἦν οὐμὸς υἱὸς κάλλος ἐκπρεπέστα-
τος.

1002 ἐπεὶ δὲ Τροίαν ἦλθες Ἀργεῖοί τέ
σου
κατ' ἔχνος κ.τ.λ.

Hecuba

16 ἔως μὲν οὖν γῆς ὁ ϑ' ἔκειθ' ὀρίσματα
 πύργοι τ' ἄβρανστοι Τρωικῆς ἦσαν
 χθονός,
 "Εκτωρ τ' ἀδελφὸς οὐμὸς ἡντιχαι
 δορί,
 κ.τ.λ.

810 νῦν δὲ γραῦς ἄπαις θ' ἄμα,
 ἄπολις ἔρμος ἀθλιωτάτη βρο-
 τῶν.

668 δέσποιν', ὄλωλας, οὐκέτ' εἴ βλέ-
 πουσα φῶς,
 ἄπαις ἀνάνδρος ἄπολις ἐξεφθαρμένη.

613 λούσω προθῶμαι θ'. ὥς μὲν ἀξία, πόθεν;
 οὐκ ἂν δυνάμην· ὥς δ' ἔχω· τί γὰρ
 πάθω;
 κόσμον τ' ἀγείρας' κ.τ.λ.

385 Ὁδυσσεύ, τήνδε μὲν μὴ κτείνετε,
 ἡμᾶς δ' ἄγοντες πρὸς πύρην Ἀχιλλεύς
 κεντεῖτε, μὴ φείδεσθ'. ἐγὼ κ.τ.λ.

These coincidences of diction result, I have said, from the fact that the writer is traversing again ground that he has already described; he slips naturally and without conscious effort into the wording of his previous description. And this is the case not only where the ground is of considerable extent—the plot of a whole play, etc.—but also in scenes and situations of shorter compass. The same piece will supply examples in point. In *Tro.* 735 ff. Andro-

Medea

1074 ὦ γλυκεῖα προσβολή,
 ὦ μαλθακὸς χρωὺς πνεῦμά θ'
 ἡδιστον τέκνων.

1029 ἄλλως ἄρ' ἡμᾶς, ὦ τέκν', ἐξεθρε-
 ψάμην,
 ἄλλως δ' ἐμόχθουν καὶ κατε-
 ξάνθην πόνοις.

Again, in *Tro.* 1085 ff. Euripides depicts the journey from Troy to the neighbourhood of Argos. In *El.* 1156 ff. (a play probably written some two years later¹) he has

Troades

1085 ἐμὲ δὲ πόντιον σκάφος
 αἰσσον πτεροῖσι πορεύσει
 ἱππόβοτον Ἄργος, ἵνα τε τεῖχῃ
 λαῖνα Κυκλώπι' οὐράνια νέμονται.

Troades

1160 μὴ Τροίαν ποτὲ
 πεσοῦσαν ὁρθώσειεν; οὐδὲν ἦ,
 ἄρα,
 ὅθ' Ἐκτορος μὲν εὐτυχοῦντος
 ἐς δόρυ
 κ.τ.λ.

1186 γράως, ἄπολις, ἄτεκνος, ἄθλιον
 θάπτω νεκρόν.

1292 δέδορκεν, ἀδὲ μεγαλόπολις
 ἄπολις ὄλωλεν οὐδ' ἔτ' ἔστι
 Τροία.

1200 φέρετε, κομίζετ' ἀθλίῳ κόσμον
 νεκρῷ
 ἐκ τῶν παρόντων· οὐ γὰρ ἐς κάλλος
 τύχας
 δαίμων δίδωσιν· ὦν δ' ἔχω, λήψει
 τάδε.

(cp. 1143 πέπλοισιν ὡς περιστείλῃς νεκρὸν
 στεφάνοις θ', ὅση σοι δύναμις, ὡς
 ἔχει τὰ σά.)

1285 ἄλλ' ἄγετε, μὴ φείδεσθ'. Ὁδυσ-
 σεύς δ' ἐς χρῆ
 κ.τ.λ.

make bids farewell to her boy Astyanax, who is about to be flung from the battlements. Sixteen years before, Euripides had penned an even more pathetic ῥήσις on a similar subject—the farewell of Medea to her children (*Med.* 1019 ff.). A comparison of the two speeches reveals numerous verbal resemblances culminating in an all but identical line descriptive of the mother's pains:—

Troades

752 ὦ νέον ὑπαγκάλισμα μητρὶ φίλτατον,
 ὦ χρωτὸς ἡδὺ πνεῦμα· διὰ κενῆς
 ἄρα
 ἐν σπαργάνοις σε μαστὸς ἐξέθρεψ' ὅδε,
 μάτην δ' ἐμόχθουν καὶ κατε-
 ξάνθην πόνοις.

occasion to refer to the same journey, or rather to its goal; he does so in very similar language:—

Electra

1156 μέλεον ἂ πόσιν χρόνιον ἰκόμενον εἰς
 οἶκους
 Κυκλώπεια τ' οὐράνια τεῖχε'
 δῆνθ' ἔκτω βέλει
 κατέκαν' αὐτόχειρ, κ.τ.λ.

¹ See C. H. Keene ed. *Electra* p. xxxi ff., Haigh *Trag. Drama of the Greeks* p. 301, n. 1.

Finally, the description of Menelaus in the midst of the Aegean (*Tro.* 1100 ff.) has per-

haps affected a passage in the *Helena*, which was exhibited three years later¹:—

Troades

- 1095 εἴμ' ² ἀλίαςι πλάταις
ἢ Σαλαμῖν' ἱεράν,
ἢ δῖορον κορυφάν
Ἴσθμιον, ἔνθα πύλας
Πέλοπος ἔχουσιν ἔδραι.
εἴθ' ἀκάτου Μενέλα
μέσον πέλᾳ γος ἰούσας
δίπαλτον ἱερὸν ἀνὰ μέσον
πλατᾶν πέσοι
Αἰγαίου κεραυνοφαῖς πῦρ,
κ.τ.λ.

Other examples will readily occur to any one familiar with the plays of Euripides.³ Most frequently the repeated thought that gives rise to the repeated expression is quite short and simple, e.g. *H.F.* 1254 οὐκ ἂν σ' ἀνάσχοιθ' = *Hel.* 1045 οὐκ ἂν σ' ἀνάσχοιτ' or *Ion* 933 ἀνελθέ μοι πάλιν = *Phoen.* 1207 ἀνελθέ μοι

Verg. *georg.* 3.

- 421 tollentemque minas et sibila colla
tumentem
418 aut tecto adsusctus coluber succedere
et umbrae
425 est etiam ille malus Calabris in sal-
tibus anguis,
squamea convolvens sublato pectore
terga
437 cum positus novus exuviis nitidusque
iuvēta
volvitur, aut catulos tectis aut ora
relinquens,
arduus ad solem, et linguis micat ore
trisulcis.

Twice in the fifth *Aeneid* Virgil describes the action of a frightened dove—once in the course of a simile (213 ff.) and again in an

Helena

- 130 TE. μέσον περῶσι πέλᾳ γος Αἰγαίου
πόρου.
ΕΛ. κάκ τοῦδε Μενέλεων οὔτις εἶδ'
ἀφιγμένον;
κ.τ.λ.

πάλιν. But the merest tag, ἄκουε δὴ νυν or whatever it may be, bears witness to the working of the same psychological law.

The fact that the law is psychological absolves me from the necessity of citing Latin parallels throughout. I add a few examples *speciminiis causa*:—

Verg. *Aen.* 2.

- 379 improvisum asprū veluti qui sentibus
anguem
pressit humi nitens, trepidusque re-
pente refugit
attollentem iras et caerulea colla tumen-
tem.
471 qualis ubi in lucem coluber mala
gramina pastus,
frigida sub terra tumidum quem bruma
tegebat,
nunc, positus novus exuviis nitidusque
iuvēta,
lubrica convolvit sublato pectore terga
arduus ad solem, et linguis micat ore
trisulcis.
(cp. 204 immensis orbibus angues
211 sibila lambebant linguis vibranti-
bus ora.)

account of the archers' contest (485 ff.). The wording of the two passages is very similar—

¹ Schol. Ar. *Ran.* 53, *Theom.* 1021.

² So I would read for the ungrammatical εἰναλίαςι (cp. 1153 εἴμ' ὀρυκτὸν κ.τ.λ.) instead of supplying mentally some such phrase as ὥστε με πέμπειν after 1094.

³ Böckh *Gr. trag. princ.* pp. 247-249, 257, collects a dozen or more: I have refrained from citing any of the examples there given. See further P. Treplin *de repetitis apud Euripidem versibus* Schrimm progr. 1866, P. Wesener *de repetitione versuum in fabulis Euripideis* Bonn diss. 1866, L. v. Sybel *de repetitionibus verborum in fabulis Euripideis* Bonn diss. 1868, F. Schröder *de iteratis apud tragicos Græcos* Strassburg diss. 1882. The last named has a large and

comprehensive collection of Euripidean *iterata*, ranging from the repetition of a brief phrase (e.g. πολλοὶ δ' ἐπιπτον in *Heraclid.* 838 = *Andr.* 1142 = *Phoen.* 1149) to that of a complete line (e.g. *Med.* 786 = 949 λεπτὸν τε πέπλον καὶ πλόκον χρυσήλατον οἱ *Hec.* 279 ταύτη γέγηθα κάπιλήθεται κακῶν = *Or.* 66 ταύτη γέγηθε κάπιλήθεται κακῶν or *Hipp.* 974 καὶ μήτ' Ἀθήνας τὰς θεοδμήτους μόλῃς = *I.T.* 1449 θῆαν δ' Ἀθήνας τὰς θεοδμήτους μόλῃς). He does not, however, cite any correspondences between the *Hecuba* and the *Troades* except *Hec.* 668 f., 810 f. = *Tro.* 1186 and the phrase ἄλλ' ὥς γενέσθω (*Hec.* 888 = *Tro.* 721 = *I.T.* 603). My own list, which was drawn up independently, will therefore supplement his.

215 fertur in arva volans, plausumque ex-
territa pinnis
dat tecto ingentem.

505 intremuit malus, timuitque exterrita
pinnis
ales, et ingenti sonuerunt omnia plausu.

Twice in the eighth book a fascinated gaze is portrayed—

265 nequeunt expleri corda tuendo
terribilis oculos.

617 expleri nequit atque oculos per singula
volvit,
miraturque interque manus et brachia
versat
terribilem cristis galeam.

Compare also such passages as—

Aen. 2. 501 :

Priamumque per aras
sanguine foedantem, quos ipse sacraverat,
ignis.

ib. 3. 305 :

et geminas, causam lacrimis, sacraverat
aras.

ib. 4. 200 :

centum aras posuit, vigilemque sacraverat
ignem.

or—

Aen. 2. 209 } iamque arva tenebant
6. 477 }
6. 358 } iam tuta tenebam
8. 603 } tuta tenebant

or *Aen.* 4. 113 animum temptare precando =
413 f. temptare precando...animos, 1. 482
diva solo fixos oculos aversa tenebat = 6. 469
illa solo fixos oculos aversa tenebat, 2. 494
= 12. 577 primosque trucidant, etc. Horace's
iterations are less frequent.

epist. 2. 1. 258 f. :

nec meus audet
rem temptare pudor, quam vires ferre
recusent.

ars poet. 38 ff. :

sumite materiam vestris, qui scribitis,
aequam
viribus et versate diu, quid ferre re-
cusent,
quid valeant umeri.

But it is difficult to name an author who has none. Prose is as liable to them as poetry. Cicero, for instance, writes—

de orat. 3. 221 f. animi est enim omnis actio et imago animi voltus, indices oculi . . . quare oculorum est magna moderatio. nam oris non est nimium mutanda species, ne aut ad ineptias aut ad pravitatem aliquam deferamur. oculi sunt, quorum tum intentione, tum remissione, tum coniectu, tum hilaritate, motus animorum significemus.

orator 60 in quo cum effeceris ne quid ineptum aut voltuosum sit, tum oculorum est quaedam magna moderatio; nam ut imago est animi voltus, sic indices oculi; quorum et hilaritatis et vicissim tristitiae modum res ipsae, de quibus agetur, temperabunt.

Brut. 35 nihil acute inveniri potuit in eis caussis, quas scripsit, . . . nihil subtiliter dici, nihil presse, nihil enucleate, quo fieri possit aliquid limatius.

orator 20 et contra tenues, acuti, omnia docentes et dilucidiora, non ampliora facientes, subtili quadam et pressa oratione limati.

de orat. 3. 138 tantamque in eo (*sc.* Pericles) vim fuisse, ut in eorum mentibus, qui audissent, quasi aculeos quosdam relinqueret.

Brut. 38 tantum ut memoriam concinnitatis suae, non, quemadmodum de Pericle scripsit Eupolis, cum delectatione aculeos etiam relinqueret in animis eorum, a quibus esset auditus.

de fin. 2. 49 philosophus nobilis, a quo non solum Graecia et Italia, sed etiam omnis barbaria commota est.

de fin. 5. 11 omnium fere civitatum, non Graeciae solum, sed etiam barbariae, ab Aristotele mores, instituta, disciplinae, a Theophrasto leges etiam cognovimus.

de sen. 57 *invitat atque allectat.*

| *de am.* 99 *allectant et invitant.*¹

de orat. 2. 222 in quo nulli | *in Q. frat.* ii. 1. 1 fuerunt | *in Verr.* ii. 3. 95 habet enim
aculei contumeliarum in- | non nulli aculei in C. Caesar- | quemdam aculeum contu-
erant. | mel, contumeliae in Gellium. | melia.

(b) Sometimes the idea, when it recurs, brings with it not the whole word-picture by which it was previously represented but, so to speak, the rough outlines or even the empty framework. We are reminded of the former phrase by a few characteristic strokes, but the details differ. For example, George Meredith has two descriptions of evening, which seem to be thus related to each other. In *Phoebus with Admetus* he writes—

‘now the noon severe

Bent a burning eyebrow to brown eve-
tide,’—

and in *Love in the Valley*—

‘Brooding o’er the gloom, spins the brown
eve-jar.’

Tennyson twice alludes to a harbour-bar in connexion with hope :—

The Sailor Boy 1 f.

‘He rose at dawn and, fired with hope,
Shot o’er the seething harbour-bar.’

Crossing the Bar 15 f.

‘I hope to see my Pilot face to face
When I have crost the bar.’

One is inclined to suspect that ‘see’ in the latter couplet echoes ‘seething’ in the former: and the more so, as the one poem speaks of ‘the morning star,’ the other of the ‘evening star.’ When Shakespeare wrote *Macbeth* i. 3. 127 ff.—

‘Two truths are told,

As happy prologues to the swelling act
Of the imperial theme.’—

he repeated in part the wording of *Henry V.* prologue 3 f.

‘A kingdom for a stage, princes to act,
And monarchs to behold the swelling scene.’

Compare too *Macbeth* i. 4. 11 f.—

‘There’s no art,

To find the mind’s construction in the
face’ :—

with *Richard III.* iii. 4. 55

‘For by his face straight shall you know his
heart.’

General contour and nothing more connects two Shakespearian threats :—

Hamlet i. 4. 85.

‘By heaven, I’ll make a ghost of him that
lets me.’

Richard III. i. 2. 36 f.

‘Villains, set down the corse ; or, by St.
Paul,

I’ll make a corse of him that disobeys.’²

Similarly Ixion is mentioned twice in Aeschylus’ *Eumenides*, and the second mention approximates in sound to the first :—

440 ἦσαι φυλάσσων ἐστίας ἐμῆς πέλαι
σεμνὸς προσίκτωρ ἐν τρόποις
Ἰξίωνος.

717 ἦ καὶ πατήρ τι σφάλλεται βουλευμάτων
πρωτοκτόνοισι προστροπαῖς Ἰξί-
ονος ;

The word *προστροπαῖς* is the catachrestic repetition of the phrase *προσίκτωρ ἐν τρόποις*. Again, *Eum.* 883 f. θεὸς παλαιὰ καὶ πολισσοῦχων βροτῶν | ἄτιμος ἔρρειν τοῦδ’ ἀπόθενος πέδον appears to be a partial echo of—

773 τι μὲν σιν αἰετὴνδε συμμάχῳ δορὶ
αὐτοῖσιν ἡμεῖς ἐσμεν εὐμενέστεροι.
καὶ χαῖρε, καὶ σὺ καὶ πολισσοῦχος
λεῶς
πάλαισμ’ ἄφυκτον τοῖς ἐναντίοις ἔχοις.

Fainter, but still—I think—traceable, are the elements of another iteration in the same play. Three times in the course of it the poet uses the rare verb *τιμαλφίω*, and the words that occur in its vicinity are worth noting. On the first occasion (15) it happens to follow the phrase *χθόνα ἀνήμερον* (13 f.). Next (626) it comes a little way before the participle *ἐφήμενοι* (629). Lastly, the three lines (803 ff.) preceding it resemble both contexts inasmuch as they contain the whole series of words *ἀνημέρους, χθονός, ἡμένας* :—

¹ This example was given me by Mr. H. E. P. Platt, Fellow of Linc. Coll., Oxford.

² I am again indebted to Dr. Lawrence for the examples from Tennyson and Shakespeare.

13	χθόνα	626	τιμαλφούμενον	803	ἀνημέρους
14	ἀνήμερον	627		804	
15	τιμαλφῆ	628		805	χθονὸς
		629	ἐφήμενοι	806	ἡμένας
				807	τιμαλφουμένας

A somewhat similar case occurs in the fourth book of Herodotus:—

- 2 f. περιστίζαντες.....ἀπετάμοντο
 34 ἀποταμόμεναι καὶ περι...εἰλίξασαι
 202 ἀποταμόυσα περιεστίζε.

Of course any or all of these echoes may be the merest coincidences. I have no wish to press the particular example: but of the general law I am convinced, and apart from doubtful instances enough has been said to establish its probability.

(c) Different from, but akin to, the cases already discussed are those in which the idea repeated, though not identical with the original idea, is yet sufficiently like it to make use of the same words. A cart travelling along a country lane tends to slip into the regular ruts, if its wheels are moving anywhere near them. In the *Standard* for Dec. 2, 1901, was a leader on an address delivered before the Royal Society by Sir William Huggins. The speaker had referred to two matters of scientific interest, the one celestial, the other terrestrial—the new star in Perseus and the *rapprochement* between scientific societies and education. In dealing with the first he described ‘a kind of corona round this rudimentary sun, spirals of faintly luminous matter, which are, apparently, projected from it as if by some repulsive force.’ In discussing the second he remarked that ‘something would be gained could mathematics be made less repulsive to the average boy.’ The two thoughts to be expressed were near enough to be denoted by the same word, and probably its usage in a literal sense occasioned its subsequent usage as a metaphor. So with our poets. In ‘*The Ring and the Book*’ 1406 Browning, thinking of his former happiness, prays—

Sept. c. Theb.

- 895 διανταίαν λέγεις δόμοισι καὶ
 σώμασιν πεπλαγμένους,
 ἀναυδάτω μένει
 ἀραῖω τ’ ἐκ πατρὸς
 διχόφρονι πότμῳ

¹ Others translate ‘for this gratitude lasteth long.’ So, e.g. Mr. Way: ‘for no fleeting gratitude is this.’ Others again, ‘for gratitude is long delayed,’ i.e. comes not till after death. So Mr. Hadley *ad loc.*,

‘That still, despite the distance and the dark

What was, again may be.’

And *The Pope* at line 1855 wonders whether the future will ‘shake’ the ‘torpor of assurance from our creed’ and

‘bring

That formidable danger back, we drove
 Long ago to the distance and the dark?’

One and the same expression is used to convey two distinct thoughts, viz. the separating interval (actual) and the remote background (metaphorical). Classical instances of this tendency are not far to seek; I have, in fact, quoted some already. *Tro.* 87 ἔσται τάδ’ ἡ χάρις γὰρ οὐ μακρῶν λόγων | δέϊται iterates *Hec.* 320 διὰ μακροῦ γὰρ ἡ χάρις, but differs from it in meaning. The one amounts to this: ‘I will; for the boon thou askest of me needeth but two words,’ namely the words ἔσται τάδε. The other follows the sentiment ‘I would fain see my tomb held in honour’ and should probably be rendered: ‘for this favour lasteth long.’¹ In *Hec.* 414 the words ὦ μήτηρ, ὦ τεκοῦσα, ‘mother mine,’ are spoken by Polyxena to her own mother Hecuba. But in *Tro.* 629 they are spoken by Andromache to her mother-in-law Hecuba and, as Professor Tyrrell saw, are only explicable as a reference to the dead Polyxena—‘O mother’ (of the sacrificed Polyxena): the confusion between mother-in-law and mother is not Greek. Once more, in *Hec.* 910 f. στεφάναν...πύργων denotes ‘thy coronal of towers,’ the towers set about thee as a crown; whereas in *Tro.* 779 πύργων...στεφάνας seems to mean the crowning part of the towers, the parapets or battlements. With these examples from Euripides compare a singular case of the same thing in Aeschylus:—

Agam.

- 231 φράσεν δ’ ἀόχοις πατήρ μετ’ εὐχὰν
 236 λαβεῖν ἀέρῳ, στόματός τε καλλιπύρου
 φυλακὰν κατασχέιν
 φθόγγον ἀραῖον οἴκοις,
 βίᾳ χαλινῶν τ’ ἀναυδῶ μένει.

as an alternative to the version given above. But in any case the meaning is not identical with that of *Tro.* 87.

The situation is widely different. In the *Septem* the poet is describing the 'unspeakable' ¹ stubbornness of Eteocles and Poly- nices and the fate 'brought upon them by the curse' of their father Oedipus. In the *Agamemnon* he is telling how the voice of Iphigenia, which 'might have cursed' her

¹ The word *ἀναύδατος* is sometimes rendered 'speechless' in this passage: but see Dr. Verrall's note.

father's house, was stopped by the 'dumb violence' of the gag. The common thought is here reduced to a minimum, while the common expression is at a maximum. We are on our way to those examples of sub-conscious iteration in which, as Shelley puts it, 'speech created thought'—if indeed we are not already there.

ARTHUR BERNARD COOK.

(To be continued.)

ON THE INTERPRETATION OF THUCYDIDES II. 15

Τὸ δὲ πρὸς τοῦτον (Θησεῖως) ἡ ἀκρόπολις ἡ νῦν οὔσα πόλις ἦν καὶ τὸ ὑπ' αὐτὴν πρὸς νότον μάλιστα τετραμμένον.

Τεκμήριον δέ·

I. 1. τὰ γὰρ ἱερὰ ἐν αὐτῇ τῇ ἀκροπόλει καὶ ἄλλων θεῶν ἐστὶ·

2. καὶ τὰ ἔξω πρὸς τοῦτο τὸ μέρος τῆς πόλεως μᾶλλον ἰδρυται, τό τε τοῦ Διὸς τοῦ Ὀλυμπίου καὶ τὸ Πύθιον καὶ τὸ τῆς Γῆς καὶ τὸ ἐν Λίμναις Διονύσου. κ.τ.λ.

II. 1. ἰδρυται δὲ καὶ ἄλλα ἱερὰ ταύτῃ ἀρχαῖα·

2. καὶ τῇ κρήνῃ τῇ νῦν μὲν . . . Ἐννεακροῦνφ καλουμένην, κ.τ.λ.

III. καλεῖται δὲ διὰ τὴν παλαιὰν ταύτῃ κατοίκην καὶ ἡ ἀκρόπολις μέχρι τοῦδε ἔτι ὑπ' Ἀθηναίων πόλις.—THUC. II. 15, 3-6.

It is with no slight diffidence that I venture to add to the various theories already proposed respecting this perplexing passage. I think, however, that there is yet an easier way of meeting the difficulties, and such an interpretation I endeavour here to present in the fewest possible words. If I refrain from commenting upon the work of my predecessors in this discussion, I do so because of no inappreciation of its value or of any indebtedness to them, but because I prefer to avoid the controversial in this brief statement, and to present as if *de novo* a positive theory. The stimulating articles of Dr. Verrall and Mr. Farnell in this journal (*C.R.*, 1900, pp. 274 ff. and 369 ff.) have been particularly suggestive though I cannot wholly agree with the conclusions of either.

The first attempt of this article is to interpret the text of Thucydides without reference to the extant remains. Next, the effort is made to apply his description to the actual sites as known from other sources and from the ruins.

Thucydides is writing at a time when Athens is not far from the zenith of her power. The city has expanded much beyond its original bounds and its greatest growth has been toward the north. In fact, the largest part of the city is north of the Acropolis and the Areopagus. But Thucydides believes as a result of his archaeological study that the earlier city, the pre-Thesean city, was not north but south of the Acropolis and in our text he tries to give the outlines of the territory occupied by this old city.

He formulates his statement logically into the form of a proposition, composed of two members. This proposition he follows with the full evidence for each member. His reasoning is as follows: *Before Theseus' time the city consisted of two parts, (1) what is now the Acropolis, and, (2) the territory lying at its foot and looking in a southerly direction.*

The first member of the proposition is not open to debate. The bounds of the Acropolis must be fairly fixed for all time. The phrase *ἡ νῦν οὔσα* would define it exactly to his Greek readers.

In the second member, which treats of the other part of the old city, some expressions require a little attention, more to emphasise certain points than because Thucydides seems obscure. *ὑπ' αὐτήν* must mean *at the foot of it, below it*—the Acropolis—and might refer to objects on the slope whether close or at a short distance. Even if our author had used the expression *τὸ πρὸς νότον τετραμμένον*, it would be unfair to insist that every sanctuary which he names must be exactly south. Such a phrase may be sufficiently general. But it is specially noteworthy that he inserts *μάλιστα*, which must mean *in a general way* or *to speak generally*.

Now we come to the consideration of the evidence which Thucydides presents in support of his view, and we find him careful to tell us that what he next says is the body of facts on which his judgment is based—*τεκμήριον δέ*. Of what nature must such evidence be? Two kinds are admissible in theory. He might, had such existed, have turned to literary sources. We know of none that he could have used and probably there were none. At all events he uses none. The only other testimony allowable is the inference drawn from the remains present on the site under consideration. (The traditions connected with such remains might be used so far as they could be proved trustworthy.) Such indeed is the sort of material that Thucydides uses.

The evidence adduced to prove the first statement need not detain us long. In it the historian calls attention to the sanctuaries on the Acropolis as being manifestly of the greatest antiquity. How he has shown this has been elucidated by Dr. Verrall, who would reject the traditional theory of a lacuna and translate, *for the sanctuaries in the Acropolis itself belong also to other deities*, explaining that the presence of other gods than Athena, the patron goddess is, in the mind of Thucydides, evidence that they were introduced when the 'citadel was itself the city and the "other deities" if not admitted there, would have been excluded from Athens altogether.' (*C.R.* 1900, p. 276).

The evidence for the second member follows at once. It is connected with the other by *καί*, and contrasted with it by *ἐξω*. The *ἐξω* might have been followed by *τῆς ἀκροπόλεως*, if ambiguity had been feared. The *πρὸς τοῦτο τὸ μέρος* must be construed with *ἴδονται*. The most common meaning of *πρὸς* is *towards, in the direction of*, and this must be maintained if possible. *τῆς πόλεως* is, of course, the city of Thucydides's own time. The whole phrase is equivalent to *towards this quarter of the town*, that is, the southern quarter of which he has spoken. We note that our author does not say *ἐν τούτῳ τῷ μέρει*. There may be some good reason why. We shall see. We observe also in this connection the use of another modifying term, *μᾶλλον*. He does not say *are situated in this part of the city*. He says *they are situated more toward this part of the city*. The *μᾶλλον* has nearly the same force as its superlative a few lines before.

Next, Thucydides names four of the

sanctuaries which he has had in mind. Presumably they are the greatest and most important. So, as a matter of fact, we learn from our other sources of one great Olympieum, which seems to have been preceded by another on the same site (Paus. I. 18, 8). We learn of a great Pythium; our own author names it again in another place (vi. 54, 6). We learn, to be sure, of several precincts of Ge, but the *Ge Koupoτρόφος* is clearly the most important.¹ We learn also of an old and famous sanctuary of Dionysus *ἐν Λίμναις*. The situation of these we shall consider directly.

Other *ἀρχαία ἱερά* are named collectively. What they were we do not know. Some few we may conjecture. The use of the word *ἀρχαία* with *ἄλλα* shows that we may apply the word also to the *ἱερά* already mentioned. *ταύτη* belongs both to *ἴδονται* and to *ἐχρῶντο*.

The last sentence, *καλεῖται κ.τ.λ.*, is in the nature of an after-thought or *addendum*, and does not specially concern us now. *ταύτη* here is, of course, localized to the Acropolis.

Here the proof ends. If we take no thought of what remains may be left to our own time, the section seems perfectly lucid and straightforward. Were no other book and no ruins extant, no one would have any doubt as to Thucydides's meaning.

Turning now to the remains, what do we find? It is impossible in the space at hand to attempt to examine again the intricate problems connected with this portion of Athenian topography. For the present purpose it will be fair to assume the location of the sites in question to be assured, the Olympieum and the Pythium where the traditional view puts them, the other precincts where Dr. Dörpfeld believes them to lie. Granting this assumption, Thucydides's words will, I believe, be seen to confirm the remaining testimony.

The ruins, then, are found just where from Thucydides's description we ought to expect them. The part on the Acropolis is perfectly sure. The four precincts which our author next names are also where he places them, *to the south of the Acropolis*. 'The Olympieum is where now stand 'the columns.' The Pythium is outside the wall and south-west of the Olympieum (Paus. i. 19, 1; Strabo ix. p. 404; *C.I.A.* i. 373e). The sanctuary of Ge is at the other end of the Acropolis not far from the propylaea (Paus. i. 22, 3). The sanctuary of Dionysus in Limnae is between the Pnyx and the

¹ But see the discussion of Dr. Farnell, *C.R.* 1900, p. 373.

Areopagus. The Enneacrunus is close by under the brow of the Pnyx.

To be sure, not one of these is exactly south of the Acropolis, and we now recall that our author does not say that they are. He takes pains to modify his statement so as to include them as they stand. All, however, are south of the main axis of the Acropolis, while most of the city in Thucydides's time lay north of this line. We understand now why Thucydides uses *μάλιστα*. His expression is quite the same that a person in modern Athens under similar relative conditions of general extent would use, and often does use, in describing the location of these same sites. They are not east or west or north of the Acropolis, but south—to use general terms of the whole group as does our author.

We find furthermore that Thucydides's view is not out of harmony with that now current. It is now usually granted that when the narrow confines of the citadel became too small for the growing city, it expanded first in a southerly direction, and occupied the part *ἐπ' αὐτὴν πρὸς νότον μάλιστα τετραμμένον*. Of course the growth was not merely straight south; other reasons aside, the position of the entrance and the contour of the land forbid so arbitrary a supposition.

We find also that Thucydides has named nearly all the leading sanctuaries which existed in this region. In fact not one of prominence is omitted that could help prove his thesis. He has left out Talos's tomb and Aegeus's monument, but these were each the result of a fortuitous circumstance and would not have helped to establish the site of the old city. He omits the

Pnyx, but this also is of a different character, and we know too little of the time when it was constructed to argue *pro* or *con* upon this item of the account. He has omitted the great Dionysiac precinct but has mentioned the really ancient one. Of course the Asclepieum did not exist until the later days.

Again we find,—and this is of no small importance both for this interpretation and for the indirect ratification of Dr. Dörpfeld's opinion as to the location of the Enneacrunus, &c.,—that Thucydides mentions the sanctuaries in precisely their proper order from east to west, Olympieum, Pythium, sanctuary of Ge, sanctuary of Dionysus *ἐν Λίμναις*. No interpretation heretofore proposed takes account of this order, I think, so readily. By two sanctuaries at the east end and two at the west end he has given roughly the boundaries of the southern portion of the old city. The area thus approximately limited is not too large for the pre-Thesean city.

We see also why Thucydides did not say *ἐν τούτῳ* instead of *πρὸς τοῦτο*. The Pythium at least and probably the Olympieum were not inside the city walls, though it could accurately be said of them that they were *situated down toward this part*.

This I believe to be the simple and straightforward meaning of our author's words. It would be foreign to the intent of this paper to consider the other literary authorities which are related to our present passage. That they are not inconsistent with the interpretation here offered may be shown at some future time.

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CRITICAL NOTES ON THE *DE SUBLIMITATE*.

7.4 speaks of men ἀπὸ διαφόρων ἐπιτηδεύματων βίων ζήλων ἡλικίων λόγων. It is difficult to find any satisfactory meaning for λόγων (Mr. Roberts' *languages* is not I think possible) and, if it were right, it ought to come earlier in the enumeration with words more akin to it, not after ἡλικίων. I conjecture χρόνων. It is known that λόγος and χρόνος are apt to be confused and *belonging to different times* is a very good point to make in the context.

The agreement of these people is then

spoken of as ἡ ἐξ ἀσυνμύφωνων ὡς κρίσις καὶ συγκατάθεσις. ὡς has been doubted and seems unmeaning. Perhaps we may read οὖσ-α, as ὡς and οὖς are liable to confusion.

9.7 ἡμῖν μὲν δυσδαίμονουσιν ἀπόκειται λιμὴν | κακὸν δὲ θάνατος has all the appearance of a quotation from poetry.

9.9 τὴν τοῦ θείου δύναμιν κατὰ τὴν ἀξίαν ἐχώρησε κατέξφηκε.

Τοῦ ἐγνώρισε for ἐχώρησε. Perhaps ἀνεγνώρισε, *av* being lost in ἀξίαν.

ιβ. 10 ἔν ἐτι τοῦ ποιητοῦ καὶ τῶν ἀνθρωπίνων <πéρι> παραβέμενος?

πéρι would be easily lost before παρα.

ιβ. 11 "Ομηρος μὲν ἐνθάδε οὔριος συνεμπνέει... δέκνυσσι δ' ὁμῶς διὰ τῆς Ὀδυσσεύς κ.τ.λ.

μὲν seems very much out of its place. Write ἐνθάδε μὲν Ὀμηρος.

ιβ. 13 οὐ γὰρ ἔτι τοῖς Ἰλιακοῖς ἐκείνοις ποιήμασιν ἴσον ἐνταῦθα σφῆζει τὸν τόνον ("Ομηρος).

ποιήμασιν is clearly wrong, but παθήμασιν (Wilamowitz) is not very probable. I think ποιήμασιν may be suggested. We have just before τῆς μὲν Ἰλιάδος γραφομένης ἐν ἀκμῇ πνεύματος: cf. the use of πνεῦμα in 8. 4 and 33. 5, and συνεμπνέει above quoted in §11 of this chapter. We might also think of νοήμασιν, comparing νοήσεις in 8. 1, and 15. 12, ἔννοια in 9. 2 and 3, νόημα in 12. 1.

ιβιδ. ὁλον ὑποχωροῦντος εἰς ἑαυτὸν Ὀκεανοῦ καὶ περὶ τὰ ἴδια μέτρα ἡμερουμένου.

For μέτρα, besides the passage of Aelian quoted by Weiske, cf. 14. 1 τὰς ψυχὰς ἀνοίσει πῶς πρὸς τὰ ἀνειδωλοποιούμενα μέτρα and Philostratus *Vit. Apollon.* 189 ἃ δὲ περὶ τὴν σελήνην φασὶ φαίνεσθαι... ταῦτα (ταῦτ'!) περὶ τὸν Ὀκεανὸν οἶδα· τὰ γὰρ ἐκείνης ἀνισοῖ μέτρα συμμυνύθων αὐτῇ καὶ συμπληροῦμενος. ἡμερουμένου is certainly right for MS. ἔρημουμένου. Cf. Pausan. 10. 11. 4 εἰ δέξεταί σε ἥπιώς τὸ ἔδωρ: A. Gell. 2. 21. 2 *nox fuit et clemens mare*.

ιβ. 14 παρεξέβην δ' εἰς ταῖθ', ὡς ἔφην, ἵνα δείξαιμι ὡς εἰς λήρον ἐνίστε ῥᾶστον κατὰ τὴν ἀπακμὴν τὰ μεγαλοφυῆ παρατρέπεται.

The writer is arguing (12) that μεγάλης φύσεως ὑποφερομένης ἤδη ἰδιὸν ἔστιν ἐν γῆρα τὸ φιλόμυθον and applies this to the Odyssey, where there is an ἐν τοῖς μυθώδεσι καὶ ἀπίστοις πλάνος (13) and where τὸ μυθικόν gets the better of τὸ πρακτικόν. He illustrates the εἰς λήρον παρατρέπεται by οἶα τὰ περὶ τὸν ἄσκον καὶ τοὺς ἐκ Κίρκης συνοφροβουμένους (or ἐν Κίρκης συνομορφουμένους) κ.τ.λ. No one seems to have noticed the word ῥᾶστον, and one might almost think that the editors fancied it was ῥᾶστα and went with the verb. *Very easy nonsense* does not seem to give any proper meaning. It is however not difficult to put right. Observing the context as given in the above quotations and observing also the last letters of the word before ῥᾶστον, we see in a moment that *τερᾶστιον* was what the author wrote. He means that the Odyssey is full of τέρατα, and that these mythical wonders are the form that in the decline of genius ἐπικός

λῆρος (*Frogs* 1005 τραγικὸς λῆρος) naturally takes. For the loss of one τε after another cf. 16. 2, where the MS. quotes Demosthenes in the form οὐχ ἡμαρτε, ὦ ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι, i.e. οὐχ ἡμάρτετε.

10. 3 τὴν ψυχὴν, τὸ σῶμα, τὰς ἀκοάς, τὴν γλῶσσαν, τὰς ὄψεις, τὴν χροάν, πάνθ' ὡς ἀλλότρια διοιχόμενα ἐπιζητεῖ καὶ... ἅμα ψύχεται καέται, ἀλογιστέῃ φρονεῖ (ἣ γὰρ φοβεῖται ἢ παρ' ὀλίγον τέθνηκεν) ἵνα κ.τ.λ.

This refers to the description just quoted in the famous lines of Sappho, φαίνεται μοι κῆνος κ.τ.λ.

It can hardly be right that τὰς ὄψεις should be cut off from τὰς ἀκοάς, which it would naturally follow or precede, by τὴν γλῶσσαν. Transpose the two. A more serious difficulty lies in the words, usually put into a parenthesis, ἣ γὰρ κ.τ.λ. Without dwelling on other proposed alterations I will suggest that ἣ and καί have, as in many other places, (cf. on 44. 9 below) been confused, and that we should read καὶ γὰρ φοβεῖται καὶ—τέθνηκεν. παρ' ὀλίγον τέθνηκεν must be connected with ἀλογιστεῖ, and φοβεῖται with φρονεῖ. φοβεῖται will refer to something in the later part of the ode which is lost and convey the notion of a reasoning apprehension, a state of mind so comparatively collected that it might seem strange in one who παρ' ὀλίγον τέθνηκε. A person almost dead might be thought incapable of rational, thinking fear.

ιβ. 4. παντὶ οἶμαι δῆλον.

The sense will be improved if we read παντὶ <δ> οἶμαι.

13. 2 καὶ γε τούτου... ἐχώμεθα τοῦ σκοποῦ.

καὶ <ἡμεῖς> γε, καὶ <αἱ> γε, or something similar? Cf. 14. 1 οὐκοῦν καὶ ἡμᾶς κ.τ.λ.

ιβ. 4 εἰ μὴ περὶ πρωτείων νῆ Διὰ παντὶ θυμῷ πρὸς Ὀμηρον (Πλάτων), ὡς ἀνταγωνιστὴς νέος πρὸς ἤδη τεθνασμένον, ἴσως μὲν φιλονικώτερον καὶ διαδορατιζόμενος, οὐκ ἀνωφελῶς δ' ὁμῶς, διηρσιτέετο.

I do not see how διαδορατιζόμενος can stand by itself parallel to φιλονικώτερον. Possibly another adverb has been lost after καί. We might also get a fair sense by putting ὡς... τεθνασμένον after διαδορατιζόμενος.

15. 4 In the verses from the *Phaethon*

ἔλα δὲ μήτε Λιβυκὸν αἰθέρ' εἰσβαλόν,
κράσιν γὰρ ὕγρὰν οὐκ ἔχων ἀψίδα σὴν
κάτω δῖησιν·

what is κάτω? It is hard to believe that κάτω δύσει can really mean *will melt it and make it fall*. Has not ΚΑΤΩ taken the place of ΚΑΙΩ (καίων)? cf. Aesch. Pers. 504 φλέγων γὰρ αἰγᾶς λαμπρὸς ἡλίου κύκλος μέσον πόρον δι' ἡ κε.

21. 2 ὥσπερ γάρ, εἰ τις συνδήσει τῶν θεόντων τὰ σώματα, τὴν φορὰν αὐτῶν ἀφίρηται, οὕτως καὶ τὸ πάθος ὑπὸ τῶν συνδέσμων καὶ τῶν ἄλλων προσθηκῶν ἐμποδιζόμενον ἀγανακτεῖ.

ἀγανακτεῖ is evidently unsuitable here, some word which will express diminution of energy being wanted. Several such expressions have been suggested, but perhaps ἀπακμάζει would satisfy the conditions better than any of them. Cf. 9. 15 ἡ ἀπακμή τοῦ πάθους.

22. 1 The appearance of ἀγανακτῶ a few lines farther on is again not free from difficulty. The words are ὥς γὰρ οἱ τῷ ὄντι ὀργιζόμενοι ἢ φοβούμενοι ἢ ἀγανακτοῦντες ἢ ἐπὶ ζηλοτυπίας ἢ ἐπ' ἄλλον τινός... ἐκάστοτε παραλίπτοντες κ.τ.λ., and the difficulty is the occurrence of ἀγανακτοῦντες in addition, and as an alternative to ὀργιζόμενοι. If we distinguish between them and say that ἀγανακτῶ expresses justifiable indignation, still (1) the distinction is hardly worth making here, and (2) at any rate the words should come side by side, not with φοβούμενοι intervening. As we might expect grief to be mentioned among the emotions, ἀλοῦντες seems not impossible.

24. 2 A thing is said to be ἐν τῷ παραλόγῳ. Read ἐν τῶν παραλόγων. Cf. on 31. 2.

30. 1 ἔπειδ' ἂν μέντοι ἢ τοῦ λόγου νόησις ἢ τε φράσις τὰ πλείω δὲ ἑκατέρου διέπνυται.

For δὲ the editors read δι' after Manutius, but δι' ἑκατέρου cannot, as seems to be thought, mean *each through the other*. Perhaps δέ should be γε, *most at least of each subject*.

31. 1 By an equally minute change I would turn ἔστιν ἄρ' to ἔστι γάρ.

ib. 2 ταῦτα γὰρ ἐγγὺς παραΐνει τὸν ἰδιώτην ἀλλ' οὐκ ἰδιωτεύει τῷ σημαντικῷ.

For the last words, which are very obscure, read τῶν σημαντικῶν, depending on ταῦτα. Cf. the change above 24. 2.

32. 8 τοῖς τοιοῦτοις ἐλαττώμασιν ἐπιχειρῶν ὁμῶς αὐτὸ καὶ ὁ Κεκίλιος... ἀπεθάρσεν τῷ παντὶ Λυσίαν ἀμείνω Πλάτωνος ἀποφύνασθαι.

The Vahlen-Jahn edition gives half a

dozen ways of rewriting ὁμῶς αὐτό. Simpler than most of them would be ὁλως αὐτοῦ or ὁλως αὐτῷ. If we took the second, the dative ἐλαττώμασιν would be causal, and this seems to me better.

33. 4. οἶμαι τὰς μείζοντας ἀρετάς, εἰ καὶ μὴ ἐν πᾶσι διομαλίζοιεν, τὴν τοῦ πρωτεύου ψήφον αἰετὶ φέρεσθαι.

He does not think that the verdict always is, but that it always ought to be, in their favour. Perhaps therefore ΑΕΙ should be ΔΕΙ (δεῖν). The corruption is quite familiar. Or δεῖν may have dropped out after αἰετ. There is, however, also the possibility, supported by many passages in Greek, that οἶμαι φέρεσθαι can really mean οἶμαι δεῖν φέρεσθαι.

34. 1 εἰ δ' ἀριθμῶ, μὴ τῷ ἀληθεῖ κρίνοιτο τὰ καθορθώματα, οὕτως ἂν καὶ Ὑπερίδης τῷ παντὶ προέχοι Δημοσθένους.

Vahlen-Jahn μὴ τῷ μεγέθει after Pearce. Roberts follows a conjecture of Postgate's, founded on confusion of ἀριθμός and ὅρος, and reads εἰ δ' ὅρω μὴ τῷ ἀληθεῖ, which is very plausible. When, however, we consider the general meaning, ἀληθεῖ so strongly suggests πλήθει (cf. 35. 1) that something like ἀριθμούμενα τῷ πλήθει or ἀριθμῷ μόνον καὶ τῷ πλήθει may seem probable.

ib. 2 καὶ γὰρ λαλεῖ ('Ὑπερίδης) μετ' ἀφελείας, ἐνθα χρὴ, καὶ οὐ πάντα ἐξ ἧς καὶ μονοτόπως ὥς ὁ Δημοσθένης λέγει, τό τε ἥθικόν ἔχει μετὰ γλυκύτητος ἢ δὲ λιτῶς ἐφηδυνόμενον· ἄφατοι τε περὶ αὐτὸν εἰσιν ἀστείσμοι, μυκτὴρ πολιτικώτατος, εὐγένεια, τὸ κατὰ τὰς εἰρωνείας εὐπάλαιστρον, σκώμματα οὐκ ἄμουσα οὐδ' ἀνάγωγα κατὰ τοὺς Ἀττικοὺς ἐκείνους ἀλλ' ἐπικείμενα, διασυρμός τε ἐπιδέξιος καὶ πολὺν τὸ κομικὸν καὶ μετὰ παιδιᾶς εὐστόχου κέντρον, αἰμῆτρον δὲ εἰπεῖν τὸ ἐν πᾶσι τοῖσις ἐπαφρόδιτον οἰκτίσασθαί τε προσφύεστας, ἔτι δὲ μυθολογήσαι κεχυμένους καὶ ἐν ὑγρῷ πνεύματι διεξοδεύσαι ἐτι εὐκαμπῆς ἄκρως.

So runs this difficult passage, following the MS. almost exactly, in the texts of Vahlen-Jahn, Hammer, Roberts, and in their critical notes will be found the attempts that have been made to remove some of the difficulties. There are several suggestions which I should like to make, not indeed with much confidence, but as possibly worth consideration. I will first rewrite certain parts of the passage, as I suggest they should stand, and then comment upon them. The changes are spaced,

corresponding to the spaced words as above given.

οὐ πάντα ἐξῆς—καὶ μονοτόνως ὡς ὁ Δημοσθένης λέγει, τό τε ἡθικὸν ἔχει μετὰ γλυκύτητος νῆ Δία λιτῶς ἐφηδυνόμενον. . . . σκώματα οὐκ ἄμυνσθα οὐδ' ἀνάγωγα κατὰ τοὺς θεατρικοὺς ἐκείνους ἀλλὰ <χάριν> ἐπικείμενα. . . . ἀμίμητον δὲ ἐκείνο τὸ ἐν πᾶσι τοῖτοις ἐπαφρόδιτον οἰκτίσασθαι τε προσφύεσθαι, ἔτι δὲ μυθολογῆσαι κεχυμένως καὶ ἐν ὑγρῷ πνεύματι διεξοδεῦσαι, ἔτι εὐκαμπῆς ἄκρως.

(1) After ἐξῆς an adverb similar in meaning to μονοτόνως seems to have been lost. ἐξῆς itself is not such an adverb, for it means no more than *in succession* or *one thing after another*. Moreover πάντα ἐξῆς go closely together, forming a well-known Greek phrase, which occurs in two or three other places of this book (e.g. § 3 of this chapter), as Toup pointed out on 33. 5, where he was no doubt right in wishing to add some form of πάντα.

(2) ἦδη and νῆ Δία are sometimes confused (cf. Blass ad Dem. 4. 18) and here I think that νῆ Δία has with the assistance of ἐφηδυνόμενον been turned into ἦδύ. νῆ Δία is quite suitable and in the writer's manner. Cf. 13. 4 εἰ μὴ περὶ πρωτείων νῆ Δία . . . διηριστεύτο: 43. 1 τινὰ δὲ νῆ Δία περιέχει τῆς ὕλης ἀδοξότερα.

(3) It is at first sight tempting to adopt an old suggestion and simply put κατὰ τοὺς Ἀττικοὺς ἐκείνους after ἀλλά, but on reflection this will hardly do. You cannot well say of an Attic writer or speaker that he spoke or wrote κατὰ τοὺς Ἀττικοὺς: κατὰ implies a sort of assimilation or external conformity, not natural membership. Does not also the contrast with Demosthenes render the phrase unsuitable, as suggesting that Hyperides was Attic and Demosthenes not? I do not find the word θεατρικός used elsewhere directly of persons, but there would seem no reason why it should not be: and since thinking of it I have been a good deal encouraged by reading in Dion. H. *de Vel. Script.* 446 of a kind of oratory ἀφόρητος ἀναιδέα θεατρικῇ καὶ ἀνάγωγος, where the occurrence of ἀνάγωγος as well deserves notice. Cf. Plut. *Mor.* 854 A and C, and add Sidon. *Apoll. Ep.* 3. 13. 11 *illorum quorum sermonibus prostitutis ac theatralibus nullas habenas, nulla praemittit repagula pudor.*

(4) χάριν ἐπικείμενα would be like Eur. *Suppl.* 716 ἐπικείμενον κάρα κυνέας: Ar. *Pax* 542 πόλεις . . . κνάβους προσκείμεναι: Theocr. 23. 14 ὕβριν—περικείμενος: Plut. *Pomp.* 51 τὴν στρατιωτικὴν δύναμιν περικείμενος: Appian

B.C. 4. 124 τὸν αὐτὸν οἱ κίνδυνον ἐπικείμενοι. This construction of the compounds of κείσθαι is rather a favourite in late Greek, and Lucian has at least half a dozen examples. The construction of συναναπλεγμένα τὰ ἀσύνδετα in 20. 1 of this book must be similar, if the Greek is right, but possibly something like ἔχοντα has been lost. That χάριν is the sort of word wanted appears both from the immediate context and from the contrasted statement further on about Demosthenes, that he is very far from being ἐπίχαρις.

(5) ἀμίμητον δ' ἐκείνο is suggested by 28. 4 τὸ ἀμίμητον ἐκείνο τοῦ Ἡροδότου.

(6) κεχυμένος is probably not to be found elsewhere used quite in this way (cf. however ἀδιάχυτος in 3), and the construction of an infinitive after it is questionable. The adverb on the other hand is right enough. The adverb ἄκρως which follows is itself a similar and necessary correction of the MS. ἄκρως.

(7) Finally I have put a comma after διεξοδεῖσαι, so as to make ἔτι introduce, as it should, a new point, which he proceeds to illustrate.

ib. 3, 4. The passage about Demosthenes also presents difficulties.

ὁ δὲ Δημοσθένης ἀνηθοποίητος, ἀδιάχυτος, ἥκιστα ὑγρὸς ἢ ἐπιδεικτικός, ἀπάντων ἐξῆς τῶν προειρημένων κατὰ τὸ πλεόν ἄμειρος. . . Ἄλλ' ἐπειδὴ περ, οἶμαι, τὰ μὲν θατέρου καλὰ, καὶ εἰ πολλὰ, ὅμως ἀμεγέθη καρδίᾳ νήφοντος ἀργὰ καὶ τὸν ἀκρατῆρ ἡρεμείν ἔδοντα (οὐδεὶς γοῦν Ὑπερίδην ἀναγινώσκων φοβεῖται), ὁ δὲ ἐνθεν ἔλὼν τοῦ μεγαλοφυσέστατος καὶ ἐπ' ἄκρον ἀρετὰς συντελεσμένος, ὑψηγορίας τόνον, ἐμφυχα πάθη, περιουσίαν, ἀγχίνονα, τάχος, ἔνθα δὴ κύριον, τὴν πᾶσιν ἀπρόσιτον δεινότητα καὶ δύναμιν, ἐπειδὴ ταῦτα, φημί, ὡς θεόπεμπτα δεινὰ δωρήματα (οὐ γὰρ εἰπεῖν θέμιτον ἀνθρώπινα) ἀθρόα ἐς ἑαυτὸν ἔσπασεν, διὰ τοῦτο οἷς ἔχει καλοῖς ἅπαντας ἀεὶ νικᾷ καὶ ὑπὲρ ὧν οὐκ ἔχει.

(1) ἐπιδεικτικός may be right. Demosthenes is not ἐπιδεικτικός, and ἐπιδεικτικῶς has been used just before of Hyperides. But with the other adjectives here ἐπιδεικτικός does not consort very well, and I cannot but think ἐπιδέξιος to be probable. Cf. *διασυρμὸς ἐπιδέξιος* in § 2. ἐπιδεικτικός might lead to the mistake, if mistake it is.

(2) There have been some curious speculations about καρδὴ νήφοντος. My own conjecture is that it is simply a mistake for καὶ ἴδια νήφοντος, *belonging to a sober mind*. Cf. 9. 11 μεγάλης φύσεως ὑποφερομένης ἡδὴ ἰδίων ἐστὶν ἐν γῆρ τὸ φιλόμυθον: 30. 1 φῶς γὰρ τῷ ὄντι ἴδιον τοῦ νοῦ τὰ καλὰ ὀνόματα: 32. 4 πλήθους

καὶ τόλμης μεταφορῶν...ἰδιὰ τινα ἀλεξιφάρμακα. In the text of the 'Αθηναίων Πολιτεία 40. 3 as first deciphered and printed by Mr. Kenyon καρδιά καὶ κοινῇ was corrected by Prof. Bywater to καὶ ἰδιὰ καὶ κοινῇ. The papyrus has however since been found really to give καῖδια. I imagine an old reader and copyist of this passage to have fallen into the same error as Mr. Kenyon. The η of the MS. is probably due to that in νήφοντος.¹

(3) ἔνθεν ἑλὼν is perfectly right. This Homeric phrase (6 500) is often used by late writers. To the examples quoted by Toup add Plut. *Mor.* 57 B, as corrected by Courier: Philostr. *V. Soph.* 529 and 572: Lucian *Asinus* 6. It is used to express a man's starting and plunging into a subject, and is here intended to bring out how Demosthenes will manifest his great qualities at once.

Before τοῦ μεγαλοφυστάτου insert τὰς. καὶ may only emphasise ἀκρον, but I think it is a conjunction.

(4) It is very clear that κύριον has no meaning here and that καίριον should be written for it. Cf. 1. 4 ὕψος καιρώς ἐξενεχθέν: 43. 3 παρὰ καιρὸν ἐγκαταταττόμενα. In Dion. H. *Lysias* 462 ἀκυρολογίας is now corrected to ἀκαιρολογίας.

(5) The author can hardly have written θεοπέμματα δεινὰ δωρήματα. The word δεινός is inapplicable to a gift. Certain qualities in a man might be called δεινὰ, but not δεινὰ δωρήματα, especially when δεινότης in the characteristic sense has just been ascribed to him in the line preceding. A and Δ, α and δ, are so liable to confusion that αἰνὰ (ἀέννα) *inexhaustible* at once suggests itself. Cf. such passages as Plut. *Mor.* 377 F ἀπὸ τούτων δὲ τοὺς...δωρονμένους ἡμῖν καὶ παρέχοντας ἀέννα καὶ διαρκῆ θεοῦς ἐνομίσαμεν: Xen. *Ogyg.* 4. 2. 44 τοῦτο ὡς ἐγὼ δοκῶ ἀναώτερον ἡμῖν δύναιτ' ἂν τὸν ὄλβον...παρέχων: Plat. *Laws* 966 E ἀέναν οὐσίαν (being) ἐπόρσειν.

(6) For the unmeaning καὶ ὑπὲρ ὧν οὐκ ἔχει I suggest καίπερ <ὄντων> ὧν οὐκ ἔχει. 'With the gifts he has he surpasses everyone, though there are gifts he lacks.'

35. 2 οἱ τὴ φύσιν οὐ ταπεινὸν ἡμᾶς ζῶον οὐδ' ἀγενεῖς ἔκρινε τὸν ἄνθρωπον.

Perhaps ἔκρινε τὸν ἄνθρωπον <ποιεῖν> *determined to make*, a use of κρίνω which is common in Polybius, and quoted by L. & S. from Diodorus and N.T. Pearce's proposal

¹ Prof. Bywater suggests to me that καὶ ἰδιὰ νήφοντος is as likely as καὶ ἰδιὰ νήφοντος. He does not however wish definitely to accept either one or the other.

to move ἡμᾶς into the next sentence would certainly relieve this of an awkward word.

ib. 4. The eruptions of Aetna ποταμούς ἐνίστε τοῦ γηγενοῦς ἐκείνου καὶ αὐτοῦ μόνου προχέουσιν πυρός. (γγηγενοῦς is Markland's correction of γένους.) For αὐτοῦ μόνου such words as αὐτομάτου and αὐτοχθόνος have been suggested. It occurs to me that the author perhaps wrote καθ' (for καὶ) αὐτὸ μόνον, *by itself, pure, unmixed*.

ib. 5. ἐπὶ τῶν τοιούτων ἀπάντων ἐκεῖν' ἂν εἰπομεν, ὡς εὐπόριστον μὲν ἀνθρώποις τὸ χρεῖδες ἢ καὶ ἀναγκαῖον, θαυμαστὸν δ' ὅμως αἰεὶ τὸ παράδοξον.

It is not true that the useful or necessary is always easy to provide, nor does such a statement contrast properly with the other, that the unusual or unexpected excites wonder and admiration. Read ὡς τὸ εὐπόριστον μὲν ἀνθρώποις χρεῖδες, or χρεῖδες μὲν ἀνθρώποις τὸ εὐπόριστον. What is easily obtained, the common-place, may be useful or even necessary, but what fills us with admiration and wonder is the unusual, though it may be of no use at all.

36. 1. τὸ δ' ὕψος ἐγγὺς αἶρε μεγαλοφροσύνης θεοῦ.

Why has μεγαλοφροσύνης no article? Perhaps μεγαλοφροσύνη, θεοῦ depending on ἐγγὺς.

38. 1 Should μέχρι ποῦ be μέχρι τοῦ?

ib. 4. ἐρεῖς γοι *will ask*, a late use.

39. 1 ἡ διὰ τῶν λόγων αὐτῇ ποία σύνθεσις ought I think to be ἡ διὰ τῶν λόγων αὐτῶν ποία σύνθεσις.

ib. 4. ἀλλ' αὐτῆς τῆς διανοίας οὐκ ἔλαττον τῇ ἀρμονίᾳ πεφώνηται.

Read ἐλάττον.

40. 1 σωματοποιούμενα δὲ τῇ κοινωνίᾳ καὶ ἔτι δεσμῷ τῆς ἀρμονίας περικλειόμενα.

Probably τῇ ἀρμονίᾳ, and for ἔτι δεσμῷ possibly ἐπιδέσμῳ. Cf. 41. 3 ἐπισυνδεδεμένα.

ib. 2 δ' ὅμως should perhaps be δέοντως. Cf. οὐ δέοντως in 42. 1.

41. 2 ὥσπερ τὰ ψῆδρια τοὺς ἀκροατὰς ἀπὸ τοῦ πράγματος ἀφέλκει καὶ ἐφ' αὐτὰ βιάζεται.

Does the writer mean to affirm this of all ψῆδρια, or has some specific qualifying epithet been lost?

43. 1 ἰδιωτικὸν <ὄν>.

ib. 2 οὐ πολλὰ μὲν καὶ πολυτελεῖς στρώματα καὶ χλανίδες, τὰ μὲν ἀλουργῇ, τὰ δὲ ποικιλτά, τὰ δὲ λευκά, πολλὰ δὲ σκηνά, κ.τ.λ.

Can the neuter be justified? or is some word, e.g. ἱμάτια, missing?

ib. 4 τῶν ἄπερ διαφέρει.

τῶν ὅσαπερ would be the regular expression and ought probably to be restored. Cf. 9. 8 τὰ ὅσα : 16. 1 : and this chapter § 5 τῶν ὅσα.

ib. εἰπερ πάντως ἐβούλετο αὐτάρκη οὕτως θείναι.

The question is of a man putting something in rather homely detail instead of wrapping it up in a vague dignified expression. αὐτάρκη is inappropriate. Perhaps the conjecture αὐτὰ ῥήτως (or ῥήτως οὕτως) θείναι may be hazarded. ῥήτως is explicitly, in so many words.

44. 2 θρέψαι τε γάρ φασιν ἱκανὴ τὰ φρονήματα τῶν μεγαλοφρόνων ἢ ἐλευθερία καὶ ἐπελπίσαι καὶ ἅμα διελθεῖν τὸ πρόθυμον τῆς πρὸς ἀλλήλους ξιδοῦ καὶ... φιλοτιμίας.

ἐπελπίσαι may be right (in the sense of *encouraging*), but I rather suspect it should be ἐπαλείψαι. By a metaphor from the anointing of athletes, ἀλείφω and ἐπαλείφω are used in this sense and seem to me slightly more proper here. διελθεῖν is obviously wrong. It has been altered by various scholars, but not convincingly. διαθεῖν occurs to me, αἰθω being *inflame* metaphorically as well as literally, but I do not mention it with any confidence.

ib. 3. τοῖς αὐτῆς ἔθεσι.

αὐτῆς would be wrongly placed. Read ταύτης.

In the same § read probably ἄγεστοι <τοῦ> καλλίστου, though the article is not absolutely necessary.

ib. 5. οἱ Πυγμαῖοι, καλούμενοι δὲ νᾶνοι.

Sense seems to require οἱ Πυγμαῖοι καλούμενοι δὴ (or δὴ καλούμενοι) νᾶνοι. νᾶνοι is the more generic and ordinary name, Πυγμαῖοι the special one by which these particular νᾶνοι are called. δὴ is often added to καλούμενος, λεγόμενος, etc.

ib. 8. τοιούτων ἐν κύκλῳ should I think be τοιούτῳ μὲν κύκλῳ.

ib. 9. ἐλευθρόν τινα κριτὴν τῶν μεγάλων ἢ διηκόντων πρὸς τὸν αἰῶνα.

Perhaps διηξόντων, 'things that will endure.' But he may mean old things, that have already endured, or generically great things that do endure. ἡ seems odd and probably ought to be καί : cf. on 10. 3.

ib. 11. ὅλως δὲ δαπανῶν ἔφην εἶναι τῶν νῦν γενομένων φύσεων τὴν ῥαθυμίαν.

For δαπανῶν read rather δαπάνην, literally a *destruction*, *consumption*, than δάπανον. This sense is established in the verb.

H. RICHARDS.

INTERROGATIVE COMMANDS.

A new theory of οὐ μή (prohibitive) in the light of Latin quin with moods of command.

THE following suggestion is based upon a consideration of the constructions, common to Greek and Latin, in which an expression of command or desire appears in an interrogative sentence. These constructions have been generally held by grammarians to need some sort of apology, as being irrational; but to the Greek and Roman mind, at any rate, they presented no difficulty, as is shown by their wide distribution. And it really does not make much difference from the present point of view, whether we rationalize them on the principle of Professor Elmer (by postulating a meaning of 'ought' or 'should' for the moods in question) or regard the expressions of command as intrusive and due to analogical extension.

Current theories of the οὐ μή constructions have hitherto failed to explain certain points which imperatively call for explanation.

1. On Elmsley's interrogative theory, why does the future indicative take μή, not οὐ?

2. On Professor Goodwin's theory—

(a) What is the relation of οὐ μή with a single aorist subjunctive or future indicative to double-barrelled sentences like Eur. Hipp. 606 οὐ μή προσοίσεις χεῖρα μηδ' ἄψῃ (ἄψει) πέπλων; The number of instances of these double-barrelled sentences is large, and it is impossible to refuse them weight in any discussion of origins. In regard to the particular example just quoted, and the similar examples in Ar. Ran. 298, Eur. Bacch. 343, &c., Prof. Goodwin (M.T. § 298) recognizes that the οὐ goes with the μηδέ;

in his own words the 'μῆδέ continues the 'original prohibition.' And I think Sir Richard Jebb is undoubtedly right in saying that the same treatment must be applied to Soph. Ajax 75 οὐ σὺ γὰρ ἀνέξῃ (ἀνέξει) μῆδέ δαίλιαν ἀρῇ (ἀρεῖ); and also to sentences like Soph. O.T. 637 f., where we have καὶ μὴ instead of μῆδέ. See his appendix to the Ajax, edition of 1896, p. 213 ff.

(δ) What analogies can be quoted for οὐ (in a statement) meaning 'it is not the fact that'? For this is what Prof. Goodwin's theory involves; see his note on p. 394 of the Appendix to M.T., where he defends οὐ μὴ λάβωσί σε as the negative of μὴ λάβωσί σε in the sense of 'I suspect they will seize you.' At that rate οὐ μὴ λάβωσί σε = 'it is not the case that I suspect they will seize you.' This is a hard saying. In a question the prefixing of a negative involves no difficulty (τοῦτ' ἀληθές ἐστιν becoming οὐ τοῦτ' ἀληθές ἐστιν; 'is not this true?'); but when a statement is negated the negative is put before the predicate (τοῦτ' οὐκ ἀληθές ἐστιν or τοῦτ' οὐκ ἐστὶν ἀληθές). Prof. Goodwin's distinction between negating the verb and negating the sentence 'absolutely' is no doubt a possible one in logic, but it is one which does not make itself felt in speech; cf. such instances as Eur. Tro. 982 μὴ οὐ πείσῃς σοφούς and Plato Crat. 436b ἀλλὰ μὴ οὐχ οὕτως ἔχῃ, ὃ Σώκρατες, Apol. 39a, Meno 94e μὴ οὐχ ἢ διδάκτον ἀρετή.

The following tentative explanation differs from Professor Jebb's and all previous theories based on Elmsley's in offering a solution of the first ἀπορία mentioned above, viz. why the second negative in these expressions should be μὴ and not οὐ.

(A). Greek is quite capable of putting an expression of command into a relative (quasi-interrogative) clause: οἷσθ' οὖν ὃ δρᾶσον; scin quid tibi faciendum sit! οἷσθ' ὡς ποιήσον; οἷσθα νῦν ἃ μοι γενέσθω; etc. And, what is more, the imperative may be used in a simple interrogative sentence: τετάχθω ἡμῖν κατὰ δημοκρατίαν ὁ τοιοῦτος ἀνὴρ, ὡς δημοκρατικός ᾖν; Τετάχθω, ἔφη (Plato Rep. 561e; cf. Politicus 295e). This 'interrogative imperative' I have compared in my Greek Grammar (§ 521, Obs.) with such English sentences as 'Have a glass of wine?' and I know of no reason why the 'have' should not be regarded as an imperative. The principle is fundamentally the same in every 'deliberative' question with the subjunctive, whether in Greek or Latin¹: εἴπωμεν ἢ σιγῶμεν;

¹ It is true that the negative in Latin is *non*, in Greek *μή*. But this does not concern us here. For

eloquar an sileam? (Verg. Aen. III. 39), τί φῶ; *quid dicam?*

(B). Latin sometimes puts an imperative or a subjunctive of command or desire after *quid*, which of course properly signifies 'why not?' and I see no reason why such sentences should not be punctuated with a note of interrogation—certainly those with the subjunctive and probably also those with the imperative, as in the analogous English equivalent 'why not attack?', 'why not go?' etc. A similar expression exists, I believe, in French and German, e.g. 'warum nicht angreifen?'—in which the infinitive seems analogous to the infinitive of command 'commonly found in military usage, e.g. 'angreifen!' 'anlegen!' etc. It may be worth while to add that the Latin interrogative command (*quid* with the imperative) is not peculiar to comedy, as grammarians have hitherto asserted or implied.² The reason, no doubt, why they have failed to see the identity of the half dozen Vergilian instances with those

the subjunctives in *loquamur an non loquamur?* are both expressions of desire, as in the Greek εἴπωμεν ἢ μὴ εἴπωμεν. The difference in the negative only shows that in Latin the subjunctive had developed somewhat in the direction of a statement, as distinct from a command, so that *loquamur* might mean 'we ought to speak,' as distinct from 'let us speak,' and *non loquamur?* 'ought we not to speak?' To suppose that we have here to do with two distinct kinds of subjunctive seems to me an exaggeration. But Prof. Elmer's treatment of this point aids in the logical analysis of these 'deliberative' questions, whether in Latin or Greek; for in Greek, too, the only way to rationalize *μή εἴπωμεν* is to say that it means *nonne nobis loquendum est?* and the same treatment must be meted out to the interrogative imperative, Greek and Latin. I am glad of an opportunity of associating myself with the Editor of this Review (vol. xiii. p. 414 and p. 68, and vol. xv. p. 451) in a protest against the misleading term 'deliberative,' and the still more misleading 'dubitative,' as applied to these questions; I have found it a bar to understanding, because it leads to the inference that these questions must be addressed to the speaker himself; whereas, of course, they may be equally well addressed to another; and they may be questions expecting an answer just as well as rhetorical questions expecting no answer. Cf. Ter. Phorm. 540 GE. *Quid faciam?* AN. *Inventas argentum.* GE. *Cupio; sed id unde, dācō.* The so-called deliberative question is simply a question as to what is or was to be done, as Madvig taught us long ago.

² Dräger, for instance, in his *Historische Syntax* (I. 2, p. 327), after quoting the comedians (and, it is true, Cic. Mil. 29, 79) says 'scheint später nicht mehr vorzukommen' (!)—a statement which is the more inexplicable as he calls the *quid* a 'Steigerung' (i.e. strengthening) of the imperative; cf. his quotation of *quid redcamus* Ter. Eun. 811 among instances of hortative subjunctives in statements (p. 311).—Lewis and Short are mistaken in saying that the subjunctive with interrogative *quid* is found only in oratio obliqua, as the following table will show.

in Plautus and Terence is that they have been blinded by the translation of *quin* as 'nay more,' which, however convenient and necessary in some instances as a translation, is no analysis of the construction.¹

In the following table I have attempted to classify typical instances, and to show their relation to one another. They come from Plautus or Terence except where otherwise stated. Of the *Subjunctive* with *quin* in a simple sentence I have quoted all the instances that I know; it is strange that this construction should be so rare. *Quin* with the Imperative and Indicative are common enough in Plautus and Terence, and I have quoted only a few typical instances.

FIRST PERSON (side by side with *quin redimus*? Men. 247f, *quin abeo*? Phorm. 209, etc.):—*quin redeamus*? Eun. 811, *quin rogem*? Mil. 426, *quin feram*? Most. 614,¹ *quin ita faciam*? Capt. 856.² Doubtful instances are Poen. 1249 (*A quid*), Bacch. 1049 (MSS. *quid*).

SECOND PERSON (side by side with *quin is*? Most. 815, *quin dicis*? Men. 639, *quin tu taces*? Men. 561, *quin tu rogas*? Asin. 30, *quin curas*? Cas. 101, *quin respicis*? Men. 747, etc.):—

1. *Subjunctive*: *quin potius constituas*? Lucr. I 798, *quin tu aspicias*? Cic. de Rep. VI. 14 (MSS.; but Halm and Merguet read *aspicias*). Doubtful instance: Epid. 455 (*A proin*).

2. *Imperative*³: *quin tu i?* Cas. 755, *quin ite*? Poen. 511, *quin dic?* Andr. 45, *quin loquere*? Rud. 946, *quin tu tace*? Men. 416, *quin tu roga*? Merc. 185, *quin cura*? Mil.

¹ *Quin* in statements is simply a development of the interrogative *quin*: 'why not?' has passed into a meaning which may well be translated 'why' (not interrogative), which is equivalent sometimes to 'nay on the contrary,' sometimes to 'nay more.' The locus classicus for this usage is Plaut. Cas. 602-609, cf. Aul. 300, 302, 312; and the passage to the affirmative sense is well shown by such instances as Cas. 285 *CH. quin emititis me manus?* LF. *quin id volo* ('why that is just what I want!'); in Merc. 764 *quin nego* may be taken either as a question with the deliberative present indicative ('why should I not deny it?') or as a statement ('nay on the contrary I deny it'): cf. *ibid.* 461, Capt. 589, 990. Note Merc. 322 *quin* (MSS. *qui*) *non obiurgo*, which is a negative statement.

² In these instances the verb has generally been regarded as future indicative (without note of interrogation), but I prefer the interrogative subjunctive in both passages.

³ I do not insist on the note of interrogation after these instances, though I think it suits the context in some at least of them. Still I have already admitted that *quin* loses touch with its interrogative origin in some sentences (see note ¹, *supra*, and it may do so to some extent here also.

951, *quin aspice*? Most. 172⁴: *quin sic attendite, iudices*? Cicero Mil. 29, 79, *quin tu hoc crimen aut obice aut iacere noli*? Cic. Rosc. Com. 9, 25. New instances from Vergil: *quin age*? Ecl. 3, 52, Georg. IV. 329, *quin agite et...exurite*? Aen. V. 635, (*quin velare* Aen. III. 405?), *quin morere ut merita es ferroque averte dolorem*? Aen. IV. 547, *quin Decios...aspice*? Aen. VI. 824.

THIRD PERSON: *quin perlegerent* Aen. VI. 33, lit. 'why should they not have scanned?' is equivalent in sense to 'nay more they would have scanned.' Doubtful instances in Plautus: *quin abeat* Mil. 1125f, *quin mittat* Truc. 230 (perhaps interrogative). For instances in oratio obliqua see Lewis and Short.

(C). In the light of the above facts I imagine there can be no a priori objection to regarding a form of speech like οὐ μὴ σκώψῃς as an *interrogative prohibition* or a *question containing a prohibition*. The natural translation would then be 'why not abstain from jeering?' 'why not cease jeering?' This translation is almost a literal one if we may for the moment regard the 'abstain' or 'cease' as an imperative and 'why not' as a rough equivalent for an interrogative οὐ (=nonne). In Latin *quin noli illudere* is still more like the Greek. My view of the construction is perhaps confirmed by the fact that in one instance (Ar. Nub. 296) we actually find an imperative thrown in after a pair of such interrogative prohibitions: οὐ μὴ σκώψῃς (MSS.) μηδὲ ποιήσῃς ἄπειρ οἱ τρυνοδαίμονες οἷτοι, ἀλλ' εὐφήμει; very much as we might have, in Latin, *quin noli illudere sed fave lingua*? I need hardly say that I do not claim οὐκ εὐφήμει standing by itself, as an actual form of interrogative speech in Greek. But I think the ἀλλά shows that the imperative is part of the sentence introduced by οὐ, as Prof. Goodwin himself says (§ 298); the sentence, in fact, is one of the double-barrelled or triple-barrelled kind, like the others with ἀλλά (Ar. Ran. 202, 462, Nub. 505, etc.); and the ἀλλ' εὐφήμει comes in at the end very much as *ac suspende te*? does in the sentence beginning *quin quiescis* (or *quiesce*) Plaut. Capt. 636.

Apart from Latin analogies my theory that οὐ μὴ σκώψῃς, οὐ μὴ ληρήσῃς (MSS. Nub. 367), etc., are *questions* appears to me

⁴ In my note on this passage I wrongly followed previous grammarians in calling the construction 'peculiar to comedy.'—Among the numerous other instances of *quin* with the imperative in Plautus and Terence there are some in which the phrase is combined with *quin* and the indic., e.g. Capt. 636, Most. 815, Asin. 254 (according to the MSS.).

to justify itself. It regards οὐ μὴ σκώψῃς as simply the ordinary prohibition (μὴ σκώψῃς) thrown into interrogative form by the help of the negative οὐ (= *nonne*), very much as in English we may turn 'cease jeering' into 'why not cease jeering?' A certain tone of expostulation is thus given to the command. It only requires a little familiarity with this way of regarding the Greek to make it felt as a perfectly natural form of speech—just as natural as οὐ σῖγ' ἀνέξῃ; 'will you not keep silence?' as a way of expressing a *positive* command ('keep silence'). I may add that my theory fits in very well with the fact that the MSS. frequently punctuate after the οὐ (οὐ· μὴ σκώψῃς), which may show a feeling for the unity of the phrase μὴ σκώψῃς and its dependence on the οὐ. It is true that I am unable to quote any Latin or English parallel with a negative in it corresponding to the μὴ: *quin ne dixeris, quin ne dicas, quin ne dic* are, so far as I know, not found in Latin any more than 'why not not say?' is a familiar form of speech in English. But the reason may perhaps be simply this, that while Greek had its μὴ distinct in form from οὐ, Latin had formed its *quin* with a negative suffix (-*nē*) which was more similar in sound to the prohibitive negative *nē*; thus *quin ne* would be nearly as awkward in sound as the English 'why not not.' So Cicero had recourse to *quin noli* with the infin. when he needed a prohibition (Rosc. Com. 9, 25).

But, I shall be asked, how about the instances with the future indicative, like Eur. Bacch. 343 οὐ μὴ προσοίσεις χεῖρα βακχεύσεις δ' ἰὼν, μηδ' ἐξομώξῃ μωρίαν τὴν σὴν ἐμοί; It would be easy and justifiable to appeal to the principle of analogy: but I doubt whether it is necessary here. For there is such a thing in Greek as a future of command which may be negated by μὴ: see examples in Goodwin, M.T. § 70: μὴ βουλῆσθε εἰδέναι, 'do not wish to know' occurs in Demosthenes, following another future of positive command, ταῦτ' ἐν φυλάξετε τὴν πίστιν: so too in Lysias τοῦτο φανερόν ποιήσετε καὶ μηδεμίαν ἀδειαν δώσετε: cf. the 'deliberative' future indicative with μὴ in M.T. § 292 (πῶς μήτε ψεύσονται). Here the future denotes 'shall' as distinct from 'will.' In other cases Greek employs a future with οὐ to express a prohibition, and this future seems rather to denote 'will': χεῖρ' δ' οὐ ψάσεις ποτέ Eur. Med. 1320. So too in English 'you will not do this,' and 'you shall not do this,' are both possible equivalents for 'don't do this.' It appears,

then, that οὐ μὴ προσοίσεις χεῖρα; may be treated on precisely the same lines as οὐ μὴ σκώψῃς; However, if anyone prefers an appeal to analogy in this case, there is nothing to bar the way. I will not labour this point; for the workings of analogy are manifold. I will confine myself to saying that inasmuch as οὐκ ἀπαλλάξῃ δόμων; with the future indicative and οὐ μὴ ἀπαλλάξῃ (or ἀπαλλαγῇς) δόμων; with the aorist subjunctive are both possible forms of speech to express a command and a prohibition respectively, they would inevitably be confused. Take, for instance, a sentence in which these two constructions stand side by side, as they well might, and let us put after οὐκ ἀπαλλάξῃ (future indicative) δόμων; the sentence καὶ μὴ πρὸς αὐλείοισιν ἐστηκὼς πύλαις ὄχλον παράσχῃς δεσπότηαι; It is obvious that the aorist subjunctive might be easily assimilated to the future indicative which precedes, and we should get the sentence as it actually stands in Eur. Hel. 437, with παρέξεις for παράσχῃς. It is possible that both analogy and the future of command may have contributed to develop this construction.

E. A. SONNENSCHNEIN.

P.S.—The late Mr. E. R. Wharton (*C.R.* vol. x. 1896, p. 239) regards the μὴ γένηται (or γενήσεται) in οὐ μὴ γένηται (or γενήσεται) as interrogative; but he does not take the μὴ to be the prohibitive 'not.' His translation is 'Shall it be? No,' and his theory, therefore, has little in common with mine. His μὴ is equivalent to *num.* My οὐ is equivalent to *nonne*. It is my hope that both Mr. Whitelaw and Mr. C. D. Chambers, who wrote in volumes x. and xi. of the *C.R.* on this subject, may find something to approve of in my article. Mr. Whitelaw also takes the οὐ as = *nonne* and, like Professor Jebb, insists on the importance of the sentences of the double-barrelled type; the difference between his theory and mine is well shown by his statement (vol. x. p. 240) 'If we admit the MS. evidence in Ar. Nub. 296 and 367, there is no more to say; the *interrogative theory breaks down*.' (The italics are mine.) Mr. Whitelaw may, however, be inclined to reconsider this; he himself makes no attempt to explain why the second negative should be μὴ, not οὐ. Mr. Chambers (*C.R.* vol. x. p. 150 f. and vol. xi. p. 109 f.) does not profess to advance any

new theory of his own; his careful and scholarly examination of instances, especially in connexion with the MS. evidence, is in the

main of the nature of negative criticism, directed against Prof. Goodwin's theory.

E. A. S.

ON LUCRETII V, 1442.

Iam mare velivolis florebat † propter odores†

ALL Lucretian scholars now regard the last two words as corrupt, and Mr. Housman (*Journal of Philology*, 25, 243) is probably right in tracing them to 2,417 'araque Panchaeos exhalat propter odores.' If this opinion be correct, no emendation based on resemblance to these words is entitled to consideration unless supported by other and weightier arguments. The old vulgate *navibus*, which goes back to Marullus, has been revived by Brieger and Giussani, and is well supported by the usage of Ennius. I would go farther and would write *navibu' ventis*, comparing Ennius, Ann. 380 V. 'hostes accedere ventis | navibus velivolis;' Cato, Orat. 1, 8, J. 'omnem classem ventus auster lenis fert, mare velis florere videres.'

The accumulation of ablatives is Lucretian, as Munro has shown on 1, 183. Furthermore, *navibus* may be defended by C.L.L., 9, 60, 2, 'navibus velivolis magnum mare saepe cucurri;' and Enn. Tr. 74 R., 'rapit ex alto naves velivolae,' and 52, 'velivolantibus navibus.' I cannot believe that Servius' *navibu' pontus* is right; possibly *altum* is the missing word, which could be supported from Ennius, and which Lucretius may have used instead of his frequent epithet *magnum*, an epithet that would be out of place here. Servius, quoting from memory then, wrote *pontus* for *altum*. Cf. Lucr. 3, 1030 'ire per altum.'

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N. HEINSIUS AND THE COLOGNE MS. OF SILIUS.

FOR our knowledge of the now lost Cologne MS. of Silius we are almost entirely dependent on the information given us by Modius and Heinsius. The latter possessed a collation of it in a copy of the Gryphian edition (probably that of 1547).¹ This he copied into an ed. Colinaei, which, with another edition, containing his explanatory notes, passed into the hands of Drakenborch. The latter in his edition carefully distinguished by the addition of the author's name the notes of Heinsius from those of others and himself.

It is of high importance to the student of Silius to know whether this collation was a good one. Heinsius, on rather slight grounds, believed it had been made by Carrio: even if it was, we do not know under what circumstances, and so with what degree of accuracy. As however it is certain that Modius in his *Novantiquae Lectiones* emended almost always by the aid of this Cologne MS., the natural way of

testing the collation would be to see whether the collator had observed the variations from the Gryphian text offered by C in the passages handled by Modius.

Here however we at once meet with a difficulty. Gryphian and ed. Colinaei alike are lost; our only knowledge of this collation must be gleaned from Heinsius' notes in Drakenborch. At 1. 431 Modius altered *missus* of the vulgate to *Temisus*. Heinsius' note runs: 'scribo *Temisus* cum Modii membranis.' At 613 of the same book Modius corrected *comae* to *togae*. Heinsius says '*togae* Mod. ex Col.' It is needless to add examples; these two are typical instances. At such passages, *unless the collation was very imperfect*, Heinsius must have found C's reading recorded in the Gryphian, and duly transferred it to his ed. Colinaei. But Drakenborch gives the note such a form that we cannot tell whether Heinsius is not simply taking Modius' word for the reading.²

¹ Blass, *Die Textquellen des Sil. Ital.* pp. 206, 207.

² Exceptional cases occur, where Heinsius says 'in Coloniensi legitur, etiam Modio teste' or the like (14. 422) or even says expressly that his collation differs from Mod. here (so 8. 671).

Blass complained of this,¹ though he does not seem to have seen the importance of the matter, and he missed some very instructive passages in this connexion. At l. 177 Heinsius says 'Mod. ad Liu. xxi. reposuit ex *C feruida*, τῷ *neruis* relicto, ut in Agrippinis membranis sic quoque uideatur fuisse, nec displicet.' Here he is actually inferring *ex silentio* from Modius, when he had beside him a collation of the MS. There is no doubt Heinsius, or Heinsius as edited by Drakenborch, was sometimes quite content to follow Modius' account of C and let his own collation go. This is shewn by some passages where his note shews misunderstanding of Modius' words. Thus at 9. 240 Heinsius says '*mobilis agger ex Col. Modius*,' but Modius says '*ita membranae, nisi quod mobilis ex molibus feci*.'² At 1.340 Modius had said '*reponendum, cum libri ueteres habeant omnis pro omneis* (which his vulgate, the Basle edition, has), *pudet omnis*.' I have no doubt at all he meant C by his *libri ueteres*, and as an actual fact *omnis* is the reading of the best MSS. Heinsius' note however runs '*pudet omnis cum Modio et Colon*,' evidently mistaking Modius' conjecture for a reading of C. Another example of the desperate state of these Heinsian notes is ll. 214. Here Modius corrected to *rapite*, *ite* in 211 and *pateatne* in 215. Yet Heinsius says '*rapite ite cum Modio ex scriptis* . . . *deinde scribendum pateatne, &c.*, *quamquam aliter scripti*.' The last words shew that he has mistaken Modius' correction in 215 (doubtless based on C) for a conjecture of his own!

Blass³ has shewn that when Heinsius' note says a given reading is in *scripti*, we cannot assume that he knew it was in C. He points out, among other considerations, that sometimes Heinsius says '*scripti* so and so,' and later on gives us another reading, as that of C. He even finds passages where none of the 3 MSS. known to Heinsius have the reading assigned to *scripti*! These points are mentioned by Blass in a footnote, and I cannot but think that if they had been brought into greater prominence, Heinsius' testimony to C would have been less valued by scholars. As an actual fact,

his testimony to the Oxford MS. is not at all reliable. Whether he was to blame for this is another matter: the collation he used was not his own make; but then, neither was his collation of C. And, to tell the truth, his evidence as regards the readings of the old editions is not to be depended on. Drakenborch noted this. He only secured copies of the first Roman and the first Venice editions when his own edition had advanced some way in the press.⁴ But from Bk. 7 onwards he begins to cite R¹ independently of Heinsius, and it is not long before their voices clash. At 7. 416 Heinsius says '*perculsa scripti et Rom. ed.*' Drakenborch's note follows with '*Romana princeps et quidquid praeter Romanam quam N. Heinsius consuluit ueterum editionum uidi stant pro vulgata lectione*' (i.e. *perculsa*). At 8. 233 Heinsius says R has *aequantem*, Drak. notes '*R. princeps aequam te*.' And so every now and then afterwards. Most of the divergencies are slight, but then so are the points for which Heinsius cites C: Modius had reaped the best corn before him. It is just possible that, as Drak. hints above, Heinsius used a Roman edition later than the *princeps*. That Drakenborch is always right as regards R¹, I can positively affirm, and I can also state that Heinsius did not know R². But there seems to have been a Roman edition of slightly later date than these, and it is possible that the key to the matter is here.

I do not however believe so. Exactly the same phenomenon occurs with regard to the editions of Marsus. Here Drakenborch's notes of discord begin at 9. 50. Heins. says '*ed. Marsi armis*': Drak. notes '*omnes quas ego quidem uidi (uidi autem tres) Marsi edd. habent in aruis*.' He has similar notes at 199, 377 of this same book and elsewhere. And it so happens that in preparing my critical edition of Silius I found certain readings ascribed by Heinsius to Marsus,⁵ which I proposed to mention in my apparatus. The Rylands Library at Manchester, which has put at my disposal a greater number of the old editions of Silius than any other one editor has used, happens to have no copy of Marsus, but I had three of his editions consulted⁶ in reference to these

¹ l.c. p. 203.

² Blass, strangely enough, cites this passage (note 37) to shew that Drakenborch, whilst professing to give Modius' note from *Novantiquae Lectiones*, edits it and edits it wrongly. This is true, but he omits to notice that Heinsius' note contains the same mistake. This rather suggests that Drakenborch is really responsible for both; however, Barth has made the same mistake, *Adversaria* 1. 20.

³ l.c. note 38.

⁴ See his ed., preface p. 8.

⁵ Or '*Ven. vetusta*,' which means the same.

⁶ The Venice editions of 1483 and 1492, the Paris one of 1512. My thanks are due in this matter to Dr. J. P. Postgate and the Rev. Dr. Sinker of Trinity College. There is a Venice ed. of 1493, which I have not seen, but various circumstances make me confident its readings will not make any difference in the matter.

readings, and am in a position to state that neither in text or note are they to be found there. The readings are: 4. 7 *aures*, 10. 67 *furit*, 588 *in strage*, 601 *nostro*, 11. 31 *iam tum*, 58 *Pacuvio*, 163 *magnum in magnis positum*, 561 *quin*, 13. 189 *fortunae*, 466 *Clausi*, 722 *aequatum*, 14. 635 *macie*. Three of these I find first mentioned by Dausqueius as his own conjectures, and though Dausqueius says nothing at 11. 58, he makes the correction at 313 and refers to this passage. The other readings I cannot find mentioned by anyone before Heinsius: it is to be noted that he approves of them all¹ with the solitary exception of 11. 31 where he has a conjecture of his own. It is possible however that *iam tum* was his earlier conjecture. Anyhow, I feel sure that, in some way or other, these readings had got into the margin of Heinsius' ed. Colinaei, no doubt originally distinguished as his own conjecture or that of Dausqueius.² Afterwards, some mistake was made: perhaps Heinsius put *v* (vel) before his conjectures and this was taken to mean Veneta, but it is not of much use to try to guess how the confusion arose. We have seen above that Heinsius could mistake a correction of Modius from C for a conjecture of his own.³ The whole matter shews on how weak a foundation Heinsius' testimony to C's readings stands. When I say Heinsius' testimony, I do not wish to absolve Drakenborch and his printers from a share of the blame. No doubt Heinsius' own notes were not always clear, as Drakenborch's remarks on 13. 612 shew. Still, it is ridiculous to find Heinsius contradicting himself in the same note, as at 1. 642. Here he says at the outset C had *exycit* and proposes *exigit*. He quotes passages to support this, among them one from Silius, where, says he, 'Col. *denuo exiit*.' *Denuo* implies that he had said C read *exiit* here, and that the printers put *exycit*. How perplexing too is the situation at 8. 351. Here two readings are possible: *diuersa turbati* or *diuersi turbata*. Barth argues for the former, Heinsius gives the latter and says 'confirmat Col.' Yet the closing

¹ In 11. 163 the reading as given is unmetrical, but Heinsius gives a conjecture which adopts both the *magnum* and the *positum*, and no ed. before him does this.

² The ed. Colinaei *did* contain conjectures in addition to the collation copied from the Gryphian: Drakenborch's Preface, p. 6.

³ Blass also believes he has given us some of Livineius' conjectures as if they were readings of C (l.c. p. 210). But I doubt the instances he gives. In 7. 497 where he assumes *furorem* was really not in C, but came from Livineius, it is worth noting that the Parma ed. gave this reading long before.

words of his note seem to me to suggest that he meant to give the same as Barth, and Drakenborch anyhow implies that Barth and Heinsius were agreed and it is Barth's reading that he interprets. That C did have what Heinsius is made to say it had is not likely; S at any rate have the other reading. I believe the evidence of Heinsius was correct enough, but the printers falsified it.

Whilst handling this subject, I may as well state my position as regards the famous passage concerning Anna Perenna in the 8th book, which is not in any extant MS. Its genuineness is well proved by Heitland, *Journal of Philology*, 1896. But I cannot agree with him that we have no ground for doubting it was in C. The mere fact that we have no reading of C cited in reference to these lines may be explained by his theory, that they were got by fresh reference to the St. Gall MS., in which case they would be carefully copied, so that 'no variant sufficient to attract the attention of a sixteenth century collator presented itself in the text of C as compared with a careful copy of S.' But I must point out that this collator was comparing C with the Gryphian text, which contained some considerable divergencies from the text of these lines as given first by Constantius; and Heitland's hypothesis is that Constantius got them from S. Thus we have such variants as 172 *noscis, nescis*; 204 *Lutis, Latii*; 223 *ubi, qua*. Heitland himself sees that his theory is a little difficult to maintain with regard to a much more important variant, after l. 157, where Constantius gave a line which all add. including Gryphius omitted. If, as he assumes, the line was in S, it must also have been in C—the add. and C had no connexion, and could hardly have hit upon the same error of omission. How then is it that the collator did not record the line, which C had, but the Gryphian had not? Of course he may have overlooked it, as Heitland hints, but as an actual fact the collator was wide awake here. No sooner does the mysterious passage end than he reappears, and tells us that the line *haec ut Roma cadat &c.*, given first by Constantius and in connexion with these new lines, was not in C.

My own view, gathered from a careful study of the notes in Drakenborch's edition, is that C had not the lines. Heinsius says they were not in the *vetusta exemplaria*: his whole note shews that he assumed they were not in C. Now I do not believe he simply inferred this from the collator's silence, for (1) he was not in the habit of inferring any-

thing from this,¹ and (2) he knew the importance of the matter and would in that case have told us how matters stood. Compare his first note, *re* the title of the poem: *quam operis huius inscriptionem membr. Colonienses prae se tulerint haud scio*. I believe then that he found a definite statement in his Gryphian to the effect that C had not the lines, but that Drakenborch as usual jumbled all the MS. information together. That he *has* abridged Heinsius' note

¹ See Blass, l.c. p. 210.

I feel certain: that scholar would not have contented himself with a simple *an Sili sint multum ambigo*. It is even possible that the note on the line *haec ut Roma cadat* &c., referred to above is the mangled remnant of a note on the whole passage. But that is pure conjecture, as indeed the whole question is one of more or less probability. But I think the balance favours the absence of the lines from C.

WALTER C. SUMMERS.

THE LATIN PROHIBITIVE, AND PROF. ELMER.

NOTHING could have induced me to add to the woes of a philological public, long since weary of this discussion, had not Prof. Elmer employed such unusual methods in his reply. Because of these and the peculiar position I seem to hold among his critics, I see myself compelled to preface my answer with a frank personal statement. Three times, at least, within the past year, Prof. Elmer has charged me with either not reading all of his original article or certainly not weighing or reading every statement with scrupulous care. He has also been kind enough to suggest that a previous study of the grammars would have saved me from what he regards as serious mistakes. Here, I regret to say, Prof. Elmer and the facts are strangers. I have read *The Latin Prohibitive* more than twenty times, spending at times weeks, even months on a single sentence or principle. I have read nearly every author from Plautus to Livy (not to mention my special field of Silver Latin), with reference to the prohibitive, in most cases, from two to eight times. I have thus been able to include in my collections all examples cited by Prof. Elmer, and also to make substantial additions of interest and importance to his lists. The addenda, errata, etc., in my possession would easily make an article nearly as long as his original paper. On several points (invariably the ones which I am accused of ignoring or not weighing with sufficient care), not content with special reading and the consultation of all syntactical works accessible, I have carried on an extended correspondence with the most prominent grammarians in this country, and views that I have held have had the support of their opinions. While I doubtless deserve the severest censure for the time I have wasted, Prof.

Elmer, instead of subjecting me to reproach, should hail me as his most devoted student.

Now a word as regards Elmer's own procedure. It is certainly not too much to expect that an author should be perfectly familiar with his own work before criticising others for their ignorance of it. Either Elmer is sadly ignorant or forgetful of what he has written (as I shall show from his own pages), or more than once in his present paper he deliberately misstates. I sincerely hope the former to be the case; but a critic as merciless as the Cornell scholar, and so fond of making strong and sweeping statements, should be sparing in the use of his picturesque and vigorous vocabulary until absolutely certain that his own work is flawless.

Let us turn to Elmer's reply. In my paper (*C.R.* xv. 157-159), I cited fourteen examples which I regarded as prohibitions, and which had not been given in *The Latin Prohibitive*. Of these Prof. Elmer says: 'As a matter of fact all but one of them were intentionally omitted by me . . . The only one of the fourteen instances that should have been included in my list is *Haut*. 292 (I am quoting from Elmer's corrected proofs, so am certainly not misrepresenting him), and this instance, as will be seen below,' etc. Now, in the final list of presents given in a footnote below, *Haut*. 292 does not occur, is not cited in any part of his reply, and is moreover *obsecro ne conicias*—an instance of a class which Prof. Elmer does not regard, so he says, as prohibitive, and which he censures me to the extent of forty-three lines (practically a verbatim reproduction of *A.J.P.* xxii. 82-83), for using, ignoring his treatment in 'inexcusably careless fashion'! This is an excellent beginning for a critic who is

nothing unless careful and accurate. Does not Prof. Elmer know that his present final list of presents contains *two* passages, neither of them *Haut.* 292, which were given neither in his original article (145-6; 13-14), nor in his lists in his *Studies* (pp. 93, 94), and he obtained through my statement that he had omitted them, viz. *And.* 205 and *Haut.* 939? Supposing the latter was the instance he omitted 'unintentionally' (for he does refer to it below), the former must have been an intentional omission. If so, what right has it now to appear in the list? Is it any more of a prohibition in 1901 than in 1894 or 1898? Or has it stolen into the fold, thinking that I should not detect its presence? A single example, ordinarily, is of no great importance, but I emphasize this instance as showing that Prof. Elmer silently includes two out of three instances of *ne* with the present which I said he omitted, while giving his 'careless' critic credit for neither.

Seven of the 'alleged' omissions are of the *obsecro ne* type, or, to be exact, five are preceded by *obsecro* and two by *oro* and *obtestor*. I have discussed the whole question of this type at length elsewhere (*A.J.P.* xxii. 90-92). It is one on which I have spent much time, and whose settlement seems still far removed. I am more firmly convinced than ever that these seven instances have a much better claim to acceptance than some from Plautus and Cicero, which Elmer regarded as independent. I showed in that article the inconsistency between Elmer's theory and his practice, and Lebreton (*Études sur la Langue et la Grammaire de Cicéron*, pp. 293 *seq.*), has since shown far more convincingly the weakness of his treatment of the Ciceronian presents. It will be noted that in my discussion (p. 91), I referred to and quoted the two passages which Prof. Elmer now states I should have noted had I read his paper with due care.

Another class of 'alleged' omissions, four in number, consisted of dependent prohibitions introduced by *cave*, the subjunctives being in the first and third persons. Here Prof. Elmer seems to be in complete accord with the Idaho journalist who once told me that, whether I was right or wrong, my conduct was highly reprehensible. 'Evidently Professor Clement is in the habit of calling such an expression as *cave unquam audiam*, "take care that I never hear" (*Haut.* 1031), a prohibition. A little research will convince him that he is quite at variance with all Latin grammars.'

Indeed? For over fifteen years I have read the passage in Dräger (i. 326), clearly treated as a prohibition and translated as such. The same is the view of Gildersleeve-Lodge (§§ 271, 2, N. 1, 548, N. 3),¹ not to mention others. Is Elmer not familiar with these works, or does he not regard these three scholars as grammarians? A friend of mine said to his children the other evening, 'Don't let me hear any more noise from you,' an expression parallel to the one under discussion and a clear prohibition. His words of course meant '*Don't make any more noise.*' Elmer seems to have less objection to accepting the instances with the third person. He certainly is debarred from making objection, after he has himself admitted instances like *ne taceat nec neget*, Catull. 61, 126 (*A.J.P.* xv. 304), which he grants is prohibitive, and numerous instances in the *Studies*. The use of the third person with *cave* as a prohibition is accepted by the authorities already cited for the first person and also by Bennett (*Cornell Studies*, ix. pp. 56, 65), and Kühner (ii. p. 156, § 522), who cites a Ciceronian passage where the second and third persons occur side by side. It may be added that passages where *cave* is followed by *ne* should be treated in exactly the same way as those without *ne*.

But, says Prof. Elmer, admitting that the four instances are genuine prohibitions, they should not be considered because we have no instance cited of *cave audiverim*, and but one of *cave fecerit*! It is not a question, then, as to the difference between the tenses, but only whether the present tense has the non-emotional, commonplace force in the *first* and *third* persons which it is claimed it possesses in the *second*! Certainly the three persons should be alike, or they should be unlike. If the force of the present in the first and third persons is shown to be commonplace, it is strong proof that Prof. Elmer's contention regarding the second person is correct. If not, several interesting problems suggest themselves. If Prof. Elmer's view were pushed to the extreme, we could study *cave* with the present in only three authors after Terence, —Horace, Propertius, and Quintus Curtius, —because the perfect, even in the second person, has been cited as occurring only in these three.

Prof. Elmer is perfectly correct in saying that I drew wholly on my imagination (namely that he would not be guilty of an inadvertence), when I said that he cited all

¹ Prof. Lodge confirms this in a personal letter.

the instances of *cave* with the first and third persons in Plautus. As soon as I discovered my mistake, I did him full justice (*A. J. P.* xxii. 92). This he is careful not to state. I should not agree with him, however, in regarding seven instances as 'numerous.'

There remain the three instances with *ne*. Two of them, it has been already shown, Elmer silently accepts. The third, *Ad.* 942, *ne gravere*, though adopted by various editors and commentators from Donatus on, has no manuscript authority. While referring to various critical editions, I must in this instance have followed Dziatzko, who gives no variant. Herein I was in error. It will be seen, however, that this is the only one of my fourteen instances against which Prof. Elmer has brought forward a perfectly valid objection.

Prof. Elmer criticises me again for introducing 'irrelevant matter' in my discussion of *vide ne*. I showed by reference (by no means exhausting my collections) to his own writings that he had at one time or another used and regarded as relevant nearly everything that was irrelevant when it appeared in my criticisms. He refers to dependent prohibitions introduced by *vide ne* at least four times in his original paper, giving some statistics as to their frequency. But, because *vide ne* seems to be used almost entirely with the present (one passage with the perfect in *Pseud.-Quint.* is the only instance I have noted), we ought not to decide whether the present is emotional or not! It is the case of *cave* over again. If Prof. Elmer can show why the perfect was not used, it would be a contribution to science. Even if he had merely cited the instances in his collections, his work would have lost nothing in completeness and value.

I did not dream that I should convince Prof. Elmer that my classification of examples as emotional or the reverse was correct. I was not disappointed. When Prof. Bennett's masterly paper left his colleague unconvinced, I was not vain enough to expect a different fate.

Two passages still demand attention. *Phorm.* 508, which Elmer regards as dependent, I deemed a prohibition, and in this, as he himself admits, I was in harmony with at least three editors. Yet I am charged with having 'brushed aside by a mere stroke of the pen' a list of authorities beginning with Donatus and ending with 'Elmer, &c.' I had not supposed before that scholars were forbidden to exercise their own judgment

in interpretation, if the interpretation be reasonable, because it did not meet with Prof. Elmer's approval. Is he aware that Prof. Fairclough, the latest editor of the *Andria*, has had the temerity to regard the subjunctives in vss. 704 and 706 as dependent, though cited in Elmer's final list as prohibitions? On one point, Elmer and I agree: it was inconsistent for him to classify *Hec.* 343, *ne mittas quidem* as a prohibition, while stoutly maintaining that the subjunctive with *ne-quidem* was one of obligation or propriety. He says he classified it correctly in his *Studies* (p. 216). He does not state that in the same *Studies* (p. 94), the same example appears again as a prohibition, in the form *ne mittas*, without the *quidem*. Prof. Elmer further neglects to state that *Cic. Fam.* 7, 25, 2, *ne-quidem dixeris* appears in his original paper (150; 18) as a prohibition, and again (*Studies*, p. 26) as a prohibition. (Both Lebreton, p. 298, and I, (*A. J. P.* xii. 88), have previously called attention to the passage). The subjunctive with *ne-quidem* is one of obligation or propriety! Yet two of the three instances of the second person are cited not once, but twice (the second time in a carefully revised work, after the lapse of four years) as prohibitions, and one passage possesses such capabilities that it belongs to both types. Only the most careful can produce such inimitable results!

It is very gratifying to learn that my paper has confirmed Elmer's theory in such striking fashion. Bennett has already done it for Plautus, and now Lebreton (pp. 293-305) comes to his aid in Cicero. It is true that Lebreton rejects Elmer's resort to the subjunctive of obligation or propriety to explain away the examples with *nec, nihil, nullus, numquam*, and *ne-quidem*, and the theory of the force of the tenses, and seemingly plays sad havoc with the presents; but, doubtless, in some mysterious way, these are only methods of proving the impregnability of Elmer's position. In a postscript to the new answer Elmer refers to my article (*A. J. P.* xxii. 87-96). On page 94, I gave a list of some sixty prohibitions introduced by *cave*, of which I had found no trace nor mention in *The Latin Prohibitive*. 'I had,' replies Elmer, '(nearly all of) them stored away among my own collections, and I referred to them in *The Latin Prohibitive*.' (I suppose he would have made the same reply, had I given my long list of presents with *ne* which he omitted.) Where did he refer to them? Nowhere. I have gone through the paper five times line by line

and can discover no reference, actual or implied, save the following, which Elmer certainly would not offer as a defence. On page 152 (20) he states there are eighteen instances of *cave* in Cicero's Letters, citing eleven. My collections contained twenty (I now have twenty-three). I therefore stated in my table that there were two omissions in Cicero and (below) that these were in the Letters. Not knowing which were Elmer's missing seven, I gave the nine, which included both his examples and the omissions. Conceding this, there remain some sixty instances. When Prof. Elmer says that he referred to nearly all, does he make the statement ignorantly, or forgetfully, or in a deliberate effort to mislead? He may defend himself by saying that he referred to them in his mind; but references in a scientific article are not of that sort. He continues 'but all the instances of the present tense, with the exception of three of the second person in Plautus, are instances that I did not intend or propose to cite.' Omitting the instances of the first and third person, there are twenty instances of the second person from Cicero, Catullus, Horace, Propertius, and Ovid, not to mention the dramatists, which he deliberately suppressed. After such an avowal, no one can place any confidence whatever in results based on statistics gathered by Prof. Elmer. The value of any work in Syntax lies in its giving without reservation *every* example its author has gathered. A failure to do this is deserving of the strongest adjective in Elmer's vocabulary. No matter if every example is in strictest accord with rule or theory, it is one's duty, as Dittmar has recently emphasized, to give them all.

I have already shown something of Elmer's methods of work. Anyone who has read his paper, must have noticed that, while criticising me for 'inexcusable carelessness' he is constantly admitting his own mistakes. Thus, 'I did not suppose that I had included any such expression in my list of prohibitions' . . . 'The inclusion of this was due to inadvertence.' . . . 'The two instances of the perfect I am glad to add to my collection.'

How many critics or grammarians who have accepted Elmer's theory of the prohibitive know what that original article really is, or rather is not? Many, I fear, were awed, as was I for years, by its imposing statistics, and neither tested them nor verified the references. His inconsistencies show that he did not clearly frame his conception of his view, but used his

examples to back it, rejecting or admitting as the examples made against or for what he wanted to prove. It is well-nigh impossible to find statistics from an author in the article and be certain you have them all. Thus, he says (146; 14): '*Cave* with the present tense of the subjunctive occurs as follows'—and on the next page gives an additional example. The best illustrations, possibly, of good and bad method are Lebreton's systematic grouping of the Ciceronian perfects (p. 301), and Elmer's scattering treatment.

A scholar who is endeavouring to prove a theory's validity from given authors should read those authors with sufficient care to collect the examples, at any rate, that lie within his own selected lines. How Prof. Elmer has done this in the three authors he seems to have studied with most care,—Plautus, Terence, and Cicero, can be readily seen. In Plautus, Bennett added four perfects with *cave*, three with *ne*; Bennett added two presents with *ne*, while I have two, possibly three more; I added three presents with *cave*; Elmer's 'complete' list of *noli* examples lacks *Poen.* 1129, and gives *Pers.* 831, which cannot be found; *Asin.* 826 and *Truc.* 496, examples of the imperative with *ne*, are also untraceable. To his 'complete' list of *noli* examples in Terence, *Hec.* 46 should be added. In Cicero's Letters, he gives a 'complete' list of instances of *ne* with the perfect, including an example of *ne-quidem*, and omitting *Quint. Frat.* 2, 5, 3, *ne omiseris* and the beautiful example *Fam.* 3, 11, 5, 'ut enim Aristarchus Homeri versum negat, quem non probat, sic tu (libet enim mihi iocari) quod disertum non erit, *ne putaris* meum.' We were given to understand that *putaris* did not occur with *ne*; and the natural unfitness of the perfect in verbs of such a meaning played a large part in Elmer's demonstration. His statement about verbs of this type (152-3; 20-1) will have to be revised. And where, too, is the strong emotion in this passage? *Fam.* 16, 3, 2, *nihil properaris* should also be added to his collections. There are 23 instances of *cave* in the Letters, instead of 18, as he claims, 44 instances of *noli* instead of 32. His statements as to the use of various forms of prohibition in the Letters I have shown to be glaringly incorrect. Where he says 'to his other correspondents he (Cicero) uses *noli* or in two instances *cave* with the present subjunctive,' I have shown (*A. J. P.* xxii, p. 95) that Cicero has eleven examples of *cave* outside of the letters to Atticus, seven of which are to persons other

than those whom Elmer mentions. Where he says 'except the passionate remonstrance referred to in a letter written by Brutus, the correspondents of Cicero used only *noli* in addressing him,' I have shown that one correspondent uses *cave*, and two use *vide*. In view of such inaccuracies, one may wonder how far Elmer's statements may be trusted in the papers on other subjects in the *Studies*. When, to take a single definite case, his list of perfects, which he believes to be 'practically complete,' lacks at least 11 examples of *ne* or *cave* with the second person (Bennett and I have supplied that number), his figures on any subject are likely to be regarded with grave suspicion¹.

¹ Some of the errors in his statements and statistics on these other subjects have already attracted attention, namely those in 'The Supposed Potential Use of the Subjunctive Mood,' *Studies*, vi. Where, e.g. he 'believes' *erraverim fortasse* in Plin. Ep. 1, 23, 3 to be 'the only instance' of the perfect subjunctive with *fortasse* 'in Latin literature,' my paper in *C.R.* xiv, 4 gave *nine* from the Pseud.-Quintil.

Two lessons Prof. Elmer's article can teach us all—that accuracy and completeness of statement, clearness of arrangement, and fairness and moderation of tone,—all are needed to give a work genuine worth, and that any work that lacks these, however dazzling may be its temporary success, is sure to meet its just deserts at last.

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Declamations. Where he says that 'certainly none other occurs before the period of decline,' Professor Hale, in 'Is there still a Latin Potential' (*Transactions of the American Philological Association*, 1900) pointed out that Sjöstrand (Quibus temporibus, etc., 1891) gives *two* sure instances from the Institutes of Quintilian, which come within the period which the word 'other' implies. Where Elmer says 'I can find' no example 'at all' of an Imperfect or Pluperfect Subjunctive with *fortitan* except Cic. De Or. 2, 45, 189, and Verg. Georg. 4, 116, Professor Hale pointed out that Merquet's Lexicons to Cicero afford *three* more cases, and that Sjöstrand's monograph affords *forty-seven* more from Ovid, Livy, Quintilian, and later writers.

NOTES.

ON PLATO'S 'APOLOGY.'

17 B. In the words near the beginning—*δομολογοῖν ἂν ἔγωγε οὐ κατὰ τούτους εἶναι ῥήτωρ*—does not Socrates intend a sort of surprise to his audience? On hearing the *δομολογοῖν ἂν*, 'I should admit,' they would expect some such continuation as: 'that I am an able speaker according to their definition.' But instead of this he proceeds: 'that not after the style of these people is my oratory: ' (whatever ability of that kind he possessed, it was not their sort of ability).

If we understand the passage in this manner we justify the reading *οὐ* before *κατὰ τούτους*, which has been needlessly questioned, not merely by showing the meaning which it may bear, but also by suggesting the motive which prompted its insertion.

17 C. If we take the word *ἅλλως* to refer to *εἰκῇ λεγόμενα*—assuming, I suppose, the *πιστεύω γὰρ δίκαια εἶναι* & *λέγω* to be parenthetical, and to mean: 'you must not expect elaborate phraseology from me, who rely simply on justice and truth; '—then it seems to me scarcely suitable to take *πλάττοντι λόγους* as referring, 'not to artificial language, but to falsification' (Rid., Wag.). I should certainly take it to refer to artificiality of language, tropes, and so forth, which a youthful orator would be very likely to employ: while deceit is surely not the characteristic vice of the young as distinguished from those of greater worldly experience. And the continuation tends to confirm this: for he goes on to beg their forbearance in case they hear him speak in the manner to which he is accustomed.

23 B. *ταῦτ' οὖν*. Wagner says that *ταῦτ'* = *διὰ ταῦτ'* (he might have cited the *τοῦτο* at 41 E.). But we have the *οὖν* to express something of the

same kind. Might we not then better take it in connexion with *ζητῶ* to mean:—'I make these enquiries, &c., with regard to whoever, &c.'?

24 C. *ἂν οὐδὲν τοῦτω κ.τ.λ.*—*ἂν* is usually said to be governed by *ἐμέλησεν*. But I have noticed many cases both in Greek and in Latin, where meanings, sometimes identical, sometimes more or less similar, may be extracted from a passage by taking it according to either of two different constructions. Now, in most of these cases I incline to think that the author did not probably have either the one construction or the other exclusively in his mind. He probably felt that the words expressed the general sense or senses he intended to convey, and that their form was satisfactory: but did not proceed to any further or more intricate grammatical analysis.

For example—to quote the first instance that occurs to me—in Cic. De Am. ix. 27, 'Quibus rebus ad illum primum motum animi et amoris adhibitibus admirabilis quaedam exardescit benevolentiae magnitudo' the words 'quibus rebus adhibitibus' might be taken either as an 'Ablative Absolute' or as an 'Instrumental Ablative'; not that there would in this case have been much difference between the constructions to a Roman mind.

Now, applying the same principle to the passage in Plato, we might regard the *ἂν* as governed also by the preceding *περί*, in accordance with the custom of not repeating a preposition before a relative: for *περί* with the genitive, as well as the genitive alone, is frequently found with *μέλει*.

26 A B. *ἀλλὰ γὰρ, κ.τ.λ.* Here we have an interesting example of the use of correlative particles. The *ἀλλὰ* is answered by the *ὅμως*, while the *μέν* (after *τοῦτο*) is answered by the *δέ*. So

that, supplying the ellipsis suggested by the ἀλλὰ γάρ, the meaning comes to something like this:—But (ἀλλὰ) (it is not really necessary to go on) for (γάρ) this sufficient point (μὲν) is clear: still (δμως) I shall go on to the next point (δέ).

28 A. ἀλλὰ γάρ κ.τ.λ. Here again we have ἀλλὰ γάρ, and the connexion seems to be as follows:—But (ἀλλὰ) as (γάρ) I have in the first place (μὲν) sufficiently refuted M.'s accusation, and as in the second (δέ) the real pinch lies not *there*, but in the prejudices, &c. (I shall go on to consider that matter)—(the ellipsis implied in the ἀλλὰ γάρ).

26 C. It is worth notice—very probably it has been noticed before—that a sentence occurs in the Apology in one part of which there are eight successive words of which six are verbs or parts of verbs: not verbs repeated in the same tense, &c., but verbs grammatically interdependent:—ἐγὼ γάρ οὐ [διδόναι] μαθεῖν πότερον λέγεις διδάσκειν με νομίζειν [εἶναι] τινος θεός κ.τ.λ. The iteration of sound too, as well as of grammatical quality (if I may use the expression) is noticeable. In a view of Plato's standard we must suppose the collocation to have been intentional, and with a view to emphasis of pronunciation and of meaning.

There are other passages somewhat similar as regards the crowding of verbs (e.g. 29 A, fin.) but I have not observed any so striking as this.

36 B. ἡγησάμενος ἑαυτὸν τῷ ὄντι ἐπιεικέστερον εἶναι, κ.τ.λ. Here we have the acc. and infin. instead of the usual nom. and infin. This construction seems to be usually explained as being due to a desire to put emphasis on the subject, as here, ἑαυτὸν. But that end could be readily attained in a normal manner by the use of αὐτός. Emphasis is,

no doubt, intended: but is this the full account of the matter? Socrates is here comparing his own conduct with that of the majority of men. Ought we not rather then to say that he is regarding both himself and them from an abstracted point of view, looking as an outsider upon both, and that this point of view is emphasised by using in his own case the same construction as he would have used in theirs? A similar explanation would appear to suit other passages where this kind of construction is found.

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A COINCIDENCE BETWEEN HUDIBRAS AND CICERO.

He cou'd raise scruples dark and nice
And after solve 'em in a trice,
As if divinity had catch'd
The itch, on purpose to be scratch'd;
Or, like a mountebank, did wound
And stab herself with doubts profound,
Only to show with how small pain
The sores of faith are cur'd again.

This famous passage in *Hudibras* (Part I., Canto i.) seems to be an amplification of, or at all events a remarkably close parallel to, Cicero's saying: (Dialectici) ad extremum ipsi se compungunt suis acuminibus, et multa quaerendo reperiunt non modo ea, quae iam non possint ipsi dissolvere, sed etiam etc.—De Or. II. 38, 158.

G. F. ABBOTT.

REVIEWS.

GILDERSLEEVE'S GREEK SYNTAX.

Syntax of Classical Greek from Homer to Demosthenes. First Part. By B. L. GILDERSLEEVE, with the cooperation of C. W. E. MILLER of the Johns Hopkins University. American Book Company. Pp. iv, 190.

THIS first part, the syntax of the simple sentence, deals with the nominative and vocative cases; the forms of the subject (which are also very often forms of the object) i.e., besides ordinary nouns and pronouns in their regular use, adjectives used substantively, plurals for singulars or singulars for plurals, indefinite subject, &c.: the copula and its forms: concord with general and special exceptions: voices, tenses, and moods, so far as simple sentences go; finally the uses of ἄν. We cannot judge fairly of the arrangement until the whole work is before us; but, even if some faults should be found, a thoroughly good index may remedy them. In the meantime there is a full table of contents.

NO. CXL. VOL. XVI.

Apart from the question of the judgment brought to bear in analysing, classifying, and describing the phenomena of Greek syntax, there are two features which mark the book and will make it of very great use. One is the unusually large number of examples; the other is the plan on which they have been chosen and arranged.

When the work is complete, it will certainly present a much larger *corpus* of passages illustrating the rules and idioms of Greek than is to be found elsewhere. No doubt Kühner's *Ausführliche Grammatik*, especially in its new and still incomplete form, gives a very fair number. Still more does Goodwin's *Moods and Tenses* in the limited, though large, field which it covers. But in quotations Mr. Gildersleeve goes beyond these two excellent books. Very often he touches on more points than they do, or at any rate puts the points in a more marked way; and as a rule in one way or another he presents a larger body of illustrative quotations. For questions of Greek

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syntax there is at present no such *thesaurus* as he is in process of giving us. Anyone accustomed to grammatical or textual enquiries, or to enquiries which aim at fixing the meaning of a phrase, knows the advantage of a very copious collection of passages, especially if you can feel reasonably confident that no passage of real significance has been omitted. The last five and twenty years have brought us several good Greek grammars in English; it is remarkable and honourable to American scholarship that the two books which are much the most minute and full should be the work of American scholars.

In a few places I am bound to say that I think more instances might with advantage have been given. For example in § 30, under the head of adjectives and participles used substantively without an article, I should have liked more, especially from poetry. Though the so-called *pluralis maiestatis* is less common in Greek than in Latin, it is still common in Greek poetry to a degree of which the examples in § 52 hardly give an adequate idea, especially as Mr. Gildersleeve does not take care to state explicitly how common it is. The same thing is true of impersonal passives (§ 76): it is not pointed out how common the impersonal third person singular of the perfect or pluperfect passive (κεχόρευται μετρίως ἡμῖν) really is, nor even that the perfect and pluperfect passive is the form which impersonal use commonly takes. There is perhaps a similar defect in § 174 as to the passives of verbs which in the active take genitive or dative.

The second characteristic mentioned above was the plan on which the numerous examples are chosen and arranged. They are in each case taken carefully from all the kinds of literature which fall within the scope of the book. Aristotle by the bye seems excluded, I hardly know why, (for the 'Homer to Demosthenes' rule would bring him in), and this is rather to be regretted. Nor have I noticed any reference to Hippocrates, though here the uncertainty of the Hippocratea may be pleaded. The examples taken from all kinds of literature are then arranged not chronologically but on a new plan which Prof. Gildersleeve thus describes: 'Taking the Attic Orators as the standard of conventional Greek, we have worked backward through philosophy and history to tragic, lyric, and epic poetry, comedy being the bridge which spans (*sic*) the syntax of the agora and the syntax of Parnassus.' Thus the 'gnomic aorist' is

illustrated from authors in the following order: Demosthenes, Isocrates, Plato, Herodotus, Menander (?), Pindar, Simonides, Theognis, Solon, Tyrtæus, Hesiod, Homer (tragedy being by some inadvertence unrepresented). If this plan is carried out with sufficient care all through, as no doubt it is, we can see at a glance whether any given construction belongs to 'standard Greek' and in some degree how far it belongs to other kinds of Greek writing too. In many cases nothing short of a complete or almost complete enumeration of passages would give us all we want; but, until we get for Greek something answering to Draeger's *Historische Syntax* in Latin, we shall be very grateful for what Prof. Gildersleeve and his colleague Prof. Miller provide. Some scholars might prefer a chronological arrangement, in which Homer began the list instead of ending it. But there is much to be said for making Attic usage the starting point for ordinary Greek syntax. The case of a Historical Syntax would be different, and the complete collection of instances would probably be best thrown into that form.

The analysis and description of syntactical facts has perhaps suffered a little from the accumulation of passages. Mr. Gildersleeve is rather too willing to let the passages tell their own tale, as no doubt to skilful readers they may. In his characterisations he does not, I venture to think, say quite enough about them, and these characterisations will also be found in some cases a little obscure. If the conjecture may be hazarded, he has perhaps gone over the ground so often that he has reduced things to certain curt formulae, full of meaning to him but needing some amplification and explanation for many of his readers. Thus 'the pluperfect is sometimes used to denote rapid relative completion': what is 'relative'? 'The aorist is rather the tense of momentum than the tense of momentary action': and 'when ἔδει, ἐχρῆν and the like refer to the present and not to the past, a modal sense is set up': these sayings need to be made clearer. 'The imperfect is the tense of evolution, of vision'; ἔφην = ἐφῆσα, but in ἔπεμπον the thoughts follow the motion': 'the negative imperfect commonly denotes resistance to pressure or disappointment': these oracles are true but a little cryptic: at best οὔτε λέγει οὔτε κρύπτει ἀλλὰ σημαίνει, like the god at Delphi. For instance, in the above quotations, *resistance* and *disappointment* refer to different parties, and so *evolution* and *vision* to different sides

of a thing. In his admirable *Pindar* Mr. Gildersleeve has accustomed us to these rather Delphic deliverances, but in a grammar they are less welcome. Krüger in his *Grammar* and in his notes on Herodotus, Thucydides, Xenophon, is really a better model of brevity.

In conclusion I will note a few points of detail. § 20 'the omission of ω in prose is passionate or late': is not 'passionate' rather too strong for many cases? *Αισχύνη* is more often brusque or slighting. Call it 'unceremonious.' § 27 in *εἰ κατασκαφεῖη τῶν τειχῶν*. . . *ἐπὶ δέκα στάδια* 'strictly speaking *τῶν τειχῶν* is the partitive genitive dependent on *κατασκαφεῖη*,' and yet Mr. Gildersleeve is explaining quite truly that *ἐπὶ δέκα στάδια* is a sort of subject. § 36 there is no mention of the special use of neuter adjectives with article = abstract substantive. § 41 the use of abstract for concrete is illustrated by Shakespeare's 'What trade art thou?'; but is not this, like 'what height are you?' 'what use can I be?', got at by omitting *of*? § 87 under 'omission of verbal predicate' *οὐδὲν ἄλλο ἢ*, if not the Platonic *ἄλλο τι*, seems to deserve mention. Though 'individual syntax' is not dealt with, one would expect it to be mentioned (§ 102) that plural verbs with neuter plural subjects are especially frequent in Xenophon. Generally speaking more indications of 'individual syntax' would be welcome and in a work on this scale not out of place. § 142, if we have a section for transitive verbs used intransitively, might we not have one too for intransitive verbs used transitively (*δύναιτο δουλώσιν, ἄχθομαι ἔλκος, ἐθάρρει*

τούτους, ἐξέναι τὴν χώραν)? § 156 'νόμους τίθεναι to be a νομοθέτης . . (for those who desire legislators), νόμους τίθεσθαι, to make laws for one's own state.' Yet Solon certainly νόμους ἔθηκε for his own state and Demosthenes says of himself ἔθηκε νόμον in reference to Athens. Is not the real point that a legislator or a small number, autocratic or parliamentary, *τίθῃσι*, while the state or people as a body is said *τίθεσθαι*? The legislator makes laws for others, the people for itself. § 194 can it be said that *οὐκ ἔω* implies any 'anticipation of the future' like *εἰμι*? § 282 or that there is any 'imperative sense' in *ἀλλὰ γὰρ τάληθ' εἰρήσεται* and other such future perfects? § 295 should not intransitive participles (*λήξαντ' ἔχει*) be specially mentioned, as being more remarkable in their use than transitive ones? § 323 one doubts whether in such phrases as *διεμάχοντο μὴ θανείν* we ought to call *τὸ μὴ θανείν* object. § 374 should not *μὴ δῆτ' ἀδικηθῶ* and *μή σε κεινὸν* be explained as due to an imperatival or quasi-imperatival meaning (= *μή μ' ἀδικήσῃτε* etc.) on the same principle that Mr. Gildersleeve himself gives in § 382? § 384 the meaning sometimes belonging to *τί πάθω*; 'what else can I do? how can I help it? of course I shall,' is not distinctly stated. So often in Lucian, who lies beyond the limits of this book, *τί ἂν πάθοιμι*;

To facilitate reference it would be a great convenience in future volumes to have the sections marked at the top of each page, as they are for instance in Goodwin.

HERBERT RICHARDS.

USSANI'S ODES OF HORACE.

Le Liriche di Orazio. Commentate da VINCENZO USSANI. 2 vols. Torino: E. Loescher. 1900, 1901. Fr. 4.80.

In this edition of the lyrics of Horace, the books are arranged in chronological order, so that the first volume contains the Epodes and Carm. i., the second Carm. ii. iii. the Carm. Saec. and Carm. iv. I have not examined the work minutely, but if I may express an opinion after turning to some thirty different passages in various parts of both volumes, I should say that this is, in the main, a conservative Orellian edition, in which the English student will not find much that is

new to him, at least in the way of interpretation. In the criticism of the text there are some few novelties. The introduction to vol. i. contains a collation (for the lyrics only) of a codex in the Laurentian library at Florence, *Strozianus* 117. It is described by Bandini as being of the ninth century with additions in a hand of the eleventh or twelfth century. The collation is confined to those passages which are referred to in the *descriptio codicum* prefixed (at p. lxxxiii) to Keller and Holder's new edition (1899). It is a good MS. but has no readings of special interest. Signor Ussani has printed in his text a few emendations of his own: viz. at

Carm. i. 32, 15 *dulce lenimen mihi usque salve*, notwithstanding the hiatus : at Epod. 5. 87 *magum uenena fas nefasque non ualent*, where *magum* is gen. plur. : and at Carm. Saec. 26 *quod simul dictum est stabilis deorum Terminus seruet* where the emendation is

supported by a quotation from Accius (Priscian vi. 80) *veter fatorum terminus sic iusserat*. These proposals will perhaps not command universal assent.

J. G.

PRESTON'S AND DODGE'S *PRIVATE LIFE OF THE GREEKS AND ROMANS*.

The Private Life of the Greeks and Romans.

By HARRIET W. PRESTON and LOUISE DODGE. Sanborn : Boston, U.S.A. Pp. 167. 2s. 3d.

THIS little volume, in paper covers, is what its size and title indicate—a brief account, suitable to beginners, of the details of ordinary Roman life, the house and household, food and clothing, amusements and agriculture. We have two or three such little manuals already in English, but we need not enter into comparisons. It is enough to say that the volume, as a whole, is well done, the material judiciously selected and the facts stated clearly. There are, of course, defects, as there must be in any such work. The ‘Avernine Lake’ is an odd title. The epithet ‘provincial,’ applied to Pompeii, seems inconsistent with either ancient Italy or modern America, however intelligible in England. The statement that a Roman road ran from Carthage to Spain and Asia is a little dubious, and an alleged branch road from the Via Egnatia which led to Antioch must have been one of those tails that wagged the dog. The long vowels, marked to help the beginner, are marked somewhat inconsistently and need revision. The illustrations distinctly need reinforcement. One or two things are not quite plain. In particular the Roman house. I cannot think that anyone will grasp the relationship between, firstly, the primitive Alban hut-urn, figured in the text, secondly, the primitive house described in the text, in which the smoke of the fire curls out of the *atrium* aperture in the roof, and thirdly, the ordinary house of classical times. In fact I am inclined to doubt whether these three things have so much to do with one another as is often asserted, and I do not see how the case is helped by a reference to the primitive straw huts of the present-day Campagna. Our authoresses would, I think, have gained more by leaving the primitive house alone, and by introducing instead one or two

of Dr. Mau’s excellent Pompeian sketches of the classical house, which their own illustrations do not shew very well. However there is really not much for any sort of censor to criticize, and the volume as a whole suggests to me a different kind of reflection which does not especially concern it, but which I may nevertheless be allowed to append in this place. It is time, I think, that books on the subject of Roman Private life, should take fuller account of archaeology. For the most part these books, whether large treatises like *Gallus* or the *Sittengeschichte* or abridgments for beginners, like the specimen before me, are more linguistic than archaeological. Their first aim is to explain the words relating to Roman private life which occur in Roman literature. They are a sort of methodical dictionary to a special class of technical terms. Of course they are sometimes more than that. But they are not so much more as one could wish : they seldom get to the full idea of describing life as generally lived by Romans. Let me give one or two examples. These books describe, briefly or at length, the jewellery of the Roman. They tell us that jewels were worn on the wrist or arm or elsewhere : they mention the jewels in favour, the prices paid for some special pearl or tiara and so forth ; but of the art of the jewellery no word is said and the really important matter is left out. For if it matters at all from the literary point of view to know that Cynthia or Lesbia wore pearls, it matters much more to know the fashion of them. If it is interesting to a literary student to recollect that the Alexandrine literature influenced Roman writers, it is not amiss to trace the concomitant influence of the Egyptian goldsmith. And if anyone desires to realise the actual life of the educated Augustan, he can hardly venture to miss its artistic setting and be content, for jewels, with a catalogue of precious stones, a list of the limbs on which they were worn,

and perhaps a miscellaneous group of objects figured, without an explanatory word, by way of illustration. Or again, if we turn from the living to the dead, it might be worth while to explain how ancient tombs were formed, what was the fashion of the simple grave with single headstone, how sepulchral enclosures were constructed, how great edifices like the tower of Caecilia Metella or the pyramid of Cestius came to exist and how they were used. There is much in the ancients' views of death and their sepulchral and post-sepulchral rites, as in their allusions to the same, which is only clear to those who understand to some extent the real nature of ancient tombs, and no mere verbal explanation of *feriae denicales* or *cena novendialis* or the like will take the place of this knowledge. Or once more, our authoresses give us a chapter on agriculture

and some remarks on trade. It might have been worth while to indicate some of the features which distinguish ancient from modern trade—for example, the existence of the 'geschlossene Wirtschaft,' or the absence of the thousand industries in which the chemist plays a part. The literary student may be satisfied with enough polite agriculture to enable an appreciation of the Georgics: others, while they read the details, will like to know more of the spirit of ancient life. It may be objected that such material as I have been indicating will unduly enlarge the size of the books. But much can be effected by restatement without additional matter, and even if the volume be a few pages longer, the wider outlook and the profounder insight will repay the increase.

F. HAVERFIELD.

REPORT.

THE CLASSICAL ASSOCIATION OF SCOTLAND.

A MEETING of persons interested in the formation of a Classical Association for Scotland was held in the Royal High School, Edinburgh, on Saturday, 1st March 1902, Professor G. G. Ramsay in the chair. Amongst others present were:—Professors Laidlaw (D.D.), Butcher, Baldwin Brown and Burnet; Dr. Marshall, Royal High School; Mr. Smith, headmaster, Merchiston Castle; Mr. Carter, rector, Edinburgh Academy; Mr. Critchley, rector High School, Stirling. Apologies for absence were read from Principal Donaldson, Professors Paterson, (D.D.), Saintsbury, Harrower, Latta, and Hardie; Mr. Mackenzie, Madras College, St. Andrews; Mr. Morland Simpson, rector, Grammar School, Aberdeen; and Dr. Kerr, late Chief Inspector of Schools for Scotland.

Professor RAMSAY proposed the foundation of the Society. What they had in view was a Society to promote personal intercourse and discussion among those engaged in the work of Classical Education in Scotland. He thought the new Universities Act had given a distinct reason why such intercourse should take place. In one sense the Act had rather dissociated the schools from the Universities—at least the relations between the schools and the Universities were somewhat closer before it than they had been since. That perhaps had been due to the great interest shown in the schools by the Education Department. On the other hand, the Ordinances had thrown out a kind of challenge to the Schools and Universities to work together, and in this sphere there was great scope for the work of such an Association as they now proposed to form. There were many suggestions that could be made by teachers with regard to the Preliminary and Bursary Examinations, and the form and direction that Classical Teaching was tending to take. He should

like, at the very outset, to emphasise the fact that the Society was to be formed upon no exclusive or selfish basis. In his experience Classical Teachers were those who took the largest and broadest view of Education as a whole, and that they were in greater sympathy with other studies than they were in the habit of meeting with from those who were engaged in other departments. In view of the position which their Society might take in the public view, he thought they should disclaim the idea that they were setting up an Association in rivalry with any other. One of their great aims would be to show that as it was desirable to teach how to write English simply, clearly, purely, the influence of the Classics in that respect was invaluable. They had no jealousy of, or feeling against modern languages, or any other course of study. They did not depreciate modern languages; only they should greatly like to see the same scientific principles applied to the teaching of modern languages that had been applied with such success to the Classics. At present there was a danger of the true place of Classical study being forgotten in the great wave of interest that had arisen for other subjects. It was possible that a Society like that which they proposed to form might have a considerable effect on the public mind. Lastly he would say that its members did not propose to join this Society with a view to personal prospects, but to consider the interests of the country generally, as these bear upon Classical Education, and how far they could make a contribution to the guidance of the public mind.

Professor BUTCHER, in seconding the motion, observed that in almost every country where there was intellectual life and movement, Classical studies were to-day being pursued with fresh vigour. The most impressive instance was that of America. In

the eight years from 1890 to 1898 the total enrolment of pupils in the secondary schools of the United States had increased 86 per cent. The highest rate of increase in any one subject was in Latin, an increase of 174 per cent. In the same period, the percentage of increase in Greek was 94. Even in the Western and Southern States, the influence of this Classical revival was strikingly shown. In 1898 in California the number studying Greek was three times as great as in 1895, in Wisconsin about four times as great as in 1893; and in Mississippi in 1898, Greek was taught in thirty-five schools, where four years previously it had been taught in two schools only. Turning to Scotland they saw a different picture. Outside the large towns the study of Classics was on the decline. In the country schools Greek was dropping out of the school curriculum. While the standard of teaching was being raised in the schools which retained Greek, the area within which Greek was taught was narrowing. In Scotland as a whole there was a serious risk of the wider literary culture which Classics implied being displaced by forms of instruction more directly remunerative. The Classical Association might not be able to check the progress of this mischief, but they should at least discuss its causes, and so far as a remedy depended on greater efficiency and improved methods of teaching, this remedy they should seek to apply. Then again in the remote country parts Classical Teachers often worked under depressing conditions, with few pupils and these a dwindling number. It would give new heart to these scattered teachers to meet fellow-workers in their own department, to exchange ideas, and to carry away with them the sense that they were backed up by active and intelligent sympathy outside.

After some discussion it was resolved that the name of the Society be "The Classical Association of Scotland."

The objects of the Association were defined as being to bring together for practical conference all persons interested in Classical study and education; to promote communication and comparison of views between Universities and Schools; to discuss subjects and methods of teaching and examination, and any other questions of interest that may from time to time arise.

It was resolved to hold two meetings annually, one in spring and one in autumn, and that these be held in the four university towns in rotation.

The following were elected officers:—President, Prof. G. G. Ramsay; Vice-president, Prof. Butcher; Secretary, William Coutts, Watson's College, Edinburgh; Treasurer, William Lobban, Girls' High School, Glasgow; Committee, the following:—Dr. John Marshall, rector Royal High School, Edinburgh; Rev. Dr. W. A. Heard, headmaster, Fettes College, Edinburgh; Professors Burnet and Harrower; John Clark, High School, Dundee; James Clark, rector, Dumfries Academy; Hugh Manners, rector, Airdrie Academy; H. F. Morland Simpson, rector, Grammar School, Aberdeen; James Stirling, rector, Grammar School, Paisley; Edwin Temple, rector, Academy, Glasgow.

Already over 100 members, including teachers of English, French, and German, have joined the Association. Intending members are asked to communicate with the Secretary.

(Abbreviated from a report kindly furnished by the Secretary of the Association, MR. W. COUTTS.)

ARCHAEOLOGY.

HALL'S OLDEST CIVILIZATION OF GREECE.

The Oldest Civilization of Greece: Studies of the Mycenaean age. By H. R. HALL, M.A., Assistant in the Department of Egyptian and Assyrian Antiquities, British Museum. London: David Nutt. Philadelphia: J. B. Lippincott Co. 1901. 15s. net.

THIS book is disappointing. The author has a great deal of sturdy common-sense and a great deal of solid information; and he might have made a very useful contribution to the study of the subject.

The two questions which go to the root of the matter are (1) 'Who were the Mycenaeans?' and (2) 'When did they live?'

I. In the author's opinion the Mycenaeans were the people whom the Egyptians called the *Keftiu*.¹ On the frontispiece one finds

¹ In a note on p. xxxv. the author says:—"The name *Keftiu* is properly that of the country, not the people; but I have usually preferred to speak of the

'A Mycenaean (*Keftiu*) bringing gifts to the court of Thothmes III;' and this identification is asserted or implied in many places in the book.

Referring to the fresco from which the frontispiece is copied, the author says:

P. 54.—'Of these "*Keftians*" one is depicted as a Semite, while the others are Mycenaeans, with boots, waistcloth, long hair partly hanging down the back, partly twisted up in front into a *képas* like that of Paris (*Iliad*, xi, 385), just as we see them on the Vaphio cups, and not only in type and costume, but even in attitude and gesture identical with the Cretan Mycenaeans of the frescoes of the palace of Knossos.'

Here the author distinguishes a Semetic Keftian from Mycenaean Keftians; and he seems to maintain this distinction in his enquiry on p. 161, 'who were the Mycenaean *Keftiu* who brought apparently Mycenaean objects of art to the Court of Thothmes III?'

people as simply *Keftiu*, rather than use such a cumbersome expression as "*Keftiu-people*" or the hybrid "*Keftians*." In this the reviewer follows the author.

Yet on the very next page (162) he declares 'that the *Keftiu*, or *Keftiu*, of the XVIIIth Dynasty was not Phoenicia is quite certain; first, because the Keftiu were Mycenaean of European facial type and not Semites; secondly,' etc. In this he seems to contradict himself.

After this he says :

P. 169.—'That the merchants who brought Mycenaean wares to Egypt by sea in the reign of Amenhotep III. were Semites appears to be shown by the wall-paintings of a tomb at Thebes dating from this reign, in which Semitic merchants are represented as landing, with other objects, on an Egyptian quay, a Mycenaean vase of the type of Fig. 49 above. These Semites can only have been Phoenicians. . . . Many of the non-Mycenaean objects brought by the Keftiu to Egypt are obviously Phoenician imitations and amplifications of Egyptian designs.' . . . Cf. p. 53, note, 'Others of the objects brought by the Keftiu are obviously Phoenician imitations of Egyptian metal-work.' P. 138, note, 'Even the tribute of the Mycenaean Keftiu contained many such Phoenician imitations.'

Thus it would appear that in some cases Mycenaean wares were brought to Egypt by Phoenicians, while in other cases Phoenician wares were brought to Egypt by Keftiu, or Mycenaean. This seems to imply a pretty close connexion between the Phoenicians and the Keftiu.

It is a well known fact that in the Canopic decree of 238 B.C. the hieroglyphic text says *Keftu* where the Greek text says *Phoenicia*.¹ The author does not cite the inscription, but says in an airy way :

P. 162.—'Φοινίκη' was translated "*Keftiu*" in Ptolemaic times by some priestly antiquarian or other, some learned Manetho,' etc.

Adding in a footnote,

'To suppose that *Keftiu*=Phoenicia in Ptolemaic times, therefore it = Phoenicia under the XVIIIth Dynasty, is no more necessary than to suppose that because the Haunebu of Ptolemaic days were Hellenes, therefore the Haunebu of the VIth Dynasty were Hellenes, is necessary.'

But the author says, on pp. 158, 159, that the name *Haunebu* meant 'Fenmen' or 'Northerners,' and was always applied to the inhabitants of the Delta; so that, when the Hellenes settled in the Delta, the term came to be applied to them. Hence, if any comparison could be made between the use of *Keftiu* and the use of *Haunebu*, the conclusion would be that *Keftiu* always meant Phoenicia, although that country may not always have been inhabited by Phoenicians.

¹ Lepsius, *Das bilingue Dekret von Kanopus*, plate 2, line 9, and plate 5, line 17.

² The author frequently forgets the accents on his Greek.

But on p. 169 the author remarks that 'we know from the Tell el-Amarna letters that the Phoenician cities were already flourishing at this time,' namely, in the XVIIIth Dynasty.

Coming, on p. 162, to 'the real and original Keftiu,' by which term he seems to denote the Keftiu of the XVIIIth Dynasty as opposed to those of Ptolemaic times, the author says :

Pp. 162-164. 'The Keftiu are mentioned in conjunction with tribes of Syria, and as beyond the Kheta. In the "Hymn of Amen," quoted on p. 165, they are mentioned with *Asi* (certainly part of Cyprus) as being in the west. Their land must then be placed in juxtaposition to Syria, but westward of it. The most northerly people of the Palestinian coast with whom the Egyptians then had regular relations were the inhabitants of Alashiya or *Alasa*, a country which may be placed with great probability in Cyprus. It seems, therefore, improbable that Keftiu can have been very far westward from Alashiya. . . . Now the Keftiu exported copper to Egypt: a copper-producing land in proximity to Syria is wanted. Cyprus is clearly indicated, also Cyprus is the most easterly Mycenaean land—the nearest to Egypt—in the position which we require for Keftiu.'

The author does not make it clear how the land of the Keftiu could be Cyprus, and yet be 'in juxtaposition to Syria;' or how *Alasa* could be in Cyprus, though its inhabitants were a 'northerly people of the Palestinian coast.' And when he quotes this 'Hymn to Amen' on p. 165, he omits the bit about 'the west,' on which he really founds this paragraph.

Turning to this 'Hymn,'³ it is quite clear that, if *Amentu* is translated as 'west' and is taken in apposition to *Keftiu* and *Asi*, the meaning must be that Keftiu and *Asi* were to the west of Egypt. It is an Egyptian document, inscribed at Karnak; and there is not the smallest reason for supposing that, if its author said 'west,' he meant 'westward from Syria,' or, 'westward from Alashiya,' or anything of the sort.

But *Amentu* need not here mean 'west' as a point of the compass: it may quite well mean 'the west country' in the sense in which that term is used in cuneiform inscriptions, namely, as a designation of the seaboard of Syria. And on p. 117 the author intimates that the Egyptians were acquainted with the term in the cuneiform inscriptions.

The author says that *Asi* was 'certainly part of Cyprus,' but he does not give any reasons for saying so. As a matter of fact, *Asi* was supposed to be Cyprus, because the Canopic decree of 238 B.C. was supposed to have a name like *Asi* in the hieroglyphic text to represent the name *Cyprus* in the

³ Mariette, *Karnak*, plate 11, line 16.

Greek text. But on p. 163 the author has a long note, showing that the name in the hieroglyphic text has been misread and is not the least like *Asi*.

Then the author says that Alashiya or Alasa 'may be placed with great probability in Cyprus,' giving his reason in a footnote:— 'It has been supposed that Alashiya was in Cyprus, because copper was exported thence to Egypt.' This is on a par with his reasoning in the text, 'the Keftiu exported copper to Egypt; a copper-producing land is wanted.' It surely is a matter of notoriety that people can deal in copper without living in a copper-producing country.

The author also speaks of the inhabitants of Alashiya or Alasa as a 'northerly people of the Palestinian coast' (see above). And this region of the mainland seems to take in all the places that are mentioned in inscriptions in connexion with Alasa or Alashiya. In one instance the people of Alashiya are mentioned in connexion with the Lukki, and the author says on p. 88, 'that these Lukki are the Lykians there seems little reason to doubt.' But this identification is based entirely on the likeness of the names; and a better identification may be suggested.

In one of his inscriptions¹ king Asurnasirpal says that his power extended from the Tigris to mount Lebanon and the great sea of the land Laki. At the mouth of the Lykos river (the Nahr el-Kelb) at the foot of the Lebanon there are figures of Assyrian kings, which look as though they had been carved there to mark the boundary of the kingdom. And possibly the name of the land Laki or Lukki has survived here in the name of the river Lykos.

The author's next statement is:

P. 164.—'But that "Keftiu" did not mean to the Egyptians Cyprus alone is made very probable by the discovery, made this year by Mr. A. J. Evans, of frescoes in the Mycenaean palace at Knossos in Crete which show, as has already been mentioned (p. 54), that the Mycenaean Cretans were certainly "Keftians."' [The passage on p. 54 has already been quoted at the beginning of this article.]

It is asserted that people of the same type are represented in a fresco at Thebes in Egypt and in a fresco at Knossos in Crete. In the inscription on the Egyptian fresco these people are called 'Keftiu'; and it would be a legitimate inference that the people in the Cretan fresco are also 'Keftiu.' But the author jumps from the people in the

Cretan fresco to the people who painted this fresco, and tells us that the Mycenaean Cretans were 'Keftiu.' He might as well tell us that the Egyptians, who painted that fresco at Thebes, were likewise 'Keftiu.'

Then, in reference to the trade between the Egyptians and the Mycenaeans, the author says:

P. 170.—'The Phoenician ships which took part in this trade are mentioned in an Egyptian inscription as "Keftiu-ships,"—i.e. ships which go to Keftiu, like our "East Indiamen."'

The inscription² merely says that in one of his campaigns Thothmes III. brought home a quantity of loot from *Zahi*; *Ash-wood*, *Keftiu-ships*, *Kepuna-ships*, and so on. The author says on p. 162 that 'the old Egyptian name for Phoenicia was *Zahi*', and on p. 321 he speaks of Byblos in Phoenicia, when the text that he is citing says *Kepuna*. But if *Keftiu-ships*, or *Keftiu-ships*, are 'ships which go to Keftiu', *Kepuna-ships* must be ships which go to *Kepuna*; so that Thothmes III. brings home from *Zahi*, which is Phoenicia, ships that have a special name because they go to *Kepuna*, which is Byblos in Phoenicia.

The obvious meaning of the terms *Keftiu-ships* and *Kepuna-ships* is 'ships belonging to Keftiu' and 'ships belonging to Kepuna'. And the reason why Thothmes III. found these ships in *Zahi*, was that in all probability Keftiu and Kepuna (Byblos) were both in *Zahi*.

The author not only says that 'the old Egyptian name for Phoenicia was *Zahi*', but goes on to say (p. 162) that 'it has been finally and conclusively proved by Mr. W. M. Müller that the Keftiu of the sixteenth century B.C. was not Phoenicia, whatever else it may have been.'³

It is perfectly true that Keftiu was not contemporaneous with the district that is coloured pink and marked 'Phoenicia' in a modern atlas. But that is also true of *Zahi*. And an examination of all the passages that Mr. Müller cites, together with their contexts that he does not cite, can only lead to one conclusion:—*Zahi* was a district to the south of Phoenicia, and Keftiu was a district to the north of Phoenicia; but the Egyptians often used the name of *Zahi* and

² The author cites the inscription from Brugsch, *Egypt under the Pharaohs*, i. p. 336. For the text, see Lepsius *Auswahl*, plate 12, line 58, and Mariette, *Karnak*, plate 13, line 34. The text has, unfortunately, been divided. The beginning of the line was taken to the Louvre, and was published by Lepsius, while the end was left behind at Karnak, and eventually was published by Mariette.

³ Müller, *Asien und Europa*, pp. 337 ff.

¹ *Cuneiform Inscriptions of Western Asia*, vol. i. plate 23, column 2, lines 127, 128.

Keftiu in a loose way to denote the whole of the country.

The author does not quite commit himself to the identification of Keftiu with the Caphtor of the Bible; but he asserts on pp. 161, 162, that 'the biblical *Kaphtor* has always been considered to be Crete'. This assertion can hardly be reconciled with the fact that the Septuagint translates *Caphtor* by *Cappadocia*.¹

According to the Bible, the Philistines came from Caphtor; and if Caphtor was Keftiu, and Keftiu was a district to the north of Phoenicia, they could easily make their way to Palestine. It is next to impossible that they could make their way to Palestine from Crete at that period of the world's history. Nevertheless, on the strength of his identification of Caphtor with Crete, the author talks of the migration of the Philistines from Crete to Palestine as an established fact: pp. 213, 214.

The author says on p. 134 that the Philistines were known to the Egyptians as the *Pulesatha*; on p. 135 he speaks of the *Tchakarai* and the *Danuna* as 'the tribes which are associated with them (the *Pulesatha*) in Egyptian history'; on p. 176 he refers to the fact that one of the Tell el Amarna tablets mentions the *Danuna* as a tribe in Canaan; and on p. 135 he shows that he is acquainted with a papyrus which speaks of Dor, on the coast of Palestine, as a city of the *Tchakarai*.

It was to be expected that these allies of the Philistines lived somewhere in that region. But the tablet² and papyrus,³ which definitely localized the *Danuna* and *Tchakarai*, did not come to light until a little while ago. And now it can be seen that Egyptologists have read into a very well-known inscription a meaning that it does not really bear.

This inscription⁴ refers to events in the reign of *Rameses III.* In lines 16, 17, it says that *Arados* and various other towns and districts in that neighbourhood were devastated; in line 18 it says that the aggressors were the *Pulesatha*, *Tchakarai*, *Shakalasha*, *Danuna*, and *Uashasha*; and in line 19 it says that these people were defeated by the king in *Zahi*. It was assumed

that the people mentioned in line 18 must have passed down south through the region mentioned in lines 16, 17, in order to get to *Zahi* and encounter the Egyptians, as mentioned in line 19. But the inscription does not say so. And in view of the fact that three of the tribes mentioned in line 18 can be assigned to the country between Egypt and the region mentioned in lines 16, 17, the true interpretation must be that the aggressors first moved northward to attack this region and then moved southward to attack Egypt.

The author writes as follows:—

P. 177.—'What is quite certain about these tribes is that the majority of them inhabited the southern coast of Asia Minor from Cilicia to Lykia and probably also Rhodes, Crete, and the Aegean lands generally. Their lands lay west of Kheta and Alashiya; in an inscription of *Rameses III.*, more fully quoted in a note, p. 182, below, they are spoken of as coming from the 'isles,' subduing Kheta first, and then Cyprus and Phoenicia; so there is nowhere else to put them.'

P. 182, note:—

'This expedition came partly by land, partly by sea, from the interior of Asia Minor into Palestine. The inscription of *Rameses III.* says: "The Isles were restless; disturbed among themselves at one and the same time. No land stood before them, beginning from *Kheta*, (and including) *Keti* (the Palestinian coastland), *Qerqamesa* (Carchemish), *Arthul* [Arados], and *Alesa* (Alashiya; Cyprus). They destroyed (them, and assembled in their) camp in one place in the midst of *Amar* (Amurru; Palestine).'

There is not any ground at all for the author's assertion that 'their lands lay west of Kheta and Alashiya'; and, as has been pointed out above, there is not any reasonable ground for his identification of Alashiya with Cyprus. As for the 'isles,' the author says in a note on p. 166, 'At this time "The Isles of the Very Green" [*i.e.*, the sea] can no longer have meant merely the coasts of the Delta.' In this the author admits that the term 'isles' could be applied to coasts. And in the passages just quoted from pp. 177, 182 he seems to make 'isles' mean 'the interior of Asia Minor.'

Being confronted with the fact that a papyrus speaks of Dor, on the coast of Palestine, as a city of *Tchakarai*, and that a tablet mentions the *Danuna* as a tribe in Canaan, the author says of the *Danuna* that 'this was probably merely an isolated settlement, like that of the *Tchakarai* at Dor,' p. 176; and in speaking of Crete on pp. 213, 214, he says that 'it was in this post-Minoan period that the emigration of the Philistines and *Tchakarai* to Palestine apparently took place.' He then proceeds to the identifica-

¹ Deuteronomy, ii. 23; Amos, ix. 7.

² Lines 50, 52 of the tablet numbered 30 in Bezold and Budge, *The Tell el-Amarna Tablets*.

³ Lines 8, 9 of page 1 of the papyrus published by Golenischeff in the *Recueil de Travaux* for 1899, Vol. xxi. pp. 74 ff. and by Erman in the *Zeitschrift für Ägyptische Sprache und Alterthumskunde* for 1900, Vol. xxxviii. pp. 1 ff..

⁴ Greene, *Fouilles à Thèbes*, plate 2.

tion of the *Tchakarai* and *Damuna* with the Teukrians and Danaans (Τεύκροι and Δαναοί) and of the *Uashasha* and *Shakalasha* with the people of Axos in Crete and Sagalassos in Pisidia, remarking on p. 177 that 'the tribes who attacked Egypt in Rameses III.'s time were then quite possibly all Cretans.' It is beneath the dignity of a serious review to criticise such stuff.

II. In dealing with the other important point, 'when did the Mycenaeans live,' the author tries to establish some synchronisms with Egyptian history, and then relies on his Egyptian chronology for fixing a period for the Mycenaeans. He says:

Pp. 56, 57.—'It has been already pointed out that in discussing Egyptian chronology we are not dealing with the unknown; a continuous literary tradition of the succession of the Egyptian dynasties and of the names of the kings has been preserved in the various extant versions of and excerpts from the chronological work of the Egyptian priest Manetho, who was commissioned by Ptolemy II. Philadelphos to inquire into the ancient history of Egypt.'

Manetho grouped the kings in Dynasties, and distinguished the Dynasties by numbers, Ist, IInd, IIIRD, and so on. On the strength of this, the author talks of Manetho's work as a 'tradition of the succession of the Egyptian dynasties.' But there is nothing to show that Manetho imagined that these Dynasties followed one another in succession. And in several instances there is evidence to show that, if he did imagine this, he was completely wrong.

For instance, a bull Apis that died in year 20 of King Psentek (Psammitichos) at the age of 21 years, was born in year 26 of King Taharqa (Tarakos). This is recorded on the tombstone.¹ Consequently, if there was any interval at all between the reigns of Tarakos and Psammitichos, the interval was less than a year. But, by Manetho's reckoning, Tarakos was the last king of the XXVth Dynasty, while Psammitichos was either the fourth or the fifth king of the XXVIth Dynasty; one version making him the fourth and allowing his predecessors 21 years, while another version makes him the fifth and allows them 33 years. Thus the earlier part of the XXVIth Dynasty must have been concurrent with the XXVth Dynasty.

Again, the author says:

P. 65.—'Between the end of the XIIth and the beginning of the XVIIIth Dynasty a long space of time undoubtedly intervened, and this fact is indicated clearly enough in Manetho . . . Even if we

admit that Manetho's figures are here garbled (by no means a necessary admission), at least three or four hundred years must be allowed for the space of time occupied by the XIIIth Dynasty,' etc.

The Tablet of Abydos² makes Amenemhat IV. the immediate predecessor of Aahmes I.; and on pp. 65, 66, the author accepts Amenemhat IV. as the last king of the XIIth Dynasty, and Aahmes I. as the first king of the XVIIth. Yet he says:

P. 57.—'In no case does Manetho's account seriously disagree from that of the chronological papyrus of Turin, the tablets of Abydos and Sakkara, or the contemporary monuments themselves; all agree with one another.'

The two main versions³ of Manetho do not quite agree with one another about the numbering of the Dynasties or the names of the kings; and they are often very much at variance about the duration of the Dynasties and reigns.

For example, the version of Africanus gives 120 years to the XXIIInd Dynasty, 89 to the XXIIIrd, 6 to the XXIVth, and 40 to the XXVth; while the version of Eusebius gives 49 years to the XXIIInd, and 44 years each to the XXIIIrd, XXIVth, and XXVth. Sesonchis or Sesonchosis (Shashank I., the Shishak of the Bible) was the first king of the XXIIInd Dynasty, and Tarkos or Tarakos (Taharqa, Tirhakah) was the last king of the XXVth Dynasty; and the tombstone of an Apis bull—see above—shows that Taharqa reigned just before Psentek (Psammitichos), whose accession can be fixed at 664 B.C. Consequently, the version of Africanus puts the accession of Shashank I. at 919 B.C., while the version of Eusebius puts it 845 B.C.

Reckoning back in the same way to the death of Amenophis (Amenhetep III), it will be found that the version of Africanus puts this at 1517 B.C., while the version of Eusebius puts it at 1590 B.C.

Amenhetep IV. succeeded Amenhetep III. and the author says:

P. 58.—'Khuenaten (Amenhetep IV.) of the XVIIIth Dynasty was a contemporary of Burrahishash of Babylonia, whose date can be certainly fixed, with the help of the Babylonian and Assyrian records, to about 1430 B.C.'

If this date of 1430 B.C. could be established, it would certainly upset those Manethonian dates of 1517 and 1590 B.C. Yet the author brings it forward (in a note of p. 59) as a confirmation of the Manethonian system.

² Mariette, *Abydos*, Vol. 1, plate 43.

³ Printed in the *Fragmenta Historicorum Graecorum*, Vol. 4, pp. 511 ff.

¹ Mariette, *Sérapéum de Memphis*, part 3, plate 36.

This date of 1430 B.C. is deduced from an inscription of Nabonidus, who reigned from 555 to 538 B.C. or thereabouts. The inscription says¹ that a king named Shagashaltiburiash reigned 800 years before. That is supposed to fix the date of this king, and thus (indirectly) fix the date of Burrauriash. The inscription also says that a king named Naram-Sin reigned 3200 years before. This statement and the other are of interest in showing what views were current in Babylonia in the VIth century B.C. But they are of very little value for showing what kings were reigning in Babylonia in the XIVth and XXXVIIIth centuries B.C.

The author also cites

P. 58.—‘the well-known synchronism between Shashank I. (Shishak) of the XXIInd Dynasty and Rehoboam, which dates the reign of this Pharaoh to about 960 B.C.’

As mentioned above, the Manethonian dates for the accession of Shashank I. are 919 B.C. and 845 B.C. And if this ‘well-known synchronism’ dates his reign to about 960 B.C., it does not enhance the credit of the Manethonian system.

If one starts from the taking of Samaria in 721 B.C., and counts up the reigns of the kings of Judah, one gets to 980 B.C. for the accession of Rehoboam. Starting from the same point, and counting up the reigns of the kings of Israel, one gets to 961 B.C. for the accession of Jeroboam. And the accession of Jeroboam was contemporary with the accession of Rehoboam.

But the biblical chronology is not only inconsistent with itself: it is inconsistent with the Assyrian chronology.

For example, Azariah is named in Tiglath-Pileser’s inscriptions as a rebel in the seventh year of Tiglath-Pileser’s reign, and Menahem is named as a tributary in the eighth year.² The lists of Eponyms show that Tiglath-Pileser came to the throne 24 years before Sargon³; and therefore in 745 B.C., if Samaria was taken in 721 B.C., for Sargon took the city in the first year of his reign.⁴ Consequently, Azariah and Menahem must have been alive in 739 and 738 B.C. But the Bible puts the death of Azariah in 758 B.C., for it gives 16 years to

Jotham and 16 to Ahaz, and puts the taking of Samaria in the sixth year of Hezekiah. And it puts the death of Menahem in 751 B.C., for it gives two years to Pekahiah and 20 years to Pekah, and puts the taking of Samaria in the ninth year of Hoshea.

It is absurd to refer to Biblical chronology and Assyrian chronology in support of Egyptian chronology. If the Egyptian agrees with the Biblical and Assyrian, which are inconsistent with each other, it must be inconsistent with itself.

The author’s work is marked throughout by extraordinary carelessness. And in his carelessness he often does injustice to the authors of the books he cites. As an example, I may refer to one of the instances in which I am myself a sufferer.

He says:

P. 57.—‘Mr. Torr starts to reconstruct Egyptian chronology on a new method. If the highest monumental date of a king to whom Manetho assigns a twelve years’ reign is that of his fourth year, Mr. Torr assumes that the monarch in question reigned four years and no more.’ . . . footnote, ‘Cf. the case of Ai. II Kheper-Kheperu-ari-maat-Rā (Chebres). (*Memphis and Mycenae*, p. 44).’

My statement was:

‘An inscription is dated in year 4 of king Cheper-cheperu-Ra Ai, so that he reigned at least four years.’ *Memphis and Mycenae*, p. 44.

I generally mean what I say; and when I say *at least*, I do not mean *at most*.

After some more outrageous misquotations of this kind, the author says on pp. 58, 59 that ‘further comment on the failure of Mr. Torr’s attempt to reduce Egyptian chronology is surely needless.’ But he treats other living writers just as badly. And, after all, he does not treat us worse than he treats the ancient authors and inscriptions that he quotes.

Before writing a book upon this subject, a man ought to make quite sure of his facts and see that his arguments are sound, and then endeavour to arrange his facts and arguments in proper order, and express them in intelligible language. The author has not condescended to do any of these things. And the result is that his book can only be an encumbrance to people who have some knowledge of the subject, while it may be very misleading in the hands of people who have not.

CECIL TORR.

¹ *Cuneiform Inscriptions of Western Asia*, Vol. 5, plate 64, column 3.

² *Ibid.* Vol. 3, plate 9, lines 2, 3, 10, 22, 23, 31, 50.

³ *Ibid.* Vol. 3, plate 1, column 4, line 26 to column 5, line 5.

⁴ Winckler, *Die Keilschrifttexte Sargons*, ‘*Prunkschrift*,’ lines 23, 24, ‘*Anualen*,’ lines 10–17.

AN ALLUSION TO THE MYCENAEAN
SCRIPT IN PLUTARCH.

AN APOLOGY.

Since writing the note on a text of Plutarch (*de Genio Socratis*) which appeared in the last number of the *Classical Review*, I have had my attention called to a paper by M. Salomon Reinach in the French Journal *L'Anthropologie*, 1900, p. 197: in which he had already discussed the significance of the story in Plutarch and had anticipated the view I have expressed. It was by mere inadvertence that I had failed to notice M. Reinach's paper, or any allusion to it in any 'bibliography' of that year. I owe him therefore this apology and acknowledgement, and can recommend his critical memoir concerning 'les témoignages antiques sur l'écriture Mycénienne' to the readers of the *Classical Review*.

L. R. FARNELL.

BERNOULLI'S GREEK ICONOGRAPHY.—II.

Griechische Ikonographie, mit Ausschluss Alexanders und der Diadochen. VON J. BERNOULLI. Zweiter Theil: Die Bildnisse berühmter Griechen vom iv. Jahrhundert v. Chr. bis in die römische Zeit. München 1901. 20 M.

I NOTICED the first part of this useful work in the *Cl. R.* for June last. While regretting that the writer had not as a preliminary treated of the history of Greek portrait sculpture, before speaking of individual portraits, I had little but praise for the care, the completeness and the usefulness of Dr. Bernoulli's work. These latter qualities are quite as conspicuous in the new volume. In collecting and grouping his materials the author is excellent: and his judgment is usually sound and moderate: thus even if his work has limitations, it is, within its limits, of the greatest service. It might be supposed that when we come down to the Hellenistic age, the history of portraiture would become less necessary, and the personalities of those portrayed the one important matter, since in that age the history of art is no longer an orderly and gradual development. This is partly true; and yet what more valuable material for the still obscure history of Hellenistic art could we have than that derived from contemporary portraits of known men? Thus Prof.

Bernoulli's want of attention to the history of portrait sculpture, to the formal or stylistic side of his subject, is even in this volume a defect. It is also to be regretted that he has excluded Alexander and the Greek kings who inherited the fragments of his Empire, since this is one of the most interesting branches of the subject. It is much to be hoped that some competent authority will before long repair this omission; for the numismatic basis of the iconography of the Diadochi has been so well laid by the masterly hand of Dr. Imhoof-Blumer, that it is a pity it should not receive a superstructure.

It will be to most readers a surprise to find what an enormous number of portraits of Greek celebrities exist in our Museums. Dr. Bernoulli mentions more than forty extant portraits of Demosthenes, either certain or probable; of Epicurus twenty-six, and so on with others. Considering the importance to the students of ancient literature of the portraits of the authors whom they read, it is extraordinary that this mass of valuable evidence should have been neglected of late years. From the Renaissance to the time of Visconti Iconography was pursued with ardour, though of course with an almost complete want of critical method; but since Visconti, the subject has fallen into neglect.

In a recent visit to Naples I became convinced that one of the best ways of approaching ancient portrait sculpture would be a minute comparative study of the portraits from Herculaneum, the preservation of which is so perfect as to allow a very precise classification: in Prof. Bernoulli's book these portraits are of necessity dispersed.

As a rule, our author does not include effigies of uncertain persons; but he makes an exception in favour of a very interesting group of portraits representing an elderly man with an expression of profound suffering, the head which used to be called Seneca, and the likeness of which to Ruskin will strike an English student. Of this about thirty copies exist. The problem of the attribution has been taken up by many archaeologists, and the solutions offered by some of them are not such as to increase our respect for the judgment of archaeologists. Seneca the head certainly is not; the beard alone would make this impossible; besides, we have an inscribed portrait of Seneca. The fixed points are that the head is a work of the third century, B.C., and that it is sometimes a counterpiece to the head of Epicurus. In one example it bears

an ivy wreath; but Prof. Bernoulli is probably right in regarding this wreath as an unauthorized addition of a Roman copyist. He considers that the head must be a naturalistic portrait of some person of the third century, and has no one to suggest save Eratosthenes the Librarian of the Alexandrian Library. But Eratosthenes is scarcely a sufficiently notable person to be copied in so many replicas. For my part, I fully agree with those who think that in this head, as in the closely similar head of Homer, we have not a transcript of a person but an exaggerated ideal type. As the ancients would have said, it represents not a sad man but grief personified. Almost certainly it represents one of the early philosophers; and I would venture to suggest that it may be a fanciful portrait of Heraclitus, the weeping sage, whom it would be not at all unnatural to regard as a counter-type to Epicurus, the later representative of Democritus, the laughing sage. We should have here one of those striking but superficial contrasts which would attract the Roman amateur.

Prof. Bernoulli's treatment of the portraits of Aristotle is very careful and interesting. He thinks that we must not put much faith in Prof. Studniczka's attempt to identify a bearded head of a philosopher at Vienna as the presentment of Aristotle, though the beardless head formerly called Aristotle is certainly wrongly named. On the other hand Studniczka's attempt to identify a portrait of Menander is much more favourably judged. It is by attempts such as these, whether finally established or not, that we must trust in the main for the future progress of ancient iconography, since the finding of new portraits has of late become a slow business.

In his discussion of the portrait of Mausolus, Dr. Bernoulli is not specially happy. He does not fully appreciate it as a work of art; and with regard to the modelling of the chest he writes 'auffallend, und beinahe Zweifel an der Zugehörigkeit des Torso erregend, ist die weibliche Bildung der Brust.' I think that if he had compared the breast of Artemisia, he would scarcely have published this sentence. The breast of Mausolus is fleshy, but not feminine. Dr. Bernoulli does not try to solve the interesting question of the authorship, but he fully endorses my view that the attempt to connect the statues of Mausolus and Artemisia with the chariot of Pythis and its clumsy horses must be given up.

I must not, however, be led into further

discussion of individual portraits. At p. 202 there is a bad misprint: the substitution of ΠΛΑΤΩΝΙΤΟΝ ΦΙΛΟΣΟΦΟΝ for ΠΛΑΤΩΝΙΚΟΝ ΦΙΛΟΣΟΦΟΝ makes nonsense of a cited inscription. As in private duty bound I have carefully examined Dr. Bernoulli's statements as to portraits preserved at Oxford, and find them generally accurate. But neither the bronze heads of Socrates (Chandler ci) and of Plato (Chandler cii), nor the Pseudo-Seneca head (Comparetti, *La Villa Ercol.* p. 44) are now to be found in Oxford. Probably the two bronzes are modern; as to the Pseudo-Seneca head, it would seem as though Prof. Comparetti was mistaken in supposing it ever existed at Oxford. Cambridge is to be congratulated on possessing a fine and important portrait of Plato, which has hitherto been called Hermarchus.

P. GARDNER.

ROBERT'S *DER MÜDE SILEN*.

Der Müde Silen, Marmorbild aus Herculanum. Dreißundzwanzigste Hallisches Winkelmannsprogramm. By C. ROBERT. With an excursus on the East Frieze of the so-called Theseion. Plate and 17 cuts. Halle, 1899. 3 Mk.

PROFESSOR ROBERT'S writings are always original and interesting, even if his theories cannot always be accepted, and his annual contributions to archaeology in the form of the *Winkelmannsprogramme* are always welcome. Of late years he has been dealing with a series of wall-paintings on marble from Herculaneum, of which the present is the fifth and last.

The painting in question has been long known to archaeologists, but has never received satisfactory treatment. It was found in 1749 and first published in the *Pitture d'Ercolano*, i. pl. 3, but with almost ludicrous inaccuracy. It was, however, accepted up to 1828 when Gerhard pointed out the most glaring errors, and a more satisfactory reproduction was given by Jorio in his guide of 1830 to the Museo Borbonico. The present publication, due to the skilful hand of M. Gilliéron, shows a wide divergence from the preceding ones; but the painting is, and has been since its first discovery, in a sadly faded condition. It has been the subject of Prof. Robert's attention since 1874. The subject was first determined by Gerhard, who settled it by identifying the object held by a Seilenos as

a drinking-horn. By a curious misconception he was first represented as nursing a child (see the cut on p. 2, compared with that on p. 3). A Palladion on a column in the background was also misinterpreted as a vase.

The subject represents a Seilenos seated under a tree and drinking from a horn held by a woman who bends over him; on the other side of the picture is another woman leaning against a mule. That the women are priestesses or kings' daughters is evident from their distinguished appearance and careful dress. The Palladion obviously indicates a precinct of Athena, and taken in conjunction with the tree (*i.e.* the sacred olive) this precinct may be further identified as the Athenian Acropolis. The clue is then given by a passage in Pausanias (i. 23, 5), mentioning a stone on which according to tradition Seilenos rested when he came with Dionysos to Attica. Unfortunately instead of enlarging on the story, Pausanias goes off into a discussion of the difference between Satyrs and Seileni.

It was therefore left for Prof. Robert to fill up the gap, and this he seems to have done in a fully satisfactory manner. Tradition recorded Dionysos' reception by Amphiktion on his first appearance, and Pausanias (i. 2, 5) describes ἀγάλματα in the house of Pulytion representing this subject. The interesting question whether these ἀγάλματα could have been reliefs and therefore the prototypes of the well-known 'Ikarios-reliefs' of which the British Museum possesses examples in marble and terracotta, is put aside by Prof. Robert as not germane to his subject; but it has been fully dealt with of late by other writers (see Frazer's and Blümner's editions).

There was however an earlier visit of the god to Attica, in which he taught the Attic peasants the use of the vine, in the time of King Pandion. Following in the steps of Gerhard, our author is inclined to think that this may be the visit alluded to in the painting, and thereby at any rate obtains a satisfactory interpretation of the two women, who thus appear as the daughters of Pandion, Prokne and Philomela.

The next question which calls for con-

sideration is the style and origin of the composition. In itself this is evidently later than the other Herculaneum paintings, as shown by many small details. The original can hardly be earlier than the fourth century, and may be as late as the third. The great advance shown in the use of perspective must date from the time intervening between Zeuxis and Apelles. The original of the painting was probably at Athens, and the influence of the Sicynian school is visible in many details.

Not the least interesting part of this valuable monograph is the excursus on the east frieze of the 'Theseion,' in which Prof. Robert controverts many points in Dr. Sauer's interpretation, owning at the same time that he has not yet found a satisfactory explanation himself. Its connection with the painting is brought about by Sauer's recognition of Amphiktion on the frieze. The subject, as is well known, is that of a Gigantomachia; the giants however, as shrewdly noted by Sauer, do not use the rocks they carry as missiles, but as shields, to defend themselves, and the fighting is done with their bare fists. This gives Prof. Robert a clue which he ingeniously follows up, pointing out that Phorbas the King of the Phleggyae was a well-known boxer and conquered Apollo in this manner. He therefore names the central figure of the frieze Apollo, and interprets the subject as the attack of the Phleggyae on Delphi (Paus. ix. 36, 2). The reference then is to the first Holy War, typified in a mythological fashion, and the subject was selected in order to glorify the alliance of Athens with Delphi. Of the attendant deities, Zeus, Hera, and Athena represent Athens, and the group on the right, Boeotia the intermediate country. Prof. Robert thus declares boldly for the dedication of the temple to Apollo Patroos.

The theory is certainly ingenious, and does not seem on the face of it open to any serious objection. The whole *brochure* may be confidently recommended as a valuable contribution to the study of ancient monuments.

H. B. W.

SUMMARIES OF PERIODICALS

Revue de Philologie. Vol. 26, 1. Jan. 1902.

Une dédicace à Jupiter Dolichénius, F. Cumont. Differs from Kau as to the meaning of an inscr. in his dissertation of *Jovis Dolicheni cultu. L'incriminé dans les Satires d'Horace*, A. Cartault. A supplement to the writer's *Étude sur les Satires d'Horace* to verify the principle that 'the expression in the Satires is not always adequate to the thought.' *Horace Sat. II. 3. 274*, A. Cartault. Horace means that the amorous old man mutilates his words by making the palatal pronunciation predominate where it has no place. *Encore une fois Laur.* LXIX, 30, K. Hude. On the MSS of Thucydides. A reply to Serruys' art. in no. 2 of the last vol. *Un manuscrit de Solin révélé par les notes tironiennes*, E. Chatelain. On the information to be derived from the tachygraphic annotations of cod. Vossianus Q 87 in the Univ. Library at Leyden. *Les manuscrits parisiens de Grégoire de Nazianze*, A. Misier. A classification of the MSS. of the five theological orations (Migne 27-31). *Études critiques sur l'Appendix de Saint Cyprien*, P. Monceaux. A miscellaneous collection too much neglected. Many of the works are interesting and some belong to Africa of the third century. None can be attributed to St. Cyprian. *Une inscription oubliée*, B. Haussoullier. An inscr. discovered by Loftus at Susa and published by him in 1857, though scarcely noticed by subsequent Assyriologists. *Sur une inscription de Trézène*, Ph. E. Legrand. *Les lois métriques de la prose oratoire latine d'après Je Bruttus*, H. Borneque. Shows that Cicero here applies metrical laws to all parts of the sentence, and these laws are less strict than those found in Pliny's Panegyric. In Cicero they are purely negative and intended to prevent all resemblance between prose and poetry. *Les îles milésiennes: Léron, Lepsia, Patmos, Les Korsiae*, B. Haussoullier. Various inscriptions. *Remarques sur la syntaxe de cum*, F. Gaffiot. A criticism on Lebreton's chapter (in his *Étude sur la langue et la grammaire de Cicéron*) on *cum* 'to express equivalence' a term which, taken from Hale, he wishes to prevail over Riemann's '*cum* correspondant au tour français en suivi du gérondif.'

Neue Jahrbücher für das Klassische Altertum, etc. Vol. 7, 10. 1901.

Homer und die Heldensage, E. Bette. The proper home of the legend of the Trojan war is not the Troad, but two parts in Greece itself, (1) the land of Pharsalos to the Spercheios, the Aeolic realm of Achilles, and the land to the S.E. as far as Boeotian Thebes, and (2) Lacedaemon where not only Menelaus and Helen but also Agamemnon, Alexandros-Paris and his sister Alexandra-Kassandra have their true home. The abode of Aineias and his ancestor Dardanos is in Arcadia: Tros the grandson of Dardanos is the son of the Attic Erichthonios. At Lesbos the chief seat of Aeolian culture, different races from all Greece met, and the siege of a powerful city in the Troad reminded the besiegers of their fights at home. *Der heutige Stand der Papyrusforschung*, U. Wilcken. Considering the mass of material already collected and the prospect of much more, the chief want is a number of skilled workers. W. H. Roscher reviews Rohde's *Kleine Schriften* 2 vols.

Vol. 9, 1, 1902.

Christentum und Hellenismus in ihren literarischen Beziehungen, P. Wendland. Contrasts the influence of these two opposed conceptions of the world as far as the time of Origen. *Der geschichtliche Wert der Reden bei den alten Historikern*, W. Soltan. Distinguishes four kinds of speeches (1) the authentic or historical (2) the purely rhetorical (3) the speech setting forth the writer's judgment on persons and things (4) the 'Tendenzrede' in which the words are those of the author only who seeks thereby to subordinate the historical presentment to a definite direction, whether political religious or philosophical. The different kinds illustrated by Livy, Dionysius of Halicarnassus, Sallust, and others. *Die Geschichte des Altertums im Zusammenhange der allgemeinen Entwicklung der modernen historischen Forschung*, J. Kaerst. On the different conceptions of the way in which ancient history should be written, from Herder and Niebuhr to the present day. Th. Plüss reviews Cartault's *Étude sur les Satires d'Horace* and W. Nestle, Troels-Lund's *Gesundheit und Krankheit in der Anschauung alter Zeiten*.

Wochenschrift für Klassische Philologie. 1902.

19 Feb. A. Römer, *Homeric Gestalten und Gestaltungen* (Hoerenz), favourable. *Papyri Argentinenses Graecae* ed. A. C. Kalbfleisch (C. Wessely). 'Excellently deciphered and commented.' F. P. Bremer, *Jurisprudential Antichadrianae quae supersunt*. II. (B. Kübler), favourable on the whole. *Q. Curti Rufi historiarum Alexandri Magni libri qui supersunt* herausg. von Th. Stangl, very favourable. R. Shilleto, *Greek and Latin Compositions* (H. Draheim), favourable.

26 Feb. P. Meyer, *Das Heerwesen der Ptolemäer und Römer in Ägypten* (B. Kübler), favourable. Fr. Pradel, *De praepositionum in prisca latinitate utriusque usu* (R. Helm). 'A thoroughly diligent piece of work.' *Codices graeci et latini photographice depicti* duce Scatone de Vries. vii, 1. *Tacitus* cod. Laur. Med. 68 I. Cod. Laur. Med. 68 II (G. Andresen) O. Seeck, *Geschichte des Unterganges der antiken Welt*. II (A. Höck). 'A work of manifold learning.'

5 Mar. G. Pinza, *Monumenti primitivi della Sardegna* (A. Mayr), favourable. E. Wölfflin, *Plinius und Cluvius Rufus* (G. Andresen). C. Dietrich *Grundlagen der Völkerverkehrssprache* (O. Weissenfels), unfavourable.

12 Mar. Fr. Matthias, *Über Pytheas von Massilia und die ältesten Nachrichten von den Germanen*. I. (P. Schulze). 'An interesting contribution.' K. Kuiper, *De Crantoris fragmentis moralibus* (G. Wörpel), unfavourable. G. Macdonald, *Catalogue of Greek coins in the Hunterian Collection*, II (H. v. Fritze). S. L. Tuxen, *Kaiser Tiberius* (W. Liebenam). 'Contains nothing new.'

19 Mar. O. Gruppe, *Griechische Mythologie und Religionsgeschichte*. II. 1 (H. Stauding), very favourable. G. Antenrieth, *Wörterbuch zu den homerischen Gedichten*. 9. v. A. von A. Kaegi (G. Vogrinz). E. Strazzeri, *Apollonio di Tyana e la cronologia dei suoi viaggi* (J. Miller). 'Shows want of knowledge of the later literature.' *Mitteilungen der Altertumskommission für Westfalen*. II. *Haltern und die Altertumsforschung der Lippe* (C. Koenen).

LIST OF NEW BOOKS.

- Adam* (J.) Texts to illustrate a Course of Elementary Lectures on Greek Philosophy, after Aristotle. 8vo. viii, 70 pp. Macmillan, 1902. 3s. 6d.
- Annales de l'Université de Lyon. Nouvelle Série.* II. Droit, Lettres. Fascicule 8.
- Aristophanes.* Ecclesiazusae. Greek text revised by B. B. Rogers. 4to. Bell, 1902. 7s. 6d.
- Frogs. Greek text revised by B. B. Rogers. 4to. Bell, 1902. 10s. 6d.
- Frogs and Ecclesiazusae. Greek text revised by B. B. Rogers. 4to. Bell, 1902. 15s.
- Augustini* (Sancti Aureli) de perfectione iustitiae hominis, etc. (Corpus Script. Ecclesiast. Lat. Vol. XXXII. Sect. VIII. Pars. II.) 8vo. xxix. 330 pp. Vindobonae, 1902. Mk. 11.
- Cicero*nis Rhetorica recog. A. S. Wilkins. Vol. I. Crown 8vo. Oxonii, e Typographeo Clarendoniano. 3s.
- Cicero.* Rby (H. J.) Essays on the Law in Cicero's Private Orations. 8vo. 102 pp. Cambridge, for private distribution, 1902.
- Euripidis* Fabulae recog. G. Murray. Vol. I. Crown 8vo. Oxonii, e Typographeo Clarendoniano. 3s. 6d.
- Euripides.* Wecklein (N.) Die kyklische Thebais, die Oedipodee, die Oedipussage und der Oedipus des Euripides. Akad. 8vo. 32 pp. Wien 1902.
- Eusebii* Werke, herausgegeben von J. A. Heikel. Bd. I. 8vo. cvii, 358 pp. Leipzig, 1902. Mk. 17.
- Firmery* (J.) Notes critiques sur quelques traductions Allemandes de poèmes Français au moyen-âge. 8vo. 150 pp. Paris, 1901. 5 fr.
- Head* (B. V.) Catalogue of the Greek Coins of Lydia. 8vo. cl., 440 pp. Map and 45 plates. London, British Museum, 1901.
- Heisenberg* (A.) Analecta. Mitteilungen aus italienischen Handschriften byzantinischer Chronographen. Hab. 8vo. 45 pp. Würzburg, 1901.
- Homer.* Iliad, Books IX, X, edited with introduction and notes by J. C. Lawson. 12mo. xxxii, 100 pp. Cambridge, Pitt Press Series, 1902. 2s. 6d.
- Keller (A. G.) Homeric Society: A Sociological Study of the Iliad and Odyssey. Crown 8vo. 1902. 5s.
- Huddleston* (J.) Lessons from Greek Pottery, with a bibliography of Greek Ceramics. 8vo. xiv, 415 pp. New York, 1902. \$1. 25.
- Kachler* (O.) Annotationes ad comicos Graecos. Gel. 4to. 18 pp. Weimar 1901.
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The Classical Review

MAY 1902.

THE announcement of a proposal to revive the Palaeographical Society will cause pleasurable surprise in many quarters. The old society was founded in 1873 and its career came to a close in 1895; and the present time seems an opportune one for the formation of a new one which will resume the work of its predecessor upon much the same lines. In one respect it will probably be different as it will draw its illustrations less from the stores of the British Museum than from collections abroad and from the libraries of Universities Colleges Cathedrals and private collectors in this country. Promises of adhesion and co-operation have already been received from the custodians of the MSS. in the great libraries in Oxford, Cambridge, and Dublin, Paris, Berlin, Heidelberg, Florence, Milan and Rome. The circular bears the signatures of Sir E. M. Thompson, Mr. G. F. Warner, and Mr. F. G. Kenyon, to any of whom promises of support may be sent. The proposed subscription is one guinea, and as soon as a sufficient number of names have been received, a preliminary meeting will be held.

At the present day there is no need to insist upon the importance of a knowledge of palaeography to every classical scholar; and such knowledge may no doubt be best acquired by a study of originals or facsimiles. There is something however which the palaeographical expert might do to smooth the path of those who have but scanty leisure to examine MSS. for themselves, and which, so far as Latin scholarship is concerned is badly needed at the present time; we mean the collection into one

volume of the alphabets and chief siglae current at different periods and in different places. It is no exaggeration to say that there are several Latin authors whose text cannot be placed on a sure foundation until the stages through which it has passed are realised. Suppose, a by no means improbable occurrence, that an archetype in rustic capitals was copied by a Merovingian scribe, and from this copy another made in Caroline minuscule which was in its turn the exemplar of a thirteenth century German scribe whose copy was finally the source of a fifteenth century Italian MS. We should get a text resulting whose corruptions it will be impossible to unravel without a knowledge of all the scripts which had conspired to produce them. We commend the suggestion to the new society.

The discovery of some new fragments of Sappho and Alcaeus published in Bulletin no. X (Sitzungsberichte, February 20) of the Royal Berlin Academy may be news to some of our readers. They formed part of a collection acquired in 1896 through the instrumentality of Dr. Reinhardt; and they were brought to light by Dr. W. Schubart who gives a restoration of them with facsimiles in the above cited bulletin. The Sappho fragments (three in number) are on parchment written in a small and careful uncial, ascribed by the editor to the 6th if not the 7th century A.D. (Mr. Kenyon thinks the later date the nearer). One of the fragments is a mere scrap. The subject of the first of the longer ones is the leave-taking of a young woman who has been a member of the Sapphic circle. She is heart-broken with grief, and Sappho endeavours to

comfort her by reminding her of all the happy times they have had together. The subject of the second is the absence of Atthis, who is mentioned by name. Atthis is in Lydia away from her friends, to one of whom the poem was addressed. The following extract will serve to show the metre of this and the previous poems which appears to be a novel combination.

νῦν δὲ Λύδαισιν ἐντρίπεται γύναι-
 κέσσιν ὥς ποτ' ἀελίῳ
 δύντος ἅ βροδοδάκτυλος σελάινα
 πάντα περρέχουσ' ἄστρα, φάος δ' ἐπι-
 σχει θάλασσαν ἐπ' ἄλμυράν
 ἴσως καὶ πολυανθέμοις ἀρούραις.

The divisions of the lines are those of the MS., but *σελάινα* is a correction of the editor for *μύνα*. The discovery enables us to place two previously known fragments, Bergk, 46, 49 in their context.

The Alcaeus fragment is on papyrus. It is in uncial writing and appears to be not

later than the 2nd century A.D. It is much mutilated as one line of it which was already known (Fr. 23) will show

[ἄνδρες γὰρ πόλι]ος πύργος ἀρεύ[οι]

We have received from the publishers, the Johns Hopkins Press, Baltimore, the collection of studies with which the former pupils of Professor B. L. Gildersleeve commemorate his seventieth birthday (Oct. 23, 1901). The number of studies is forty-four and the subjects most various. The volume is a handsome and portly one of 527 pages, and is embellished by an agreeable portrait of the Professor who as editor of the *American Journal of Philology*, and in other capacities has done so much for Greek scholarship in America. Its price is six dollars. Apropos of memorial volumes, our readers may be interested to know that Professor van Herwerden, the eminent Greek critic of Holland, is to receive a similar tribute in June upon his retirement from his chair.

THE AXE TEST.

(HOM. *Od.* XIX. 572. XXI. 120. 421.)

THE above passages afford one of the most difficult problems in the whole of Homer, *i.e.* what is the precise nature of the test described. The most usual explanation is that axes of a peculiar pattern were used, the heads of which supplied a hole through which an arrow might be shot. There are difficulties in the way of this explanation. It would be hard to discover an axe-head in which there was a hole sufficiently long to allow for the curve described by an arrow in its flight. And if such an axe-head had been used, clearly not being of the usual pattern (the axes that are found in Mycenaean remains being of the simplest description, whether single- or double-headed), its nature would surely have been described so as to clearly describe the test. Moreover if the arrow has to pass through the head of the axe, why is *στελεῖν*, which most scholars are agreed in rendering 'handle' introduced so prominently? There is not, however, the slightest hint that any peculiar kind of axe-head is used, we are only told that the axes were arranged in one long trench like *δρύοχοι*. This, apparently, is considered a sufficient explanation of an arrangement so unintelligible to us. If we

regard the axe-handles as being placed upright, as Dr. Monro insists in his *Odyssey*, *δρύοχος* ὡς conveys no more to us than the uprights of a fence or a line of men.

There seems to be a difference of opinion among scholars as to whether *δρύοχοι* were the stays upon which the keel rested while the ribs were being put in, or the ribs themselves. Mr. R. C. Seaton in *Class. Rev.* x. 168*b* supports the latter view and quotes in favour thereof Procopius (*de bell. Goth.* iv. 22) *τά τε παχεία ξύμπαντα ξύλα ἐς τὴν τρώπιν ἐναρμοσθέντα—ἅπερ οἱ μὲν ποιεῖται δρύοχους καλοῦσιν, ἕτεροι δὲ νομέας—ἐκ τοίχου μὲν ἔκαστον θατέρου ἄχρι ἐς τῆς νεῶς διήκει τὸν ἕτερον τοίχον and also the schol. on *Ap. Rh.* i. 723. *δρύοχους* ἐν οἷς καταπύσσεται ἡ τρώπις ξύλοις, ταῦτα οὕτως καλοῦσιν" *Ὀμηρος* (τ 574) *δρύοχοι* οὖν τὰ ἐγκοίλια τῆς νεῶς. If this view is correct, it seems impossible to understand that the axes were placed straight up. Whether the word *δρύοχοι* was as yet associated with ship-building is not clear in Homer, but it seems unlikely that, if it was originally used to represent upright posts, it should afterwards be transferred to the ribs of a ship.*

Now if we take *δρύοχοι* to mean trestles

in the usual acceptation of the term, that is to say, long pieces of wood that cross one another so as to support a log in the angle thus formed, the solution of the problem becomes fairly easy. Such trestles, when required to support a heavy piece of timber, might well have their lower ends buried in the ground for the sake of firmness. It is also probable that trestles when required to hold a log would be so fastened that the parts of the pieces of wood composing them which are above the point of junction would be considerably shorter than the ends below the point of junction. If the axe-handles were crossed in this manner, the lower edges of two axe-heads would enclose the angle

above the point where their two handles intersected, so as to form a rough triangle. The twelve axes may have been arranged in pairs or they may have been placed equidistant from one another. In either case, when seen from one end, a space enclosed on two sides by the axe-handles and on the third side by the axe-heads would run down the line. Thus the axe-handles would play a most important part in the formation of the mark and this would explain the introduction of *σρεῖλαις* in *xxi.* 422. In this arrangement the ordinary axes could be used whether single-headed, or the double-headed *λάβρυσ*.

A. T. C. CREE.

APOLLO AND THE ERINYES IN THE *ELECTRA* OF SOPHOCLES.

ONE essential difference in Sophocles' treatment of the Orestes story as compared with that of Aeschylus or Euripides seems so far to have met with no adequate explanation.

I refer to Sophocles' attitude towards the murder of Clytemnestra by Orestes.

Both Aeschylus and Euripides, despite the difference in their standpoint, regard this murder, though expressly commanded by Apollo, as an unnatural crime, exposing Orestes to the pursuit of the Erinyes of his mother. Sophocles on the other hand in his *Electra* treats it as wholly praise-worthy, as the simple discharge of a pious duty, by which means the house of Atreus was freed from its troubles.

This is a difference of conception not easy to account for at a time when Aeschylus' version had become a classic and was sufficiently familiar to an Athenian audience to be burlesqued a few years later by Euripides.

In the introduction to his edition of Sophocles' *Electra* Sir Richard Jebb says (*p.* xli), 'I do not know any adequate solution of this difficulty, which seems greater than has generally been recognised. I can only suggest one consideration which may help to explain it. The Homeric colouring in the *Electra* is strongly marked; thus the *Odyssey* is followed in the version of Agamemnon's murder as perpetrated at the banquet,—there are even verbal echoes of it;¹ the chariot race in the *Iliad* (*Bk.* xxiii) has furnished several traits to the narrative

of the disaster at the Pythian Games.² Sophocles seems to say to his audience 'I give you, modified for drama, the story that Homer tells; put yourselves at the Homeric standpoint: regard the action of Orestes under the light in which the *Odyssey* presents it.'

To recognise that in this as in other points Sophocles was reverting to the Homeric type is the first step gained: but his motive for doing so is still to seek.

The Choephoroi of Aeschylus turns on a conflict of claims. The murdered Agamemnon is entitled to vengeance at the hand of his son Orestes, and for Orestes to neglect this claim is impious;³ but the murderer of Agamemnon is Orestes' mother, and to shed kindred blood is also impious.⁴ In the one case he has his father's, in the other his mother's Erinyes to fear.⁵ The situation is apparently an impasse. The study of the character of Orestes under the strain of this moral dilemma gives to the play its human interest. But the conflict of human emotions is for Aeschylus second in importance to another. To him Orestes is only the puppet, and the real struggle lies between Apollo and the Erinyes, the contending deities who pull the strings. The question of the origin and development of the Erinyes has been dis-

² See on vv. 712, 721 f., 748.

³ Aes. Cho. 399-401 and 263-295 for the penalties attending neglect.

⁴ Aes. Septem vv. 668-9 and Dr. Verrall's note *ad loc.* 721-726, Aes. Cho. 64-68 and Dr. Verrall's note *ad loc.*

⁵ Aes. Cho. 923-4.

¹ See commentary on v. 95, and on vv. 193-196.

cussed by Miss Jane Harrison in the *Hellenic Journal* for 1899, Pt. II in her suggestive article called *Delphika*, to which I shall repeatedly refer, as it is in her conclusions that I find the basis of my argument. The Erinyes of Aeschylus are variously conceived in the different plays, and indeed in the course of the same play. At times they are, as already in Homer, personified abstractions, but at times they come nearer to the primitive conception of them as the 'angry ghosts' of the dead.¹

In the *Agamemnon*, for example, the Erinyes is an abstraction, a 'detached minister of divine justice'²

ἡ τις Ἀπόλλων
ἡ πᾶν ἡ Ζεὺς . . . ὑστερόποιον
πέμπει παραβᾶσιν Ἐρινύν.³

or a curse-spirit (*Ag.* 1108) or again the vengeful spirits in particular of injured kin (*Ag.* 1189) *κῶμος . . . συγγόνων Ἐρινύων*. In the *Choephoroi* Aeschylus cites (*Cho.* 282)

προσβολὰς Ἐρινύων
'εκ τῶν πατρώων αἱμάτων τελομένης,

('apparitions of fiends brought to effect by that paternal blood,' Dr. Verrall's transl.) as haunting the man who neglects a vengeance claim, a conception not far removed from the primitive one of the 'angry ghost.'⁴ The vengeful spirit of the murdered father is invoked in the *kommos* with elaborate prayer and ritual beside his tomb; and Orestes (symbolised by the snake⁵ of Clytemnestra's dream—another survival of a primitive cult)⁶ is the vehicle of this Erinyes. But, the vengeance effected, he is himself pursued by the Erinyes of his mother,⁷ who in the *Eumenides*⁸ appear as a group of avengers exclusively concerned to avenge the mother-murder.⁹ It is this aspect of them as mother-champions to the exclusion of other claims, such as are for example recognised in the *Choephoroi*, on which Aeschylus fastens to supply the motive in the *Eumenides*: and it is one that truthfully reflects an actual phase in their development.¹⁰

The cult of the Erinyes (early associated

with Gaia the earth mother)¹¹ dates from a time when kinship was traced through the mother, and to shed a mother's blood was the inextinguishable sin. They belong then to an older stratum than Apollo, who, as the mouthpiece¹² of his father Zeus, reflects the newer tenet of the greater sanctity of the blood-tie through the father and accordingly in this contention sustains the father's claim.¹³ The opposition is further heightened by the fact that in contrast to the implacability of the Erinyes, who work inexorably as a law of nature,¹⁴ there had arisen with the development of the religion of Delphi a belief in the possibility of purification from guilt through Apollo. On this antithesis between the older and the younger order Aeschylus does not scruple to insist,¹⁵ and in the *Choephoroi* and above all in the *Eumenides* the real point, apart from the political bearing of the play, lies in the struggle between these two powers, the Erinyes and Apollo, and the principles for which they stood.

It is in fact a conflict between two incompatible ideals¹⁶ which were typical of two opposing cults (having their origin we are led to think in racial difference) and we have here reflected a stage in the struggle before the two elements were fused, though their ultimate amalgamation and adaptation is implied in the transformation of the Erinyes into what Miss Harrison would call their 'white'¹⁷ selves under the altered name of *Semnai*.

In the *Choephoroi* Apollo commands Orestes in his dilemma to kill his mother and avenge his father, promising him, as guiltlessly guilty, purification and in the end immunity.

Orestes stakes everything upon Apollo's word: invokes as confederate the vengeful spirit of his father: accomplishes the murder and is at once pursued by the Erinyes of his mother.

¹¹ *Delphika*, p. 212.

¹² *Aes. Eum.* 19 *Διὸς προφήτης δ' ἐστὶ Λοξίας πατρός* and *Eum.* 616-18.

¹³ This transition is curiously illustrated by a passage from the *Septem* where the phraseology of the old belief in the special sanctity of the mother is applied by a transference to the 'father-land.' *Aes. Sep.* 571-3: *μητρός τε πηγὴν τίς κατασβέσει δίκη | πατρίς δὲ γαῖα σῆς ὑπὸ σπουδῆς δορί | ἀλούσα πῶς σοι σύμμαχος γενήσεται*; and see Dr. Verrall's note *ad loc.*

¹⁴ *Aes. Prom.* v. 532 speaks of the *μοῖραι τριμόρφοι μνημόνες τ'* Ἐρινύες as guiding the helm of necessity and controlling Zeus himself.

¹⁵ *Aes. Eum.* 150, 162, 394, etc.

¹⁶ *Delphika*, p. 251.

¹⁷ *Delphika*, p. 208 and 250.

¹ *Delphika*, p. 205.

² *Delphika*, p. 205.

³ *Aes. Ag.* 55-9.

⁴ *Delphika*, p. 245.

⁵ *Aes. Cho.* 547 *ἐκδρακοντωθείς δ' ἐγώ*.

⁶ *Delphika*, p. 213.

⁷ *Cho.* 1046.

⁸ *Eum. passim.*

⁹ *Delphika*, p. 207.

¹⁰ *Delphika*, p. 239.

The Eumenides is devoted to the justification of Apollo through the mouth of Athena and her Athenian court.

In it Apollo is pitted against the Erinyes. He appears as champion of a father's rights,—basing his claim upon the plea that a father's tie is closer than the mother's,—and is arraigned before Athena by the Erinyes, here conceived as a collective body of champions of a mother's claim. The votes are equal and Orestes is acquitted by the ruling of Athena who further induces the Erinyes to lay aside their vindictive character and become the guardians of the city's moral and material welfare.

The victory lies with Apollo and by Apollo's victory, hard won though it was, in a point in which his authority was strained and tested to the uttermost, Aeschylus once more, as in the *Septem*,¹ unhesitatingly upholds the religion of Delphi.

Turning to Euripides we find the main business of his *Electra* to be criticism: criticism certainly of Aeschylus, possibly of Sophocles, and, most deliberate of all, of the Delphic Apollo.

In spirit and in form the play is a criticism, amounting in parts to burlesque, of Aeschylus' *Choephoroi* and an oracle of Apollo is again the chief motive for the action: but in direct contrast to Aeschylus, Apollo is in the end discredited by the general conscience.

Euripides presents the same problem as Aeschylus, but registers his horror of Aeschylus' justification of Orestes' act.

Euripides' Orestes, like Aeschylus', shrinks from matricide as from an act against nature. As in the *Choephoroi* Apollo enjoins the deed: but Orestes is not here sustained by his word: in his heart he doubts him: but overborne by the insistence of Electra, who knows no scruples, he defies his misgivings and commits the murder: only to be at once struck with remorse as a sudden revulsion of feeling brings home to both alike the intrinsic horror of the deed. Here too Orestes is a prey to the attacks of the Erinyes—no longer however conceived as objective avengers but as the workings of a remorseful conscience, the phantasms of a sick man's disordered brain.²

It is no matter if the Dioscuri shuffle the blame off on Apollo's folly and the hereditary curse: that is a mere blind which need deceive nobody and does not obscure

Euripides' sense of Orestes' moral responsibility or his loathing of the crime enjoined by the god, who thus in his judgment stands condemned.

If now we compare Sophocles' treatment of this story with Aeschylus' and Euripides' we find that he differs entirely from both the one and the other. In Sophocles, as in Aeschylus and Euripides, Apollo's influence underlies the play: and, as in Aeschylus, his part is justified. He does not here enjoin the deed: he only prescribes the way it must be done; for the standpoint of the play assumes the vengeance to be both natural and inevitable—contemplated by Orestes himself, looked for by Electra, needing only the sanction of the god to determine the moment and the mode of execution.³ But Sophocles goes further still; with him there is no admission of any counter claim. The justification of Apollo which is the burning question of the *Choephoroi* and the Eumenides is in Sophocles tacitly assumed.

Orestes' action in killing the murderers of his father, in obedience to the traditional law of blood for blood reinforced in this case by the special mandate of Apollo, is regarded as unquestionably righteous. There is here no moral strain; no flinching beforehand, or compunction after. It is a divine mission simply and solemnly discharged which rids the house of the hereditary curse.⁴

With criticism like that of Euripides Sophocles had obviously nothing in common, but surely Aeschylus' frank presentment of Apollo on his trial would be no less repugnant to him.

The ethics of Aeschylus are rooted in the two sayings *δράσαντι παθεῖν* (Cho. 312) and *τῷ πάθει μαθεῖν* (Ag. 187). A sense of struggle is of the very essence of his creed and from this law of our being Zeus himself is not exempt.

Aeschylus recurs again and again to the rivalry of the old order and the new: for example in *Prom.* V. 155–8

νέοι γὰρ οἰακόνεμοι κρατῶσ' Ὀλύμπου
νεοχμοῖς δὲ δὴ νόμοις Ζεὺς
ἀθέτως κρατύνει,
τὰ πρὶν δὲ πελώρια νῦν αἰστοῦ.⁵

and Agamem. vv 170–193 is significant as the expression of the thought that the greater spirituality of Zeus had not with-

¹ Aes. Sep. 785–7.

² Eur. Orest. and Iph. in Taur.

³ Soph. El., 37, 1263.

⁴ Soph. El. 1508–10.

⁵ And cp. P. V. 216–20.

out struggle replaced the reign of brute force of his predecessors, Ouranos and Kronos.¹ That this rivalry of old and new lies at the heart of the Eumenides² we have already seen. But Sophocles, naturally orthodox and lacking the strenuous originality of Aeschylus, rests on the sense of an ordered and harmonious universe controlled by Zeus.

As in Aeschylus the supremacy of Zeus is attested many times, as in Antig. 605-10,

τεὺν, Ζεῦ, δύνασιν τίς ἀνδρῶν ὑπερβασία κατὰσχοι;
τὰν οὐθ' ὕπνος αἰρεῖ ποθ' ὁ πᾶντ' ἀγρεύων
οὔτε θεῶν ἄκματοι μῆνες. ἀγῆρως δὲ χρόνῳ
δυναστας κατέχεις Ὀλύμπου μαρμαρόεσσαν
αἴγλαν.

or Electra 174-5,

ἔτι μέγας οὐράνῳ
Ζεὺς ὅς ἐφορᾷ πάντα καὶ κρατύνει.

or in the despairing and defiant cry of Hyllus (Trach. 1278)

κ' οὐδὲν τούτων ὅτι μὴ Ζεύς.³

And of all the other gods and goddesses of Olympus the nearest to Zeus is Apollo.

Again as in Aeschylus, his is the voice by which Zeus speaks to men. His oracle is hailed as Διὸς ἀδνεπὲς φᾶτι, (Oed. Tyr. 151-3). Again and again their names are linked together as in Oed. Tyr. 499-500

ἄλλ' ὁ μὲν οὖν Ζεὺς ὁ τ' Ἀπόλλων ξυνετοὶ καὶ
τὰ βροτῶν
εἰδότες.⁴

But unlike Aeschylus there is nothing to show that Sophocles did not conceive of this ordered harmony having existed under the direction of Zeus and Apollo from all time. For who shall date the 'unwritten laws' that Antigone feared to break?⁵

Such a conception admitted of no consciousness of conflicting claims. God's word was law, no matter where it led: to question it would be a blasphemy. For Sophocles to represent Apollo then as fighting for rights imperilled by a counter-claim of the Erinyes would assuredly be foreign to his point of view.

Is it not then conceivable that Sophocles consciously sought to avoid a version in which Apollo and the Erinyes were

brought into active collision as representatives of opposing claims: and that, casting about for a way of escape from the current version of the tale, he found it in reverting in some measure to the lines of the Homeric prototype? If this is so we find the explanation of this individual treatment of the story in the temperament of Sophocles himself.

In the Homeric version Clytaemnestra's part is wholly secondary. It is not she, but Aegisthus who kills Agamemnon, though aided by her wiles;⁶ and it is Aegisthus that Orestes kills in requital, for which deed Athena holds him up as a pattern to the young Telemachus.⁷

That he also slew Clytaemnestra is nowhere explicitly stated,⁸ though her death at the same time as Aegisthus' is implied in the mention of the funeral feast that Orestes made for the Argives 'for his hateful mother and the coward Aegisthus.'⁹

One is by no means bound to assume that the story of a fury-hunted Orestes was necessarily of later origin than the Homeric poems: but at any rate for the Odyssey the story stops short with the death of Aegisthus and there is no hint of trouble to come.

Here then is a version in which neither Apollo nor the Erinyes have any part, in which therefore all contentious element is lacking. But by the time of Sophocles the part of Clytaemnestra as the murderess was established, as also her death in requital at Orestes' hands and the consequent pursuit of Orestes by her Erinyes.

Apollo too had become an integral part of the story to oppose the claims of the Erinyes, to give expiation to Orestes and to demonstrate the authority of Delphi. Sophocles could not therefore take the Homeric legend as it stood: but by following Homeric lines, in subordinating the part of Clytaemnestra to that of Aegisthus, so that Aegisthus' death, not hers, is the culminating point of the play, and by alienating all sympathy from Clytaemnestra, he contrived to readjust the focus, making it more possible to depict Orestes as a well-doer and to neglect the Erinyes of Clytaemnestra.

He could not as I have said dispense with Apollo: but that is the last thing

¹ Cf. Dr. Verrall's note on vv. 170, 178-85, 192-3.

² See p. 196.

³ And cf. Ant. 184, Trach. 275, Oed. Col. 1085.

⁴ And cf. Oed. Col. 623, and 792-3, and Ajax 186-7.

⁵ Ant. 450. 7. And cf. Oed. Tyr. 865-871.

⁶ Od. iv. 90-92.

⁷ Od. i. 293-302.

⁸ Except in Od. xxiv. 97, 200, both of which lines occur in a passage generally regarded as an interpolation.

⁹ Od. iii. 309.

he would have wished to do. He wished not to eliminate, but to magnify his part; and though robbed of the very function for which he originally came into the story—for matricide leaves seemingly no stain and therefore calls for no purification—Apollo is more than ever here the backbone of the play. He is prominent from first to last and every crisis in the story is punctuated by a reference to him.¹

Nor again could Sophocles eliminate the Erinyes: but with consummate skill the Erinyes themselves are made to serve his end.

No Erinyes are waked by the mother-murder: but the Erinyes of the murdered Agamemnon are active, not in opposition to, but in concert with Apollo.

The Erinyes as the avengers of wrong are invoked by Electra to come to her aid (El. 110-116)

ὦ δῶμ' Ἀἶδον καὶ Περσεφόνην
ὦ χθόνι' Ἑρμῇ καὶ πότνι' Ἀρά,
σεμναί τε θεῶν παῖδες Ἑρινύες,
αἱ τοὺς ἀδίκως θνήσκοντας ὀρᾷθ',
αἱ τοὺς εὐνάς ὑποκλεπτομένους,
ἔλθετ' ἀρήξατε, τίσασθε πατρός
φόνον ἡμετέρου . .

Clytaemnestra fears no Erinyes though she consorts with the man that was her accomplice in the murder (El. 275-6)

ἡ δ' ὥδε τλήμων ὥστε τῷ μιάστορι
ξύνεστ' Ἑρινὺν οὕτω ἐκφοβουμένη.

The chorus are confident that the Erinyes of Agamemnon will yet come. (El. 489-490)

ἥξει καὶ πολύπους καὶ πολύχειρ
ἂ δεινοῖς κρυπτομένα λόχοις χαλκόπους Ἑρινύς
and finally Orestes and Pylades enter the house to effect the vengeance as the ἄφυκτοι κύνες of Agamemnon—as the vehicle of his Erinyes. (El. 1388).

In a case then where conflicting claims might well be urged Sophocles assumes for his Erinyes the standpoint of Apollo in the Eumenides and espouses the father's as against the mother's claim.

Elsewhere in the plays this question does not arise. An examination of the references to the Erinyes in the other plays reveals them in the same rather shifting character as has been already noted in the case of Aeschylus. They are avengers, curse-spirits, more or less detached, often but not necessarily or always concerned to punish sins against kin.

¹ Soph. El. 32-37, 637 seq., 1264, 1376, seq., 1425.

In Antigone they are cited as avengers of wronged kinsmen (Ant. 1075): in the Trachinians of a wrong done by a wife to her husband (a wrong that the Erinyes of Aeschylus' Eumenides² refused to recognise) (Trach. 807-9) and again by one house to another (Trach. 893-5). In the Ajax the Erinyes is simply an avenger irrespective of blood-tie: (Ajax 837, 843, 1034, 1390), and so too in Trachinians 1051 and Antigone 600.

In the Oedipus plays we find again the conjunction of the Erinyes and Apollo: but in this case Sophocles is in line with Aeschylus in the Septem³; for the interests of Apollo and the Erinyes are here at one. For disobedience to the oracle of Apollo the house of Laius is dogged with misfortune: crime follows crime: and each fresh crime is regarded as the working of the Erinyes, who is here, as in the Septem,⁴ as it were the embodied curse: first the curse of Laius which drives Oedipus, an unconscious victim, to kill his father and marry his mother, exposing him to the double curse of father and of mother (Oed. Tyr. 417-18)

καὶ σ' ἀμφιπλήξῃ μητρός τε καὶ τοῦ σοῦ πατρός
ἐλᾷ ποτ' ἐκ γῆς τῆσδε δεινόπους Ἄρά.

And then in the Oedipus Coloneus, though Oedipus, after much suffering,—

ἐπεὶ τά γ' ἔργα μου
πεπονθότ' ἐστι μάλλον ἢ δεδρακότα.
Oed. Col. 266-7.—

is ultimately reconciled to Apollo and the Erinyes in their character of Eumenides or Semnai,⁵ his curse is in its turn transmitted to his sons who were guilty of impiety towards him.

ἀλλ' ἐμοὶ μὲν ἦδ' ὁδός
ἔσται μέλουσα, δύσποτμός τε καὶ κακὴ
πρὸς τοῦδε πατρός τῶν τε τοῦδ' Ἑρινύων.
Oed. Col. 1432-4.

The Erinyes are throughout the ministers of Apollo, and in Oedipus Tyrannus 469, by what Miss Harrison calls a 'mythological inversion,' they are actually said to attend upon him,⁶

δευαὶ αἱ δ' ἄμ' ἔπονται
κῆρες ἀναπλάκῃτοι.

Sophocles then far from presenting the younger God in collision with the elder

² Aes. Eum. 604-5.

³ Sep. 706-776.

⁴ Aes. Sep. 69, 642, etc.

⁵ Oed. Col. cf. Aes. Eum.

⁶ Delphika, p. 246.

race of deities gives only the resultant fusion, a fusion so perfect that the Erinyes can actually be described by him as the *followers* of Apollo himself.

It is then perhaps not unreasonable to suppose that Sophocles in his treatment of the Orestes story should have rejected the

open conflict between the two as presented by Aeschylus—as an aspect of things that could not exist for him—and should have had recourse to another version that would not jar upon the sense of harmony which is the ground-work of his religion.

JANET CASE.

'Ακραγής AND AGRIGENTUM.

Ὁξύστομος γὰρ Ζηνὸς ἀκραγὲς κύνας
Γρύπας φύλαξαι.—Aesch. *Prom.* 804.

It is surprising that the translation of ἀκραγείς by 'not barking,' already rejected by Hermann and Weil, should continue to be repeated by recent editors of the play. Aeschylean usage here requires,—this is admitted,—a 'qualifying epithet' to the metaphorical word κύνας. But such qualifying epithets must point to some feature in the thing signified, to which its metaphorical name does not correspond. Now we know that the peculiar feature, by which gryphons were distinguished from ordinary quadrupeds, was that they had the heads of eagles. The epithet therefore must indicate something which is not true of dogs, but *is true of eagles*. Nothing could be less suitable than ἀκραγείς in the sense of οὐ κράζοντες, for κράζειν denotes, strictly speaking, the cry of ravens and rooks, and, if used in the more general sense of 'making a noise,' it would apply to eagles as much as to dogs. That the gryphons were *silent* 'a nemine relatum est' (Weil). The meaning of ἀκραγής was already unknown to the ancient scholars. It is confused with another word ἀκραγγής,

and (with this passage in view), the most various meanings are assigned it,—ἄφωνος, αἰὲ κράζων, χαλεπός, δυναρής, σκληρός, αὐστηρός, ἀκρόχολος, ἀπεχθής, ἀσθενής. (Scholia, Hesych., *Etym. Magn.*) This ignorance suggests that the word belonged to some provincial dialect. Now we know that Aeschylus especially affected Sicilian words, e.g. ἀρμῶι, *Prom.* 616, ἀσχέδωρος, *frag.* 273, and perhaps βοῖνις, *Suppl.* 776. ὅτι δὲ Αἰσχύλος, διατρίψας ἐν Σικελίᾳ, πολλὰς κέχρηται φωναῖς Σικελικαῖς οὐδὲν θαυμαστόν. Athen. ix., 402 b. And here comes in a circumstance which may be worth noting in this connexion. The city of Akragas (Agrigentum) in Sicily has the *eagle* for its regular emblem on the coins. These emblems, it is well known, often belong to the class of 'canting devices,' e.g. the parsley of Selinus, the apple of Melos, the seal of Phokaia, the bent arm (ἀγκών) of Ancona, etc. When therefore we find Akragas represented by the eagle, and a meaning which connects it with the eagle required for ἀκραγείς in Aeschylus, we have perhaps more than a chance coincidence.

E. R. BEVAN.

AN EMENDATION OF EURIPIDES BACCHAE 240.

MAY I call attention to a difficulty in Euripides' Bacchae which as far as I can discover has been for the most part overlooked? I refer to the phrase κτυποῦντα θύρσον (l. 240). Dr. Sandys passes over the passage without comment. Dr. Tyrrell on the other hand has the following note: 'I will not have him *making his thyrses whistle through the air*, etc.' Unless the thyrses could be *cracked like a whip* it is hard to see what else κτυποῦντα θύρσον can mean.'

Surely neither alternative can be called satisfactory. In the first place the natural meaning of κτυποῦντα has to be very much strained. Secondly all the evidence of ancient literature and art goes against the supposition that the θύρσος was pliant, and so able to be 'cracked' like a whip. It is called κίσσινον βάκτρον or βέλος and is generally depicted as a rigid staff, ivy-wreathed and surmounted by a pine cone.

It seems that the reading must be at fault.

Might I suggest *βύρσαν vice θύρσον*? This gives excellent sense and presents no special palaeographical difficulty. Musgrave supposes a similar corruption of *βάλλει* to *βάλλει* in line 1186. Cf. also line 955. If *θύρσαν* were once written *vice βύρσαν* the next copyist would be sure to 'correct' it to *θύρσον*. As Housman remarks on another

passage, 'the scribe's head would be full of thyrsi.'

It may further be noted that the phrase *βύρσης κτύπος* occurs in line 513 of the play.

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ADVERSARIA DEMOSTHENICA.

(1) Dem. 36 (*pro Phormione*) § 38 τῆς ἐξ ἀρχῆς νεμηθείσης οὐσίας. This is still, even in the last edition of Sandys and Paley, explained as the shield factory and a reference is given to § 11: The editor does not observe that, were this interpretation correct, we should have the rent from the factory *twice over*, here and in § 37, where it is for the first 8 years included in the rent of the whole business and then reckoned for 10 years singly. The true explanation is to be derived from § 9, where we read that the guardians divided with Apollodorus all the property except the business leased to Phormio: this was divided later when the lease fell in.

(2) [Dem.] 45 (*in Stephanum* 1) § 19 οἱδὲ δέ, τῇ προκλήσει χρησάμενοι παραπετάσματι, διαθήκας ἐμαρτύρησαν ὡς ἂν μάλιστ' οἷ<μὲν Blass> δικασταὶ ταύτην τὴν διαθήκην ἐπίστευσαν τοῦ πατρὸς εἶναι, ἐγὼ δ' ἀπεκλείσθην τοῦ λόγου τυχεῖν ὑπὲρ ὧν ἀδικοῦμαι, οὗτοι δὲ φωραθεῖεν τὰ ψευδῇ μαρτυρηκότες. Editors have made great coil over this sentence. But with Blass' insertion there seems no occasion for further hesitation. The ἂν goes with φωραθεῖεν only; cf. [Dem.] 46 (*in Stephanum* 2) § 19 and Gebauer's comment quoted by Sandys; the indicatives are independent of it; and the whole sentence is 'deposed to a will in that way in which, *although* the jury believed ... and I was debarred ... yet they can most easily be convicted.' Had the speaker not interposed his μὲν clauses, there would be no difficulty.

(3) § 28 πρὸ τῆς προκλήσεως MSS., emended by Reiske to μετὰ, by Dobree to διὰ. The MS. reading seems enduring if we translate πρὸ 'instead of,' cf. § 19, the sense being 'instead of this challenge that they ostensibly make so much of, they have really been deposing to this will under cloak of the challenge.'

(4) § 59 καίτοι ὅστις ὁ ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι κακῶν ἀλλοτρίων κλέπτῃς ὑπέμειν' ὀνομασθῆναι, τί ἂν ἡγείσθε ποιῆσαι τοῦτον ἄλλου του FSQ (ὑπὲρ αὐτοῦ γρ FQ). Sandys reads ὑπὲρ αὐτοῦ. Some years ago I proposed κακ[ίων ἐνεκα τ]ῶν ἀλλοτρίων. But I then failed to grasp the important fact that nowhere in the speech is there any suggestion that Stephanus has done any thing *for himself*: and if this fact may be disregarded and the sentence be looked on as empty rhetoric, another fact cannot be disregarded: the parallel passage in § 62 makes it certain that the antithesis I then suggested was on the wrong lines. There, to summarize the argument of §§ 57-61, we have: ἀρ' οὖν ἂν ἡμῖν αἰσχυρῆσθαι δοκεῖ τὴν τοῦ τὰ ψευδῇ μαρτυρεῖν δόξαν, ὁ τὴν τοῦ κλέπτῃς φανῆναι μὴ φυγῶν; ἢ δεηθέντος ὀκνήσῃται τὰ ψευδῇ μαρτυρεῖν, ὅς ἂ μὴδεὶς ἐκέλευ' ἐθειλοντὶς πονηρὸς ᾗ; It seems clear then, that, as Sauppe said, the sense would be satisfied if we had at the end of § 59 δεομένου του or the like. I suggest therefore (i) that κακῶν conceals χάκων (= καὶ ἐκῶν) and (ii) that ἄλλου του of the MSS. is sound and means 'for another's sake,' this rare use of the genitive being the cause of the variant mentioned in FQ, originating in an adscript comment, ὑπὲρ αὐτοῦ i.e. 'FOR HIS (another's) SAKE.' This genitive seems to have been unnecessarily ousted by editors also in Aristotle Ἀθ. Πολ. 35 § 2. Cf. [Dem.] 46 (*in Stephanum* 2) § 10 Νόμος B. B. As for ἀλλοτρίων κλέπτῃς it is simply a rhetorical amplification of κλέπτῃς, and it is just because this amplification was common that Aristophanes' joke in *Ranias* 611 is so pointed. The addition of ἀλλοτρίων is *not* to point any contrast with the second half of the sentence.

T. NICKLIN.

NOTE ON PLATO'S *PHAEDO*, 115 D.

IN the recently published *Sitzungsbericht* of the Munich Academy of Sciences for 1900, p. 619 ff., Wecklein takes as his text Plato's *Phaedo* 115 D: ἐγγυήσασθε οὖν με πρὸς Κρίτωνα, ἔφη, τὴν ἐναντίαν ἐγγύην ἢ ἣν οὗτος πρὸς τοὺς δικάστὰς ἤγγυατο. οὗτος μὲν γὰρ ἢ μὴν παραμενεῖν, κτλ. He asks for what did Crito offer security. Not, as Stallbaum suggested, that Socrates should remain in prison if he were condemned to imprisonment for life. After their vote for Socrates's condemnation, the judges had three sentences open to them—to fine, to imprisonment, and to death—and Socrates considers them all, explicitly rejecting the thought of life-long imprisonment. After their second vote, Crito could have had no opportunity to appeal to the judges for an essential modification of the sentence. Further, if Socrates were condemned to imprisonment for life, it would be the legal duty of the prison authorities to keep him, not his duty to remain.

Wecklein thinks that the offer of security ἢ παραμενεῖν must have been made to the officers of the prison (δικαστὰς in some way having taken the place in our text of αἱ), in order to induce them to allow Socrates's friends to visit him during the month of his imprisonment. Yet Crito during that month is said to have endeavoured to persuade Socrates to escape from prison. These statements seem to Wecklein so inconsistent that (following Diogenes Laertius) he believes Aeschines, not Crito, to have been the friend who urged the escape. The dialogue called *Crito* he holds to be un-Platonic—the work of a scholar of Plato's, composed at his suggestion.

Natorp (*Berliner Philologische Wochen-schrift*, Feb. 1, 1902) accepts Wecklein's theory of the subject of the security, but believes Crito may have been willing to lose the sum which he had pledged as security ('bail'), and to meet the personal risk involved—finding the only inconsistency in the omission in the *Crito* of all mention of the security.

But Wecklein's theory of the reason for offering security is unsatisfactory. Here, too, we may ask why security should be required of Socrates as a condition for the admission of friends to his cell. That, in general, the friends of a condemned man were admitted to the prison, seems to be

indicated clearly enough in the early part of the same dialogue (58 c), where Echecrates asks 'Who of his friends were present?' Here, too, it was the gaoler's duty to keep his prisoner, and Socrates was kept in chains (*Phaedo* 60 c); the courtesy of the gaoler's attendants and certain other privileges for visitors had been purchased with fees (*Crito* 43 A).

A more positive and apparently fatal objection to Wecklein's theory is the use of the conative imperfect ἤγγυατο, which indicates distinctly that the offer *was not accepted*—yet the friends were admitted. The bond was not desired by the State, on this theory, and yet was offered unnecessarily by Crito.

To what offer of Crito, then, does the passage before us refer? Generally it seems to be referred to Crito's offer to give bonds for the payment of a fine which should be imposed on Socrates—*Apology* 37 c Πλάτων δὲ ὅδε...καὶ Κρίτων...κελεύουσί με τριάκοντα μὲν τιμῆσασθαι, αὐτοὶ δ' ἐγγυᾶσθαι. But evidently this does not explain in any way ἢ μὴν παραμενεῖν. And why should Crito alone be named as bondsman in the *Phaedo*, while three others were associated with him according to the *Apology*?

Neither of the preceding explanations are satisfactory—not again to mention Stallbaum's, which his successor, Wohlrab, has withdrawn. Perhaps the hint of a solution of the difficulty may be gained by asking what was peculiar in Socrates's case. Evidently that he was kept in prison for a month after condemnation, because of the absence of the festal ship which had been sent to Delos. In general Athenian citizens were not kept in gaol, and since up to the very hour of his trial Socrates had enjoyed full personal liberty, his friends may have offered bonds that he would not leave Athens during the absence of the θεωρία, but that on the return of the ship he would present himself to the Eleven, to meet his sentence. This would spare Socrates the rather unusual indignity of prison life for such an offence. But the request was not granted by the court, to which naturally enough it was made, such a modification of the sentence belonging rather to the judges than to the gaolers.

T. D. SEYMOUR.

Μεγαλοπρέπεια AND Μεγαλοψυχία IN ARISTOTLE.

IN an able paper read before the Oxford Philological Society, Mr. J. Solomon of Balliol, à propos of a well-known passage in the Republic in which *μεγαλοπρεπείς* occurs, drew attention to the question indirectly suggested by Cope's notes to Rhet. I. ix. 11 as to whether the distinction of *μεγαλοψυχία* and *μεγαλοπρέπεια* in Arist. Eth. iv. corresponds to Attic usage. In Mitchell's Index to Isocrates is to be found an important place, referring both to *μεγαλοπρέπεια* and *μεγαλοψυχία*, which puts the answer to the question beyond doubt. Isocrates (Evagoras, p. 189 a sqq.) after praising Nicocles as *τιμῶντα... τὸν τάφον τοῦ πατρὸς οὐ μόνον τῷ πληθίει καὶ τῷ κάλλει τῶν ἐπιφορομένων, ἀλλὰ καὶ χοροῖς καὶ μουσικῇ καὶ γυμνακοῖς ἀγῶσιν, ἔτι δὲ πρὸς τοῦτοις ἵππων τε καὶ τριήρων ἀμίλλαις κ.τ.λ.*, calls this behaviour *μεγαλοπρέπεια*: then directly after he speaks of the *μεγαλόψυχος* in terms which accord exactly with Aristotle's conception of *μεγαλοψυχία*:—*εὐρήσομεν γὰρ τοὺς φιλοτίμους καὶ μεγαλόψυχους τῶν ἀνδρῶν οὐ μόνον ἀντὶ τῶν τοιούτων ἑταινεῖσθαι βουλομένους, ἀλλ' ἀντὶ τοῦ ζῆν ἀποθνήσκειν εὐκόλως αἰρουμένους, καὶ μᾶλλον περὶ τῆς δόξης ἢ περὶ τοῦ βίου σπονδάζοντας, καὶ πάντα ποιοῦντας ὅπως ἀθάνατον τὴν περὶ αὐτῶν μνήμην καταλείψουσι.* This is an in-

teresting confirmation of Prof. Bywater's often expressed opinion that it is important for the idiom and for the topics of Aristotle to study Isocrates, and I find he is familiar with this passage and its bearing.

The passage also contains a parallel to a well known place in Aristotle's Ethics, Bk. I.:—Evag. 189 a fin., *εἰ τίς ἐστιν αἰσθησις τοῖς τετελεντηκόσι περὶ τῶν ἐνθαδὲ γιγνομένων.*

The index gives two other instances of *μεγαλοψυχία* in Isocrates which agree entirely with Aristotle's use: and the instances of *μικροψυχία* also amply confirm it.

Of three other instances of *μεγαλοπρέπεια* quoted from Isocrates two are distinctly in the Aristotelian sense: a third is not so restricted in meaning, but the reading is a variant to *μεγαλοφρονεστέρως* which Bekker prefers.

The same meaning of *μεγαλοψυχία* is found in Demosthenes, but of course the special value of the first passage from Isocrates is that it gives both *μεγαλοπρέπεια* and *μεγαλοψυχία*.

Dr. L. R. Farnell points out that the Aristotelian sense of *μεγαλοπρέπεια* is familiar in Inscriptions.

J. COOK WILSON.

CICERONIAN USE OF *NAM* AND *ENIM*.

WHILE all the leading Grammars instance occasional extraordinary use of these two particles in classical Latinity, no attempt has been made to contrast them definitely in meaning. The nearest approach to consideration of this view of the particles, so far as I am aware, is the statement by Gildersleeve and Lodge that 'a broad difference between *nam* and *enim* cannot be proved.' What would constitute 'a broad difference' in such a case is not stated.

With a view to obtaining definite information in regard to a contrasted use of these particles, I have examined carefully several of the works of Cicero, and I venture to submit briefly to readers of this *Review* the results of my investigation up to this point.

The following figures show the comparative frequency of *nam* and *enim* in several of the Ciceronian writings.

		<i>Enim.</i>	<i>Nam.</i>
DE ORATORE	Lib. 1	98	39
(<i>Etenim</i> , 7; <i>Namque</i> , 3)			
	Lib. 2	172	72
(<i>Etenim</i> , 10; <i>Namque</i> , 4)			
	Lib. 3	89	50
(<i>Etenim</i> , 5; <i>Namque</i> , 5; <i>At enim</i> , 2)			

		<i>Enim.</i>	<i>Nam.</i>
DE OFFICIIS	Lib. 1	111	31
(<i>Etenim</i> , 4; <i>At enim</i> , 1)			
(<i>Etenim</i> , 4)	Lib. 2	64	21
(<i>Etenim</i> , 6; <i>At enim</i> , 2)	Lib. 3	87	32
IN CATILINAM	Or. 1	8	2
(<i>Etenim</i> , 4)			
(<i>Etenim</i> , 1)	Or. 2	11	2
(<i>Etenim</i> , 3)	Or. 3	5	6
(<i>Etenim</i> , 4)	Or. 4	11	3
LAELIUS (<i>De Amicitia</i>)		100	14
(<i>Namque</i> , 1)			
CATOR MAIOR (<i>De Senectute</i>)		71	7
(<i>Etenim</i> , 3)			
PRO SULLA		31	6
(<i>Etenim</i> , 4)			
DIVINATIO IN Q. CAECILIUM		20	8
(<i>Etenim</i> , 5; <i>At enim</i> , 2)			
IN VERREM (<i>Actio Prima</i>)		10	3
(<i>Etenim</i> , 4; <i>At enim</i> , 1)			

These figures show that, in the writings referred to, *enim* occurs 896 times, whereas *nam* occurs 296 times; and that *etenim* is found 64 times, while *namque* is met with 13 times. (The 8 instances of *at enim*, shown

separately, are included in the 'enim' figures).

If there be little or no definite distinction between *enim* and *nam*, why this difference in their comparative frequency? Mere predilection for one word rather than another is not a sufficient reason. If we regard the collocation of these particles with other words—apart from their respective positions at the commencement of a sentence—it will be found to be identical, to all intents and purposes, with the one exception that, whereas *nam* is found not infrequently in conjunction with a *quidem* combination (*nam illud quidem*, etc.), this is never the case, of course, with *enim*. *Neque enim* is frequent. *Nam neque* is, on the other hand, comparatively rare.

A few instances, from the above cited works, in which *nam* and *enim* sentences follow each other, either immediately or in close succession, will best serve to illustrate what I conceive to be the underlying distinction in the Ciceronian use of these particles. The instances are cited in the order of their occurrence.

De Officiis, Lib. 1. c. 8 § 26: 'Quod enim est apud Ennium . . . id latius patet. Nam quidquid eiusmodi est . . . in eo fit plerumque tanta contentio . . .' I would render this passage as follows: 'As to the saying of Ennius . . . that, *you will agree* (enim) has a wider application. *Inasmuch as* (nam) whatever is of such a kind . . . commonly begets such keen competition. . . .' Other cases of juxtaposition will be found at 9. 28; 10. 32; 14. 42; 17. 53.4; and 29. 102.

De Officiis, Lib. 2. c. 14 § 51: 'Atque etiam hoc praeceptum . . . tenendum est, ne quem unquam innocentem iudicio capitis accessas: id enim sine scelere fieri nullo pacto potest. Nam quid est tam inhumanum quam eloquentiam . . . ad bonorum pestem perneciemque convertere?' 'Yes, and this precept as well . . . ought to be observed: Never arraign an innocent person on a capital charge—that, *clearly* (enim), cannot be done without crime, no matter how you contrive. *For*, what is so unnatural, etc.' See also at c. 21 § 73.

De Officiis, Lib. 3 c. 5. § 21. To take anything wrongfully from another for the sake of one's own advantage is more repellant to nature than death itself. This is Cicero's opinion, and he follows it up thus: 'Nam principio tollit convictum humanum et propter suum quisque emolumentum spoliatur . . . dirumpi necesse est eam . . . humani generis societatem.' This may be translated:

'*Seeing that* (nam), at the very outset, it does away with human intercourse and fellowship. *For as might be expected* (enim), if we are to be so disposed that each for his own gain shall spoil another . . . it is inevitable that the fellowship of mankind be torn asunder.'

Other references: 17. 69, 70; 28. 101; 29. 104; 30. 110; and 33. 117.

In Catilinam, 3 c. 2 § 3: 'Nam tum, cum ex urbe Catilinam ejiciebam, non enim iam vereor huius verbi inuidiam. . . .' *Inasmuch as* (nam) at the very time I was trying to drive Catiline out of Rome—for, *mark you* (enim), I am not afraid now of the odium attaching to this expression. . . .'

And again at c. 10 § 23: 'Nam multis saepe honores dis immortalibus iusti habiti sunt ac debiti, sed profecto iustiores nunquam. Erepti enim estis ex crudelissimo ac miserrimo interitu.' '*Seeing that* (nam) many honours, on many occasions, have been considered not less the due than the right of the immortal deities, but never, assuredly, have they been more justly so. *For you have been snatched, and you know it* (enim), from a most cruel, aye and most pitiable destruction.' *In Catilinam*, 4 c. 6 § 11: 'Quamquam, patres conscripti, quae potest esse in tanti sceleris immanitate puniendae crudelitas? ego enim de meo sensu iudico. Nam ita mihi salua republica uobiscum perfrui liceat ut ego. . . non atrocitate animi moueor—quis est enim me mitior?—' And yet, Conscrip't Fathers, what cruelty can there be . . . ? I, of course (enim) am judging by my own feeling in the matter. *In so far that* (nam), as truly as I wish to enjoy with you the benefit of the assured safety of the State, so truly am I not influenced by harsh sentiment—for who, *I ask you* (enim), is more gentle than I?'

Cato Maior, c. 21 § 77; 'Nam dum sumus in his inclusi compagibus corporis, munere quodam necessitatis et graui opere perfungimur. Est enim animus caelestis ex altissimo domicilio depressus. . . .' Life begins with the freedom of the soul, at death. Life here below is not worthy the name, says old Cato: '*In that* (nam), as long as we are imprisoned within these confines of the flesh, we are fulfilling a given function and wearisome task of destiny. *For be it remembered* (enim), the heaven-born soul has been thrust out, and down, from its lofty abode. . . .' Other instances of juxtaposition, and, as I conceive, of contrasted force in meaning, will be found in *Laelius*, 5, 19; 8, 26; 22, 85; 25, 92; in *De Oratore*: Lib. 1 32, 145; 33, 151; and 47, 204; Lib. 2. 7,

30; 15, 62; 19, 76, 77; 21, 88, 53, 213; and 54, 220; *Lib.* 3. 21, 79; 28, 110; and 59, 221.

The results of a careful examination of all the passages in which *enim* or *nam* occurs, in those writings of Cicero to which reference has been made in this article, may be summed up as follows. *Enim* is employed by Cicero to introduce, in reference to a preceeding statement, expressed or implied,

- (a) a *corroborative*, and thus in a measure explanatory, *statement*, in which there is always an *implied appeal*, for acceptance or confirmation, to individual or general knowledge, experience or expectation. The elliptic force of *enim* in these cases may be rendered variously; *for*, *to be sure*; *for*, *of course*; *for*, *clearly*; *for*, *as you know*; *for as you might or would expect*; *for*, *you will agree*; *for*, *I need hardly say*; *for*, *I take it*; &c.

Ex. 'Quibus *enim* nihil est in ipsis opis ad bene beateque uiuendum, iis omnis grauis est aetas,' *Cata Maior*, 2 § 4. *enim* = *for*, obviously, clearly. Cp. Ger. *freilich*.

'docuit *enim* iam nos longa uita ususque rerum maximarum, ut quibus rebus animi hominum mouerentur, teneremus.' *De Oratore*, *Lib.* 2. 50 § 204. *Enim* = *for*, as might be expected. (Long, in his edition of Caesar, *De Bello Gallico*, points out a similar use of *enim* at *Lib.* 5 c. 8, 'Ille *enim* reuocatus...resistere coepit.')

'Inueterauit *enim* iam opinio perniciofa reipublicae nobisque periculosa.' *In C. Verrem*, *Actio Prima* 1 § 1. *Enim* = *for*, as you are aware.

- (b) a *corroborative*, rhetorical question—always with an *implied appeal* for assent, and nearly always immediately followed by further questions, but without repetition of the particle. In these cases *enim* = *for*, I ask you: Come, now!; or some such phrase.

Ex. 'Quae *enim* domus tam stabilis, quae tam firma ciuitas est, quae non odiis atque discidiis funditus possit

euerti?' *Laelius* c. 7 § 23. *Enim* = *for*, I ask you.

'Quid est *enim*, Catilina, quod te iam in hac urbe delectare possit?' *In Catilinam* 1 c. 6 § 13.

'Quid *enim* est, quam ob rem abs te Q. Hortensii factum . . . non reprehendatur, reprehendatur meum?' *Pro Sulla* 1 § 3.

- (c) a strong *assertion*, which, it is assumed, will not be gainsaid. *Enim* is here equivalent to some such phrase as: *for*, *I tell you*; *for*, *mark you*; *for be it remembered*; *for*, *assuredly*; &c.

Ex. 'conuincam, si negas; uideo *enim* esse hic in senatu quosdam, qui tecum una fuerunt.' *In Catilinam*, 1 c. 4 § 8.

'Tum, Antonius, Heri *enim*, inquit, hoc mihi proposueram, ut, si te refellissem, hos abs te discipulos abducerem.' *De Oratore*, *Lib.* 2 c. 10 § 40. (This passage is cited by Madvig, *Grammar* § 454 Obs. 2, where the force of 'yes, for' is assigned to *enim*).

'Impedit *enim* consilium uoluptas.' *Cato Maior*, c. 12 § 42.

'Defendo *enim* multos mortales, multas ciuitates, provinciam Siciliam totam.' *In Q. Caecilium Divinatio*, c. 2 § 5.

- (d) a *corroborative instance*; with the *implication* that its aptness is *obvious*. *Enim* = *for instance* (you will remember); *for example* (you know); &c.

Ex. 'Accipite *enim*, optimi adulescentes, ueterem orationem Archytæ . . .' *Cato Maior*, 12 § 30. Now listen, *for example*, to the old speech, &c.

'Nunc *enim* apud Philonem, quem in Academia maxime uigere audio, etiam harum iam causarum cognitio exercitatioque celebratur.' *De Oratore*, *Lib.* 3 c. 28 § 110.

(e) an *interjectional* remark, in which the particle has a somewhat *concessional* force, Well then! Cp. Fr. *Eh, bien!* This use of *enim* is very rare. The following is the only example that I have met with, so far, in Cicero. (From one of the old Lexicons I obtained a reference to *enim* in this particular sense at Livy 23, 45: 'Romam uos expugnatos, si quis duceret, fortes lingua iactabatis: *enim* minor est res: hic experiri uim uirtutemque uolo.'))

Ex. 'Quamquam, o di boni! quid est in hominis uita diu? Da *enim* supremum tempus: expectemus Tartessiorum regis aetatem:' *Cato Maior*, c. 19 § 69. Take, *if you will*, an extreme limit, &c. (Sommerbrodt, following Otto, brackets *enim* as an interpolation—unnecessarily, I think).

Not a few cases occur in which *enim* might be classed under either (a) or (c), but in the majority of such cases the context will be found to present sufficient reasons for a definite decision.

In all cases, what might perhaps be termed the enclitic force of *enim*, by which emphasis is thrown back upon the word, or words, which precede the particle, is very noticeable, though not altogether unexpected, in view of its position in a Latin sentence.

The use of *Etenim* and *At enim* does not present any difficulty. The prefixing of *et* and *at*, though modifying, does not fundamentally alter, the signification of the particle.

NAM is employed to introduce, in reference to a preceding statement, expressed or implied,

- (a) an *explanatory*, and thus distinctly corroborative, *statement* which qualifies that which precedes by restricting its application to a particular instance. The elliptic force of *nam* in such cases may be rendered: *Forasmuch as*; *inasmuch as*; *in that*; *in so far that*; *seeing that* &c.

Ex. 'quam spem cogitationum et consiliorum meorum, cum graues communium temporum, tum uarii nostri casus fefellerunt. *Nam*, qui locus quietis et tranquilli-

tatis plenissimus fore uidebatur, in eo maxime molestiarum et turbulentissimae tempestates exstiterunt.' *De Oratore*, Lib. 1. 1. § 2.

'quo ego adiumento sperabam hanc a me posse molestiam demoueri, id mihi erat aduersarium maxime: *nam* illi multo mihi hoc facilius remisissent, si istum non nossent aut si iste apud eos quaestor non fuisset.' *In Q. Cuietium Divinatio*, c. 2 § 4.

'Neque ego praecipue de consularibus disputo; *nam* haec et hominum ornatissimorum, qui praetores fuerunt, et uniuersi senatus communis est laus ut . . .'

Pro Sulla, 29 § 82.

- (b) a *parenthetical statement or question*, serving as a loose corollary to a preceding statement. *Nam* is equivalent to some such phrase as: *This being so*; *after this*; *in view of this* &c.

Ex. 'Plurimum in amicitia . . . ualeat auctoritas, eaque et adhibeatur ad monendum non modo aperte sed etiam acriter, si res postulabit, et adhibitae pareatur. *Nam* quibusdam, quos audio sapientes habitos in Graecia, placuisse opinor mirabilia quaedam;' *Laelius* c. 13 § 45.

'Una domus erat, idem victus isque communis, neque militia solum sed etiam peregrinationes rusticationesque communes. *Nam* quid ego de studiis dicam cognoscendi semper aliquid atque discendi, in quibus . . . omne otiosum tempus contriuius?' *Laelius*, c. 27 § 103 104. (Both the foregoing passages, as also *Laelius*, c. 12 § 41 and *De Off.*, Lib. 3. c. 6 § 28, are cited by Long, in a note at c. 27 of his edition of *Laelius*, as instances where *nam* introduces a subject upon which the speaker does not intend to dwell and which, after what has been

said (or implied?) does not call for special remark.

Other instances of this peculiar force of *nam* will be found, I think, at *Laelius* c. 6 § 22 (Long has no note whatever on this awkward passage); *De Oratore*, *Lib.* 1 c. 5 § 18; c. 55 § 234; c. 60 § 254; *Lib.* 2, c. 31 § 134; c. 33 § 144; c. 67 § 271; *De Officiis*, *Lib.* 3, c. 21 § 84; and perhaps, also *In Catilinam*, 1 c. 1 § 3.

- (c) a *parenthetical* statement, *corroborative* of preceding statement in that it instances, *by anticipation*, an exception thereto. *Nam* in this case is almost equivalent to a weakened *sed*, having both an adversative and a concessional force, *Yet (I admit); although, of course; on the other hand* &c.

Ex. 'Facillime autem, et in optimam partem cognoscuntur adulescentes, qui se ad claros et sapientes viros . . . contulerunt: quibuscum si frequentes sunt, opinionem afferunt populo, eorum fore se similes, quos sibi ipsi delegerint ad imitandum. P. Rutilli adulescentiam ad opinionem et innocentiae, et iuris scientiae, P. Mucii commendavit domus. *Nam* L. quidem Crassus, . . . non aliunde mutuatus est, sed sibi ipse peperit maximam laudem . . . *De Off.* *Lib.* 2, c. 13 § 47.

(It would almost seem that *nam* and *sed* have been transposed in the last sentence. If for *nam* we were to read *sed*, and vice versa, the coherence of the whole passage would, I venture to think, be improved).

It will be noticed that the underlying significance of *nam* is practically the same in both (a) and (b). Indeed the qualifying, corroborative force of *nam* is present, in varying degree, in all three classes. Occasionally, as in the case of *enim*, there may arise difficulties in the classification of the *nam* sentences, to be solved by careful attention to the context. The use of *Namque*

is not, I think, in any way specially remarkable. The addition of the copula intensifies the restrictive force of the particle.

With a view to making the application of the foregoing remarks as clear as possible, it has been suggested that it would be advisable to point out the effect of substituting the one particle for the other in the respective clauses of some given passage. Take the following passage from *De Officiis* *Lib.* 3, c. 5. § 21: '*Nam principio tollit convictum humanum et societatem. Sienim sic erimus affecti, ut propter suum quisque emolumentum spoliēt . . . dirumpi necesse est eam . . . humani generis societatem.*' Cicero has just declared his opinion that unrighteous dealing is more contrary to nature than death itself. Clearly this postulate requires qualification, and he accordingly qualifies it by restricting its application to human intercourse, and then proceeds to corroborate that restriction by an appeal to the obvious. Unrighteous dealing, says Cicero, is more contrary to nature than death *in respect of its resulting influence on human intercourse*. Once let unrighteous dealing be instinct within us, and the *obvious* result will be disruption of human society and fellowship. Transpose the particles and I venture to suggest that Cicero would be made to cite a single particular application, not of itself sufficient to maintain his premise, as corroborative of the general statement in his postulate. It is clear that unrighteous dealing is contrary to nature, *having regard merely to its social relationships*, but if we read '*principio enim*, etc.,' Cicero will be made to maintain, practically, that it is contrary to nature *because* of its *obvious* interference with such relationships. If, in addition, we substitute *nam* in the second sentence, in the sense of *inasmuch as*, that sentence degenerates into a mere reiteration of the previous statement, as though one should say: Unrighteous dealing is more repellant to nature than death because it would break up social relationships, in so far as it would interfere therewith.

In the passage from *Lib.* 2 c. 14 § 51 of *De Officiis*, already quoted above, the confusion resulting from substituting *enim* for *nam*, and vice versa, is still more apparent. As the passage stands, and I venture to add as reason suggests, the *enim* clause conveys a parenthetical suggestion of the *obvious* while the *nam* sentence lends point to the *generalisation* '*sine scelere fieri nullo pacto potest,*' by a reference, in the form of a rhetorical question, to a *particular* instance, to wit the

shocking abuse of the gift of eloquence when employed to arraign innocent persons on capital charges or to otherwise maliciously injure good people. Transpose the particles and the whole strength of the parenthesis 'id . . . potest' is wasted—its strength lies in the appeal to the *obviousness* of the moral truth it conveys. The particular instance of the misuse of eloquence is a restrictive corroboration of that obvious moral truth.

I would state the results of my investigations, as far as they have gone, thus briefly :

- (1) Cicero apparently uses *enim* as a *corroborative* and *asseverative particle*, only indirectly explanatory, and always with a more or less defined intimate appeal on the part of the speaker. (It is not unnatural, then, that we should find the use of *enim* most frequent in the two most intimate and charmingly chatty dialogues Cicero ever wrote, in his *Cato Maior* and his *Laelius*).
- (2) Cicero employs *nam* as an *explanatory* and *restrictive corroborative particle*, which, while never introducing a full, direct reason (as *quod* does) for a preceding statement, yet qualifies its application.

ENIM corroborates and appeals. *NAM* qualifies and corroborates.

PAUL O. BARENDT.

DE ORATORE, Lib. 1.—*ENIM* occurs 98 times: §§ 5, 7, 9, 16, 17, 31, 32, 34, 36, 37, 42, 45, 47, 48 (2), 51, 53, 54, 57, 59, 60, 62, 70, 74, 78, 81, 84, 85, 86, 87, 88, 95, 96, 97, 102, 104, 103, 112, 114, (twice) 115, 116, 117, 118 (twice), 120 (twice), 122, 125, 127, 128, 129 (twice), 130, 132 (twice), 133 (twice), 136, 137, 145 (twice) 146, 149, 150, 151, 161, 163, 164 (twice), 165, 167, 178, 186, 189, 190, 192 (twice), 194, 197, 199, 200, 202, 204, 208, 209, 215, 218, 220, 232, 243, 248, 255, 258, 259 (twice), 264, 265.

Enim occurs 7 times: §§ 20, 50, 56, 59, 69, 181, 235.

NAM occurs 39 times: §§ 2, 3, 4, 6, 14, 18, 28, 48, 52, 55, 91, 99, 108, 112, 113, 130, 131, 138, 145, 151, 173, 179, 185, 192, 201, 204, 205, 210, 214, 217, 229, 234, 236, 237, 238, 246, 247, 254, 257.

Namque occurs 3 times: §§ 71, 81, 101.

Lib. 2. *ENIM* occurs 172 times: §§ 10, 14, 15, 17, 18, 23, 24, 25, 28, 30, 31, 34 (twice), 38, 39 (thrice), 40, 43, 45 (twice), 47, 49, 51, 53, 55, 62, 66, 71 (twice), 72, 74, 76 (twice), 77, 78, 79 (twice), 81 (twice), 84 (twice), 85, 88 (twice), 92, 99, 100 (thrice), 104, 105, 107, 108, 109, 112, 119, 121, 122, 124 (twice), 129, 130 (twice), 133, 134, 139, 140, 142, 143, 144, 146, 152, 157, 159, 160, 163, 173 (thrice), 174, 175, 178 (twice), 183 (twice), 184, 186, 187, 190 (twice), 191, 194, 195, 197, 202, 204 (twice), 207, 213, 214 (twice), 218, 219, 220 (twice), 221 (twice), 223 (twice), 224, 227, 229, 230, 232, 233, 235 (twice), 240, 242, 244,

246, 247, 251, 252, 254, 262, 264, 265, 268, 273, 278, 289, 290, 291 (twice), 294, 299, 300, 301, 302, 306, 308, 313, 314, 315, 319, 323, 329, 330, 333 (twice), 334, 336, 338, 340, 341, 343, 344 (thrice), 346, 350, 352, 357, 359, 360, 362, 363, 364 (twice), 365 (twice).

Enim occurs 10 times: §§ 5, 13, 32, 109, 218, 256, 301, 358, 361, 364.

NAM occurs 72 times: §§ 3, 8, 17, 21, 24, 25 (twice) 26, 30, 33, 36, 40, 41, 43, 48, 62, 76, 77, 82, 85, 88, 109, 110, 113, 118, 129, 131, 134, 137, 144, 151, 154, 157, 158, 166, 181, 192, 202, 205, 206, 208, 212, 213, 217, 220, 221, 222, 223, 230, 234, 236, 237, 249, 252, 257, 271, 277, 288, 291, 307, 310, 314, 315, 323, 325, 327, 330, 333, 334, 343, 361.

Lib. 3. *Namque* occurs 4 times: §§ 55, 122, 206, 331.

ENIM occurs 89 times: §§ 2, 3, 9 (twice), 10, 15, 16, 18, 20, 21, 22, 36, 38, 41, 45, 46, 50, 51, 52 (twice), 54, 55, 63, 64, 66, 74, 75 (twice), 78, 79, 83, 84 (twice) 85, 86 (thrice), 87, 95, 97, 98, 102, 105, 106, 107, 110 (twice), 119, 121, 122, 125, 135, 140, 141, 144, 145 (twice), 148, 153, 154, 155, 161 (twice) 162, 163, 173 (twice), 176, 177, 181 (twice), 186, 191, 193, 195, 196, 197, 199, 208, 216, 217, 219, 221, 222, 223 (twice), 223, 230 (twice).

Enim occurs 5 times: §§ 18, 35, 165, 167, 185.

At enim occurs twice: §§ 47, 188.

NAM occurs 50 times: §§ 1, 7, 12, 16, 19, 22, 25, 37, 38, 41, 57, 61, 64, 67, 79, 80, 94, 96, 103, 110, 112, 113, 114, 116, 119, 124, 136, 137, 149, 155 (twice), 159, 161, 166, 176, 180, 182, 183, 184, 185, 192, 199, 202, 206, 211, 216, 221, 222, 224, 227.

Namque occurs 5 times: §§ 6, 72, 89, 126, 174.

DE OFFICIIS, Lib. 1.—*ENIM* occurs 111 times: §§ 2, 3, 4, 5, 7, 9, 10, 14, 16, 17, 18, 19, 26, 27, 28, 29, 30 (twice), 31, 32 (twice), 33 (twice), 37 (thrice), 38, 40, 42 (twice), 43, 44, 47, 49 (twice), 50 (twice), 53 (thrice), 55 (twice), 56, 62 (twice), 64 (twice), 67, 68, 71, 72, 74, 75 (thrice) 76, 77 (twice), 78, 82, 84, 85, 88, 89, 91, 93, 94 (twice), 95, 97, 98, 100, 101, 102 (twice), 103 (twice), 105, 107, 110 (twice), 111, 112, 113, 114, 117, 120 (twice), 122, 124, 127, 129, 135, 137, 139 (twice), 140, 144, 146, 147 (twice), 148 (twice), 150 (thrice), 153, 154, 156, 159 and 160.

Enim occurs 4 times: §§ 48, 65, 153 and 160.

At enim occurs once § 144.

NAM occurs 31 times: §§ 2, 4, 5, 8, 9, 23, 26, 28 (thrice), 32, 34, 42, 46, 48, 54, 67, 90, 94 (twice), 96, 99, 102, 115, 118, 119, 130, 142, 152, 155 and 158.

Lib. 2.—*ENIM* occurs 64 times: §§ 2, 3, 5, 7 (twice), 10, 12 (twice), 15, 16, 22 (twice), 23 (twice), 24, 25, 27 (twice), 28, 29, 30, 32, 33, 34, 35, 36, 38, 42 (twice), 43, 48 (thrice), 50, 51, 52, 53, 54 (twice), 56, 58, 63 (twice) 64 (4 times) 66, 68 (twice), 69 (twice), 70, 71, 73, 74 (twice), 75, 77, 78, 79, 84 (twice), and 90.

Enim occurs 4 times: §§ 18, 24, 32 and 55.

NAM occurs 21 times: §§ 6, 14, 19, 30, 33, 36, 37, 40, 41, 42, 44, 47, 49, 51, 52, 59, 62, 65, 73, 79 and 88.

Lib. 3.—*ENIM* occurs 87 times: §§ 2 (twice), 4, 6 (twice), 10, 14, 16, 17, 19, 21, 23, 28, 29 (twice), 30, 32, 34 (twice), 35, 36, 37 (thrice), 38, 39 (twice), 40, 41, 43 (twice), 46 (twice), 50, 55 (twice), 56, 57, 60, 63 (twice), 65, 66, 68, 69 (twice), 71 (twice), 72, 73, 75, 77, 78, 80, 82, 83 (twice), 84, 86, 87, 89, 95, 98, 100 (thrice), 101, 104 (twice), 105, 106, 107, 108 (thrice), 109, 110 (twice), 111, 113 (twice), 115, 117 (thrice), 118 (twice), 120.

Enim occurs 6 times: §§ 13, 18, 24, 32, 63 and 74.

At enim occurs twice: §§ 79 and 105.

NAM occurs 32 times: §§ 1, 9, 11, 21, 22, 28, 30, 32, 40, 44, 45, 47, 55, 65, 70, 75, 82, 84, 97, 101, 104, 105, 106, 107, 110, 111, 113, 117 (thrice), 119 and 120.

LAELIUS.—ENIM occurs 100 times: §§ 3 (twice), 5, 6, 8, 9, 10 (twice), 11 (twice), 13, 14, 17, 18, 19 (thrice), 23 (twice), 26 (thrice), 28, 30 (twice), 31 (twice), 32 (twice), 34, 37, 40, 41, 45, 47 (thrice), 48 (twice), 49 (twice), 50 (thrice), 51 (thrice), 52, 53, 54, 55, 56, 57, 58, 59 (twice), 61, 62, 63, 64, 65 (4 times), 67, 69, 70, 72, 73, 74 (twice), 75, 76, 77 (twice), 80 (twice), 81, 85 (twice), 86, 87, 88, 90 (thrice), 91, 92 (twice), 93, 96, 98 (twice), 99 (thrice), 100, (thrice), 102 (twice), 104.

NAM occurs 14 times: §§ 7, 17, 22, 26, 32, 33, 37, 41, 45, 82, 85, 88, 92, 104.

NAMQUE once: § 19.

CATO MAIOR.—ENIM occurs 71 times: §§ 1 (twice), 2, 3 (twice), 4 (thrice), 5, 7 (twice), 8, 10 (twice), 14 (thrice), 16, 19, 21, 24, 26, 27 (thrice), 28 (twice), 29, 31, 32, 35, 37, 38 (thrice), 39, 40, 42 (twice), 44, 45 (thrice), 47, 51, 52, 55 (twice), 56, 57, 63 (twice), 65, 66, 67, 68, 69 (thrice), 70 (thrice), 74, 77, 79, 80, 81, 84 (thrice), 85, 86.

ENIM occurs 3 times: § 15 (var, lect.), 29 and 31.

NAM occurs 7 times: §§ 7, 11, 36 (twice), 55, 77, 86.

IN CATILINAM. 1.—ENIM occurs 8 times: §§ 4, 9, 13, 15, 16, 20, 22, 25.

ENIM occurs 4 times: §§ 6, 27, 29 and 31.

NAM occurs twice: §§ 3 and 12.

2. ENIM occurs 11 times: §§ 1, 7, 10, 11, 12, 17, 18 (thrice), 20, 25.

ENIM occurs once: § 14.

NAM occurs twice: §§ 21 and 22.

3. ENIM occurs 5 times: §§ 3, 13, 23, 27 (twice).

ENIM occurs 3 times: §§ 5, 21 and 24.

NAM occurs 6 times: §§ 2, 3, 11, 18, 19, 23.

4. ENIM occurs 11 times: §§ 8, 9, 11 (thrice), 14 (twice), 15, 16, 17, 20.

ENIM, 4 times: §§ 2, 12, 17, 20.

NAM occurs 3 times: §§ 3 (twice) and 11.

PRO P. SULLA. ENIM occurs 31 times: §§ 2, 3 (twice), 4, 6, 8, 9 (twice), 10, 15, 18, 20, 25, 31 (twice), 40, 51, 53, 58, 69 (twice), 72, 76 (thrice), 79, 80, 88, 89, 90, 91.

ENIM occurs 4 times: §§ 37, 39 (twice) and 69.

NAM occurs 6 times: §§ 3, 39 (twice), 41, 82, 88.

DIVINATIO IN Q. CAECILIUM. ENIM occurs 20 times: §§ 5, 23, 24 (2), 28, 30, 32, 36, 46, 47 (twice), 52 (thrice), 56, 57, 61, 63, 67 and 72.

ENIM occurs 5 times: §§ 51, 60, 61, 64 and 65.

AT ENIM occurs twice: §§ 15, 22.

NAM occurs 8 times: §§ 4, 18, 22, 36, 54, 55 (twice) and 57.

IN C. VERREM PRIMA ACTIO. ENIM occurs 10 times: §§ 1, 2, 15 (twice), 20, 26, 32, 41, 44 and 46.

ENIM occurs 4 times: §§ 10, 18, 20 (twice).

AT ENIM, occurs once: § 15.

NAM occurs 3 times: §§ 18, 29 and 35.

ON HORACE, ODES II. 17 and I. 20.

It is impossible that such emphatic language as (Odes ii. 17. 20–21)

utrumque nostrum incredibili modo
consentit astrum

can be justified by the explanation, 'I was nearly killed by a tree; you had a severe illness.' All men's careers are alike if escapes from death prove likeness. If Horace meant nothing more, he must have had a taste for petty coincidence equal to that of Mr. Peter Magnus. His destiny agreed with that of Maecenas in an incredible manner, and in proof thereof he mentions that Jupiter had saved Maecenas from the baleful influence of Saturn and that he himself owed his escape to Faunus. Verrall says that the connexion between the events was mystical and cannot be recovered; Wickham holds that the two events happened on the same day. It is enough that they happened on the same day of the year, in different years. Events can resemble each other in manner, place, and date. Resemblance of manner and place is clearly out of the question, and the coincidence must be one of date. The tenor of the ode is serious, and though Horace jests at the

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fashionable manufacture of horoscopes, he intimates that there may be something in it after all. Coincidence of date will account for the likeness of his fate to that of Maecenas, but why should Jupiter be given credit for saving Maecenas, and Faunus be said to have turned the stroke from Horace? Now in the construction of a horoscope the day of birth was most important. Horace tells us (Od. iv. 11. 16–21) that Maecenas was born on the Ides of April. In Ovid, Fasti iv. 621 we read

Occupat Apriles Idus cognomine Victor

Jupiter: hac illi sunt data templa die.

It would be appropriate for Maecenas' 'patron saint' to interfere on his behalf. In Tibullus ii. 5. 9–10 we find Jupiter Victor and Saturn mentioned together,

Qualem te memorant Saturno rege fugato
victori laudes concinuisse Jovi,

and it is possible that this title of Jupiter suggested Saturn to Horace as the evil influence. Further, Horace was born on the 8th December. It may be that he ascribes praise to Faunus, because the

P

Faunalia were held on the 5th December (Odes iii. 18. 10),

‘cum tibi Nonae redeunt Decembres.’

If, then, we accept the interpretation that the enthusiastic reception of Maecenas in the theatre, on his recovery from illness, and Horace's escape from the tree happened on the same day of the year, some light will be thrown on the well-known difficulty of Ode i. 20. It should be noticed that the lucky day in question was the 1st of March, as Horace states in Odes iii. 8

‘Martii caelebs quid agam Kalendis?’

It seems to be agreed by the commentators that Ode i. 20 is an invitation to Maecenas to come and visit Horace in his Sabine home. This is merely a deduction from the mention of Sabine wine in the first line, and Horace only says that Maecenas must drink that wine with him that day. In all the Odes and Epodes we nowhere find any other invitation to drink such poor stuff as Sabine wine. In Od. i. 9 Horace is in his own house on a winter's night, and he bids Thaliarchus bring him up ‘quadrimum Sabina merum diota.’ But there is a great difference between drinking it by oneself and offering it to a friend and patron of high degree. Such a notorious *bon-vivant* as Maecenas would be the least likely of all men to receive such an invitation. Corvinus (Od. iii. 21. 1) is to have Massic wine as old as Horace himself; Phyllis (Od. iv. 11) shall have Alban wine; Tyndaris (Od. i. 17. 19) is actually invited to the Sabine farm, but is promised Lesbian wine. When Horace does invite Maecenas to his estate (Od. iii. 29) he assures him in the first stanza that the wine will be ‘non ante verso lene merum cado.’ Sabine wine was not ‘lene.’

There must be some very special reason why Maecenas should drink ‘vile Sabinum.’ When Arthur Pendennis and the Major were invited to dinner at old Mr. Foker's house they had to drink a glass of ‘plain porter,’ though every luxury was on the table. Of course there was a special reason. Does not Horace give a reason? More than half the ode is taken up with the statement that Horace himself had bottled this Sabine wine on the day of Maecenas' visit to the theatre, when the enthusiasm over his recovery was so marked. If we ask when it would be appropriate and justifiable for Horace to invite Maecenas to drink that poor wine, only one answer is

possible. It must have been on the anniversary of that day. We find in Ode iii. 8 that Horace really does celebrate the anniversary of lucky days, and asks Maecenas to join him. It is the 1st of March, the day on which the tree fell, and he intends, with his friend, to celebrate royally ‘hic dies anno redeunte festus,’ quaffing bumpers all night long. But according to the interpretation of Od. ii. 17. 20. 21 Maecenas' recovery and Horace's escape happened on the same day of the year, if not the self-same day. So that Horace does keep the anniversary of the day ‘datus in theatro cum tibi plausus,’ for a double reason; and in Ode i. 20 he asks Maecenas to come and celebrate the same anniversary as that mentioned in iii. 8.

Further, it is worth observing that in Ode iii. 8. 11 the wine Horace promises Maecenas was bottled ‘consule Tullio.’ We find that there was a L. Volcatius Tullus consul in B.C. 66, and another L. Volcatius Tullus consul in B.C. 33. The wine is always referred by the commentators to the former date. It seems strange that men in Rome four or five years after Tullus had been consul should be expected to pass over the consul whom they had seen and known, and cast their memories back nearly forty years. Moreover this ode (iii. 8) is dated by political allusions, as the commentators agree, to B.C. 29. Sabine wine (quadrimum merum) bottled in B.C. 33 would be just fit for drinking in B.C. 29. It is very likely then that the wine of Od. iii. 8 is that same ‘vile Sabinum’ of Od. i. 20 (observe how closely the words of iii. 8. 10 ‘corticiem adstrictum pice’ fit the ‘testa conditum levi’ of i. 20). In this case there is sly malignity in Horace's adjuration (iii. 8. 13) ‘drink a hundred glasses of it.’

From this interpretation it follows that i. 20 is a pleasant compliment to Maecenas, who is invited to drink wine with Horace on an anniversary memorable to both of them. If we read in line 9 ‘tum bibes,’ on excellent authority, the ode runs thus: ‘you must drink Sabine wine with me to-day, Maecenas. I bottled it myself the day on which the theatre acclaimed your restoration to health. After that you shall have Caecuban and Calenan; I don't keep Falernian or Formian.’ Horace speaks of Caecuban in the same way (Epod. ix. 1), ‘repositum Caecubum ad festos dies.’ He seems to have had an aversion to Falernian wine. He calls it ‘severum’; in Epp. i. 18. 91 he accuses it of causing ‘nocturnos tepores’; and the only occasion on which

he represents himself as drinking it is in the orgy of Odes ii. 11. In the only other passage where he mentions wine from Formiae he says that he has not got any (iii. 16. 34).

In conclusion, in i. 20. 11 should not *pocula* be nominative to *temperant*, and the verse be read

‘*mea nec Falerni
temperant vites neque Formiani
pocula collis,*’

‘my cups do not mingle (or rather ‘qualify’) the vines either of the Falernian or Formian hill:’ Lewis and Short give a quotation from Florus of ‘mons Falernus’ *i.e.* Massicus.

ERNEST ENSOR.

THE NUMBER TWENTY-SEVEN IN ROMAN RITUAL.

THE following note may be taken as a postscript to my recent criticism of Wissowa's theory of a late and Sibylline origin of the Argean ritual (see *Classical Review* for March 1902).

H. Diels, in his *Sibyllinische Blätter*, pp. 37 foll., maintained that the number three and its multiples are specially connected with the cult of the dead and the Powers of the earth, and as such were specially favoured in the Sibylline oracles: and that the cube of three is a peculiarly mystic number used on extraordinary occasions (p. 42), and having a specially chthonic meaning (p. 43). Thus at Rome the number of the virgines who were concerned in *piacula* ordered by the Sibylline books was as a rule twenty-seven (though not invariably so, cf. Liv. 37. 3: Jul. Obseq. 100), and in Augustus' *Ludi Saeculares* the choirs of boys and girls who sang Horace's *Carmen* were each of them twenty-seven in number. This seems to be the only example of the number in organised Roman ritual; but in a note on pp. 43 and 44 Diels goes on to suggest that the Argean puppets, which *may* have been twenty-seven (though certainty on the point is unattainable) were probably the survival of a sacrifice of 27 Greek captives ordered by the *decemviri* after inspection of the Sibylline books in the third century B.C. This suggestion, as I have already pointed out, was taken up by Dr. Wissowa and pushed still further: for he maintains that Diels has for the first time taught us the real meaning of the number twenty-seven in Roman worship, *i.e.* that it is Sibylline and chthonic, and confidently concludes not only that the Argean puppets, but also the Argean *sacella*, being (as he assumes) twenty-seven in each case, were not early or Roman in origin, but late and Greek, owing their existence entirely to the Sibylline books. It is noticeable that this theory is now stated as a proved fact in Dr. Wissowa's

great work on the Roman religion, recently published in Iwan-Müller's series of Handbooks. (p. 355).

On this particular point of the Sibylline origin of the number twenty-seven as it thus appears in Roman ritual, I am no more convinced by Dr. Wissowa's arguments than on the others with which I recently dealt in this Review. The number three and its multiples seem to occur in the folklore of almost all peoples; in Greece and Italy they are by no means the exclusive property of the framers of oracles, nor specially connected with chthonic cults. Even a cursory glance at the ingenious poem of Ausonius on the number three (*Idyll*. XI, with the introductory letter to Symmachus) is enough to satisfy anyone of this. And in the ‘specially chthonic’ number twenty-seven we need see no wonderful meaning on which to base historical conjectures as to the date and origin of institutions.

I find in Varro, *de Re Rustica*, I. 2 *ad fin.* a popular charm for the gout, which Varro declares had long been well known in his family: it consists in repeating the following words *twenty-seven* times, ‘*Terra pestem teneto, salus hic maneto,*’ while you touch the earth, spit, and so on. Perhaps Dr. Wissowa will argue that there is something chthonic in this nonsense, but he will hardly attribute it to the influence of the Sibylline books. Surely it is likely enough that the numbers three, nine, and twenty-seven were all in the repertory of the magicians long before the Sibylline oracles were heard of. Thus for example the charm used by Circe in Ovid *Metam.* XIV. 56 is repeated twenty-seven times: ‘*obscurum verborum ambae novorum Ter novies carmen magico demurmurat ore.*’ Again, the nine-night week, which was common to the Romans and Celts (*Rhys*, *Celtic Mythology*, p. 360) must have become tripled at a very early period of Roman history into the *trinum nundinum*

or period of *twenty-seven* nights (see Mommsen, *Staatsrecht* III. 375 note and Chronol. 243); and though the first mention we have of it is in the *Senatus consultum de Bacchanalibus*, 186 B.C., even Diels (*op. cit.* p. 43) allows that it must have its origin 'in the oldest epoch of Roman history.'

Once more, the number three constantly meets us in the stamping dance of rustic peoples; it is natural to man in this form of dance, as Mr. W. H. Hadow has pointed out to me, in order to preserve the balance, and may be traced in the song and dance of the Arval Brethren (Henzen, *Acta. Fr. Arv.* p. 26), in the dance of the Salii, in that of Horace's *fossor* (*Od.* III. 18. 16) in the words *tripudium*, *tripodare*, *triumphus*, &c, and in the dance music of every people: I have myself been kept awake a whole night in an inn on the Italian side of the Alps by the constantly repeated *tripodatio*

of dancers celebrating the feast of their patron saint. Now I find in the *Tabulae Iguvinae* (Buecheler, *Umbrica* p. 133), which contain probably the oldest and purest religious ritual to which we have access in ancient Italy, a clear case of this threefold stamp *nine times repeated*. The words 'nuvis ahrepudato' can hardly be otherwise translated than into 'novies tripodato.' In this case the number twenty-seven grows in the easiest way out of the natural tendency of man to stamp three times in the earliest forms of the dance in which he delights.

I maintain then that the number twenty-seven is not peculiarly Sibylline, and that if the Argean puppets were really of that number, it can be accounted for on other grounds, without ascribing to them a late and Sibylline origin.

W. WARDE FOWLER.

ON THE USE OF *NEQUE* AND *NEC* IN SILVER LATIN.

The writers of the Silver Age stand in marked contrast to those of the Golden Age in their attitude toward *nec*. Both in prose and in poetry a decided preference is manifested for the shorter form. The wider use of the negative particle, *nec*, may have been influenced by the wider use of the connective, *ac*.¹ This preference for *ac* is shown by the fact in nine of the most important writers² of this period, *ac* is used 4264 times (70 per cent.) and *atque* only 1847 times (30 per cent.). Sen. Mai., e.g., shows his preference in a marked way, using *ac* 728 times to *atque* only 119; Tac., *ac* 893 times to *atque* 312; and Suet., *ac* 627 times to *atque* only 217. In poetry, however, we find a different condition of affairs prevailing. Here metrical considerations often have the deciding vote in determining the particular form to be used, and in this case the verdict

was in favour of *atque*, thereby reversing the decision of the prose writers. In nine of the principal poets of this period we find *atque* used 1132 times (61 per cent.) to *ac* only 735 times (39 per cent.) that is, *atque* in poetry = 61 per cent., in prose = 30 per cent. and in several of the poets the contrast is strongly marked, as, e.g. Val. Flac. uses *atque* 145 times to *ac* 79 times; Statius *atque* 222 to *ac* 107 times; Martial *atque* 59 times to *ac* once; and Juvenal *atque* 156 to *ac* 59 times. Seneca is the only poet to furnish an exception to the rule that *atque* is the poetical preference. He uses *atque* only 46 times, *ac* 109 times; but when it is taken into consideration that the larger part of his tragedies is written in the Iambic trimeter, which is closely allied to prose, the shift to the prosaic usage is explained.³ This tendency, for the prose writers to use *ac*, the poets *atque*, is exemplified in the usage of two earlier writers, Vergil and Livy. In the first six books of the *Aeneid* *atque* is used 95 times (64 per cent.) to *ac* 53 times (36 per cent.); on the contrary, Livy in xxi and xxii uses *ac* 213 times (67 per cent.) to *atque* 104 times (33 per cent.).

Nec, although parallel with *ac* in origin, being brought into existence by the same

¹ *ac*, according to the prevailing view (Stolz, *Formenlehre*, §§ 46 and 69; Hist. Gram. §§ 250, 353, 355; Lindsay, *Lat. Lang.* p. 598. Luc. Mueller, *De Re Metr.* p. 426, however, regards the *a* as long. We are without the light that metrical usage might throw upon the subject, as *ac* never occurs in any good poet before a vowel.

² For a list of the prose writers and poets, cf. under *neque enim*, p. 214. In making this investigation the writer made use of the latest Teubner texts, except for Quintilian (Meister), and Juvenal (Friedlaender), and text variants were noted. For Tacitus the lexicon of Gerber and Greef, and for Petronius that of Segebadé et Lommatsch, were used.

³ Cf. further; 'The use of *atque* and *ac* in Silver Latin,' in *Studies in Honor of Professor Gildersleeve*, pp. 413-425.

forces, followed a different line in the course of its development. *Ac* was early put under certain restrictions, and, while writers of every period felt at liberty to use *nec* before vowels, the same privilege was not accorded to *ac*.¹ The use of *nec* before vowels, however, was also subject to certain limitations. As is known, it did not meet with the approval of Caesar, who avoided it entirely, while Cicero availed himself of the privilege only on rare occasions. The writers of the Silver Age felt differently about it. Quintilian, who always stood for high ideals, and preached Cicero in season and out of season, uses *nec* before vowels about 150 times. With this writer, as with others of the same period, the same word was not always treated in the same way. Before *immerito*, e.g., he uses *neque* 7 times and *nec* 8 times; in 5, 8, 5 but two lines separate *nec ulla* from *neque ulla*. The usage before the vowel *u* deserves particular attention. *Nec* is used before *ullo* in 4, 5, 26 and 9, 4, 7; before *usquam* in 7, 4, 23; before *umquam* in 4, 2, 104. Sen. phil., however, uses *neque ulla* but two times (Ira 2, 19, 5; Dial. 6, 22, 1), *nec ulla*, on the other hand 13 times; *neque umquam* but once (Dial. 12, 9, 4) to *nec umquam* 8 times. So also, Tac. uses *nec* before *u* 46 times.² Eskuche (Einl. Friedlaender's Juv. p. 59, says that the MSS. require *nec* before *u*, 'weil ein *q* vor *u* sich nicht sprechen lässt.' The solution of this question depends upon one's attitude toward Elision. If the final vowel is entirely suppressed,

c of course represents the pronunciation, and, if spelling is to represent the sound, *nec* should always be written before *u*. But, as is well known, several eminent authorities maintain that the final vowel was only partially suppressed, which consideration, of course, alters the case.

As remarked above, the writers of the Silver Age were fond of *nec*. A striking illustration of this is the usage of one of the greatest stylists of the period, Seneca; in 7729 verses in his tragedies he uses *nec* with great frequency, but does not use *neque* at all. Other poets also show the same attitude toward these two particles. Lucan uses *nec* about 320 times, but *neque* only 21 times. *Nec* is very freely used in the following poets, while *neque* is rare: Val. Flac. uses *neque* only 31 times (7 before a cons., 23 before a vowel, once before *h*); Sil. Ital. only 14 times (*neque* vos 9,344; *neque* tot, 13, 80; *neque* ego, 17,357; and *neque enim* 11 times); Statius uses *neque* 47 times (26 before *enim*, all the rest before vowels exc. 2,549, in Theb. 1,371 G has *nec*, and in 4,149 Mueller reads *nec*); Martial uses *neque* 12 times (add to Luc. Mueller's list, Re Metr.² p. 504: 3, 50, 6; 7, 14, 7; 20, 1, and to Friedlaender's Index s.v. 3, 50, 6 and 11, 58, 7). Luc. Mueller says that Juvenal uses *nec* more than 160 times and *neque* 9 times, 'no more,' but I have been able to find but 7. The usage of Petronius, compiled from the Lex. of Segebadet et Lommatsch, is as follows:

Nec { before vowels = 37
 ,, cons. = 129

Nec { before vowels = 12.
 ,, cons. = 37.

Petronius, as the other writers of this period, shows the same preference for *nec*: 166 to 49. In Tacitus the contrast is not so great, as he uses *nec* 506 times to *neque* 445 times. He uses *nec* before vowels 189 times.

II. *Neque* (*nec*) *enim*.

This formula deserves especial attention.

In *Prose* { *neque enim* = 344 (86 per cent.)
 { *nec enim* = 52 (14 ,, ,,)

In *Poetry* { *neque enim* = 72 (73 per cent.)
 { *nec* ,, = 27 (27 ,, ,,)

¹ It may be added, by way of explanation that while *nec* could easily arise before vowels from *neque*(e), *ac*, owing to the presence of the *t* before the *-que* could never in this situation get further than *acc* (as, e.g. *atque*(e) *illum*, etc, *acc*). This explains why *nec* might be used before vowels, while *ac* could not. (Frotscher (Quint. p. 262), however, would have it that it is the sound that settles the matter: '*Quis est enim, quin sentiat, ac angusta et nec angusta quantum sono differant. Mo certe sensu posterius altero tanto mollius iudicandum videtur.*' This view

is hardly correct.

² Consonants were also similarly treated; Quint, says *E duobus* 5 times to *ex* 8 times; with *contrario*, *E* 7 times (Neue Formenlehre, omits 7, 4, 9 and 10, 1, 19, and cites 5, 14, 4 where Halm and Meister read *vel contrario*); with *contrario* Seneca phil. uses *E* 11 times, but *ex* 4 times.

³ Here, however, Dziatzko reads: *neque enim*.

⁴ It may be noted here that Livy in the 3rd Decade uses *neque enim* 19 times to *nec enim* 6 times.

The detailed usage of the principal writers of this period may be seen from the following table:

PROSE.	NEQUE ENIM.	NEC ENIM.	POETRY.	NEQUE ENIM.	NEC ENIM.
Vell. Pat.	3	0	Phaedrus.	1	0
Val. Max.	5	0	Seneca.	0	0
Seneca. { Phil. = 41 } 57 { Phil. = 29 } 37 { Epist. = 16 }			Persius.	1	0
Petron.	7	3	Lucan.	11	4
Plin. Mai.	28	1	Val. Flacc.	14	2
Quint.	116	2	Sil. Ital.	11	7
Tacitus.	49	9	Statius.	26	12
Plin. Min.	72	0	Martial.	4	0
Suet.	7	0	Juvenal.	4	2
TOTAL.	344	52	TOTAL.	72	27

NOTES.

(1) *Nec enim* is very rare in prose except in Seneca, who shows an unusually large number of examples. The combination is entirely lacking in Vell., Val. Max., Plin. Min. and Suet. It is doubtful whether Plin. Mai. uses it at all, as in N. H. iii, 2, *A r v* read *nunc*.

(2) Quintilian's usage is noteworthy: *neque enim* 116 times to *nec enim* but two times. In view of the marked preference for *neque enim*,—how strongly marked the table shows—certain editors, as Spalding, have maintained that Quint. does not use *nec enim* at

all. The two passages concerned are 5, 9, 6 and 9, 3, 79. In both of these passages Halm and Meister read *nec enim*. For the first there are no MSS. variants, and to the second Halm adds: '*nec mei, neque edd.*' The fact that *nec enim* was used at least 52 times by the prose writers of this period, and the fact that his pupil Tac. used it 9 times, lends a certain support to the reading *nec enim* in these two passages.

(3) In poetry *nec enim* was not used at all by Phaedr., Sen., Pers., and Mart., while the preference for *neque enim* in Val. Flacc., Mart., is noteworthy.¹

III. *Nec* (= *ne* . . . quidem).

Riemann (Et. Tit. Liv.² p. 278) cites 7 examples of this usage from Livy. Later writers, especially Quintilian, used it more freely. This writer furnishes 21 examples, (Draeger's list, H.S.² p. 71 f. = the list of Hand Turs. IV. p. 109). Schmalz Lat. Synt.³ p. 455 omits Martial from his list of the writers using *nec* in this sense. Martial furnishes 7 examples (cf. Friedlaender ad XII, 97, 8 and add 5, 70, 6 and 6, 77, 1). Quint. uses *neque* in this sense 6, 1, 53; 9, 14, 7; 11, 3, 2 and 12, 10, 66; Tac. 6 times (H. 4, 80; Ann. 2, 82; 3, 29; 56; 15, 18; Dial. 8). Tac. also uses *nec* 5 times (G. 6; Ann. 11, 30; 12, 43; 14, 55 and Dial. 37); Juv. 3 times 2, 152; 3, 90; 14, 246. cf. also Petron. § 47 (H reads *ne*). *Nec* in this sense was frequently used by Lucifer Cagliari, Tert. and Cyprian (cf. Hartel, Arch. f. Lat. Lex. III. 26²).

¹ Draeger cites Apul. Met. 3, 8 for *nec enim*. To this add 5, 19; 29, and 31.

IV. *Nec dubie*.

This expression belongs to post-Classical usage and is very rare. According to Draeger Livy uses it only once (2, 23, 13). Quint. also uses it in 2, 14, 2 and 3, 4, 1. (He uses *non dubie* in 7, 2, 6; 9, 4, 67; and 11, 2, 1, and *haud dubie* in 1, 1, 4 and 10, 1, 85, while Livy uses the latter 26 times in the 3rd decade.)

V. *Nec* . . . *Neque*.

This combination is also very rare. I have noticed but two examples in Quintilian.

(a) each before a vowel, 8, 6, 64 *nec aliud* . . . *neque alio*.

(b) first before a consonant, second before a vowel, 1, 3, 10 *nec me* . . . *neque illum*.

Petronius 94 furnishes a different combination, *nec Giton* . . . *neque ego*.

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² *nec* . . . *quidem*, a very rare usage, was noticed in Quint. Decl. 331, 8 and 335, 11 (R).

REVIEWS.

BURNET'S *REPUBLIC OF PLATO*.

Platonis respublica. Recognovit brevique adnotatione critica instruxit JOANNES BURNET.

THE most interesting and important novelty in Professor Burnet's edition of the *Republic* is the value which he assigns to Vind. F, a MS. which Schneider was the first to use.

Of this MS. Schneider says: 'cum Ang. B Flor. R ex eodem fonte ductus—veterem vulgatam repræsentat, et fere cum Stobæo, Eusebio, etc. consentit.' Elsewhere he observes that all three MSS. Ang. B, Flor. R and Vind. F are 'ex eodem fonte ducti et haud raro interpolati' (n. on 353A).

Professor Burnet's estimate is best given in his own words: 'hic igitur' (viz. in Vind. F) 'tenemus diu quaesitum antiquioris recensionis testem, deformatum quidem sicut Glaucum illum marinum, sed sincerum nec aliunde ut fit interpolatum. Quæ res non est quod moneam quantum Platonis memoriae profutura sit: cum enim multis locis hic liber verum aut solus aut cum antiquis scriptoribus servavit, tum illud ex eo lucramur, ut noviciis et interpolatos codices Venetum Ξ et Monacensem q abicere possimus, nisi si quando scribae non ineruditi qui eos descripserunt felici coniectura in verum incidisse videntur.' 'I claim, therefore, for Vind. F that it, along with the "indirect tradition," gives us a second foundation for the Platonic text, coordinate with the archetype of ADM' (*Cl. Rev.* xvi. p. 100).¹ Ang. B is, says Professor Burnet 'demonstrably derived from Vind. F,' which is also, according to him, the source of Flor. R.

It will be observed that Professor Burnet puts the MS. on a much higher pedestal than Schneider. 'Vind. F is,' he says, 'sincerus nec aliunde ut fit interpolatus'; whereas Schneider considered the MS. 'haud raro interpolatus': 'multis locis verum aut solus aut cum antiquis scriptoribus servavit'—a view which Schneider certainly did not share, as we may see from the text he prints: it is the source of Ang. B and Flor. R, and not merely, as Schneider thought, 'ex eodem fonte ductus'; and finally, Professor Burnet goes so far as to coordinate it with

the archetype of A, D, and M, two of which MSS., A and D, are admitted by all to be of primary and fundamental value for the text of the *Republic*.

Whether Professor Burnet's estimate of this 'neglected MS.' will ultimately prevail or not, there can be no question that he has raised an issue of great importance, and students of Plato cannot be otherwise than grateful to him for rescuing Schneider's remarks on Vind. F from the oblivion into which they had fallen.

I have counted in all more than 80 cases in which Professor Burnet adopts a reading for which, in his *apparatus criticus*, he cites only F, and more than 40 for which he cites only F and one or more ancient writers who have quoted or paraphrased the passages concerned. About the value of these readings something will presently be said: meantime it should be observed that there are not more than 7 of these instances—7 at most out of more than 120—in which F is in point of fact our *only* MS. authority for the reading adopted by Professor Burnet.² In a considerable number of the readings for which F only is quoted, the reading of F is found also in Ξ or q or both; in many more Ang. B and Flor. R agree with F; and it sometimes happens that other MSS. have the same reading. The *apparatus criticus* of Professor Burnet's edition does not of course aim at completeness, and he is quite at liberty in such cases to adduce the evidence of F and F alone; but what of the sentence in the introduction 'multis locis hic liber verum aut solus aut cum antiquis scriptoribus servavit'? And what of the statement that 'in many places, F and the indirect tradition have alone preserved the true reading' (*Cl. Rev.* l. c.). I cannot help thinking that these remarks, coupled with the fact that F is the *only* MS. authority cited by the editor in such cases, are a little misleading, whether Professor Burnet can prove that Ang. B and Flor. R are derived from F or not. They certainly misled me.

² Of these seven readings, one is a correction ($\sigma\tau\rho\alpha\tau\epsilon\nu\omicron\mu\epsilon\nu\omicron$ for $\sigma\tau\rho\alpha\tau\epsilon\nu\omicron\mu\epsilon\nu\omicron$ in 472 A): the remainder include one which is certainly right (620 A), three which may be right but cannot be called certain (477 B, 490 C, 562 B), and two which in my opinion are wrong (456 A, 494 E).

¹ Ang. B = Bekker's v ; Flor. R = Stallbaum's x ; Burnet's D = Bekker's Π ; M is Campbell's Cesenas M.

I suppose that Professor Burnet has altogether discounted Ang. B and Flor. R, holding, as he does, that they are derived from F. Are they so derived? That all three MSS. belong to the same family is clear enough from Schneider's *apparatus*; but that F is the ancestor, and not the elder brother of the other two MSS., Professor Burnet has not yet, in my opinion, even approximately shewn. (Whichever of these alternatives is true, it is right that F, as the older member of the family, should henceforward be quoted rather than Ang. B for readings which are common to both. I am grateful to Prof. Burnet for pointing this out, and note the suggestion for future use.) In either case, it is clear from Schneider's *apparatus* that Ang. B is not a mere transcript of F, and so far as the evidence goes at present, even if we should allow that F is the father, it seems to me more reasonable to assign some of the discrepancies between Ang. B and F to the influence of an independent MS. tradition rather than to ascribe all of them to unauthorised correction or conjecture. In 495A nine, in 585B fifteen, in 621A nine, and in 621B five words are omitted by F: are they present in Ang. B? The answer, according to Bekker, is yes; and if they are present, Ang. B must have used at least *one* other MS. besides F, or else—and this seems to me the most probable supposition—Ang. B is derived, as Schneider thought, not from F, but from some common ancestor of both MSS.

These and similar attempts to affiliate extant MSS. to one another are interesting to most textual critics, and appear to have an extraordinary fascination for some students of Plato. Unfortunately, as I have elsewhere stated, and as has been abundantly shewn by others, Bekker's collations 'are sometimes wrong, and frequently incomplete': and it is surely indisputable that we must have trustworthy collations before we can securely affiliate our MSS. In the present instance, the true relationship between F, Ang. B and Flor. R cannot be determined until the last two MSS. have been completely recollated and compared throughout with F.

Meantime let us grant, for the sake of argument, that F represents 'the ancient vulgate,' and is, as I do not deny that it *may* be, the source of Ang. B and Flor. R. What bearing have these hypotheses on the question as to what Plato actually wrote in the *Republic*?

In order to answer this question satis-

factorily, it is desirable to call attention to one or two considerations of a wider and more general kind, which appear to be of primary importance for determining the text of Plato's dialogue.

Our authorities for this 'ancient vulgate,' according to Professor Burnet, are partly Vind. F, and partly citations of Plato in ancient writers, such as Stobaeus, Eusebius, etc. Side by side with the 'ancient vulgate' we have the tradition represented by Paris A and Ven. D. What is an editor to do when these two traditions disagree? In some cases it is easy to decide which of the two is wrong: but what of the large number of discrepancies where each of the two traditions has a reading which is grammatically right, and in other respects such that it *might* have been written by Plato? It is these cases which, as every editor knows, are often the most perplexing. In deciding these doubtful cases we ought, I hold, to consider first and foremost the *general* character of our witnesses, and allow most weight to those witnesses who are most uniformly intelligent, conscientious, and, as far as we can judge, truthful, just as we should do in deciding between conflicting evidence in any department of practical life. Other considerations have also some weight, but these are by far the most pertinent and important.

Now apply these principles to the case of the *Republic*.

Is Paris A, supplemented by D, or is Vind. F on the whole the more trustworthy MS.? If any one hesitates for a reply, let him print the MSS. as they stand in parallel columns, and I am sure that he will hesitate no longer. But it is urged that Vind. F is 'an entirely unsophisticated document,' and that 'although it is full of mistakes, yet they are not of the misleading kind, being due to ignorance and not to perverse ingenuity' (*Cl. Rev.* l. c.). Schneider, as I have said above, thought differently: but why do we praise accuracy and scholarship in a modern book and stigmatise them as sophistry in a MS.? Is an illiterate MS. necessarily more trustworthy than one which is written or revised by a scholar? We ought to remember that there is such a thing as a scholarly conscience, and that ignorance is apt to be itself the most dangerous of sophists. It is easy to carry the worship of the 'unsophisticated' too far: and Professor Burnet will himself allow that there is little, if anything, of the 'lying poet' in Paris A, whatever he may think about Ξ and ϱ .

The case for A and D is still stronger if we compare their readings with those of ancient writers and commentators who quote the *Republic*. Compared with ancient quotations, Paris A, especially when corrected by D, is regarded as a whole, *νήφων παρ' εἰκὴ λέγοντας*. A glance at the *apparatus criticus* of Professor Burnet himself will prove this statement; and any one who chooses to study Schneider's *apparatus* will find proof piled upon proof.

I maintain therefore, that even if there was an 'ancient vulgate,' its general authority, judging by the only evidence of it which we possess, is inferior to that of the text represented for us by A and D. Some may be disposed to ask 'How is this possible?' It is said that 'our ninth century MSS.' (of which Paris A is one), 'represent a recension made possibly about the fifth century A.D.' (*Cl. Rev.* l. c. p. 100), and some of the writers who quote the 'ancient vulgate' lived *before* the fifth century.' I have never seen any real proof of the theory of a fifth century recension, of which I am glad to see that Professor Burnet speaks with caution: but even if the theory is true, the recension must itself have been based on some MS. or MSS., whose pedigree in turn reaches back to others and yet others, until at last the only *true* archetype is reached, I mean the *Republic* as it issued from the hands of Plato. The fact is that the popular hypothesis of 'archetypes,' unless it is discreetly used, is apt to become more of a hindrance than a help in the study of Plato's text. When an 'archetype' is once 'established,' a certain school of critics—I do not here allude to Professor Burnet—seem to suppose that the readings are once for all accounted for, and if a new reading is discovered from a source which is prior to the supposed 'archetype,' it is at once hailed as an earlier and therefore more authoritative reading than that of the 'archetype.' The discussion which raged over the papyri of Plato will illustrate my point. It seems to be sometimes forgotten that even an 'archetype' is οὐκ ἀπαπτος, and that it is *pedigree*, and not age, which counts. In manuscripts, if not in life, we should judge of the father by the children; and according to this standard, the 'ancient vulgate,' is not to be compared with the ancestry of Paris A and Ven. D.

Now if it is agreed that A with D is in general more trustworthy than the 'ancient vulgate,' so far as that is known to us, we are surely bound in the very large number of cases where A and the 'vulgate' each

have readings which are intrinsically free from objection, to trust the witness on whom we can usually depend, rather than the witness whom we have found to be much more frequently, and much more seriously, in error.

In my judgment, Professor Burnet has allowed much too little weight to this consideration, and has sometimes deserted A and D for F even where the reading of A is in itself, I will not say as good as, but much better than that of F. Thus in 344 ε he reads, with F and its relations, ἡ σμικρὸν οἶε ἐπιχειρεῖν πρᾶγμα διορίζεσθαι ὅλον βίον διαγωγῆν, ἢ ἂν διαγόμενος ἑκαστος ἡμῶν λυσιτελεστάτην ζωὴν ζῶῃ; instead of the reading of A D M etc., ἡ σμικρὸν οἶε—διορίζεσθαι, ἀλλ' οὐ βίου διαγωγῆν etc. Every one will admit that ἀλλ' οὐ is free from objection, (cf. 346 A, 352 D, 479 E), and I think most will hold it simpler, livelier, and in every way better than ὅλον. In 365 B the εὐὰν μὴ καὶ of F is preferred to the 'difficilior lectio' εὐὰν καὶ μὴ of A D M. This is a more debateable case, but I believe that a careful examination of the argument proves A right. About my third illustration there should be no doubt. In 408 A, A, D, and M read αἱμ' ἐκμυζήσαντ' ἐπὶ τ' ἥπια φάρμακ' ἔπασσον, a line which is adapted by Plato from Il. iv. 218 αἱμ' ἐκμυζήσας ἐπ' ἀρ' ἥπια φάρμακα εἰδὼς | πᾶσσε (said of Machaon only). The subject in Plato is 'the sons of Asclepius,' and ἐκμυζήσαντ' is, as Schneider pointed out long ago the plural of the indicative (aorist middle): ('the sons of Asclepius') wiped off the blood and' etc. If the middle is objected to, it would be easy to write, as I once did, αἱμ' ἐκμυζήσαντ' ἐπὶ τ' ἥπια etc., but the change is quite unnecessary. Professor Burnet however writes αἱμ' ἐκμυζήσαντες ἐπ' ἥπια φάρμακ' ἔπασσον, taking ἐκμυζήσαντες from F and ἐπ' (instead of ἐπὶ τ') from a conjecture by Professor Bywater. To my mind, and Schneider also thought the same, it is clear that ἐκμυζήσαντες in F is a deliberate correction of ἐκμυζήσαντ', which was erroneously supposed to be a dual participle: so that Vind. F is not always so 'unsophisticated' as Professor Burnet thinks. In 494 E, again, Professor Burnet writes εἰσαισθάνηται with F (alone, apparently, this time) in place of εἰς αἰσθάνηται (A D M). With Schneider, I believe εἰς αἰσθάνηται to be right, although it has often been doubted,—but in any case εἰσαισθάνηται is surely wrong. There are many other cases in which the readings adopted by Professor Burnet from Vind. F appear to me intrinsically much inferior to

those of A and D, and in a large number of instances, where there is little or nothing to choose between the two MSS. in point of merit, he follows F; so much so, indeed, that I think there is no edition of the *Republic* which so frequently throws A overboard in passages of this kind. For examples I may refer to the notes on 348 c (ἐπειδὴ γὰρ ἐπειδὴ), 352 A (ταῦτα ταῦτα for ταῦτα πάντα), 357 A (τε δὴ for τε), 362 D (ἐγὼ μὲν αὖ for ἐγὼ μὲν), 365 E (νόμων for λόγων: but cf. with Schneider 364 B, 366 E), 373 D (ἡ χώρα γὰρ for ἡ χώρα), 373 E (πολεμήσομεν δὴ for πολεμήσομεν), 375 D (ἐννεοήκαμεν for ἐνοήσαμεν), 388 D (αὐτῷ τι for αὐτῷ), 392 c (περὶ γὰρ ἀνθρώπων for περὶ ἀνθρώπων), 526 D (καὶ βραχύ for βραχύ). In all these passages and others which I have collected, Professor Burnet will hardly deny that the reading which he rejects could very well have been written by Plato, and for my own part the reading of A seems to me in each of these instances either equal to or better than that of F.

The same tendency to abandon A without (in my opinion) any reason shews itself in cases where the evidence of F conspires with that of one or more ancient quotations. See for example 345 E (τοὺς ὡς ἀληθῶς ἄρχοντας for τοὺς ἀληθῶς ἄρχοντας—but ἄρχοντας may be a participle), 353 D (οὐ ψυχῆς for ψυχῆς), 372 c (λάχανά γὰρ for λάχανα), 375 B (ἀλλήλους τε for ἀλλήλους), 522 A (ἔθθ for ἔφη—ἔθθ seems to me quite wrong), 537 c (οἰκειότητός τε for οἰκειότητος) and many other passages, which any one who reads Professor Burnet's edition with Schneider in his hand, can easily discover for himself. In not a few instances—excluding those in which all or nearly all the editors of the *Republic* have set the example—Professor Burnet relies on ancient quotations even when reinforced by none of our MSS. at all, e.g. ἀποδράς for ἀποφυγών 329 c (but Plutarch apparently read ἀποφυγών, and the repetition has an appropriate stylistic effect), ἐπιεικέ <καὶ κοσμίῳ> 331 B, δοκῶ for δοκεῖ 368 D, δεινῶν τε for δεινῶν 430 B, καὶ ὅταν δέ for ὅταν δέ 436 E, τοιοῦτον [μὲν] τι 443 c, ὄντα for παρόντα 515 A, and others, all of which will doubtless receive due consideration at the hands of scholars. I confess that none of them, except perhaps παρὰ πάν for παρ' ἅπαν in 514 A raises my opinion of the 'ancient vulgate.'

With regard to the MSS. Ξ and q, Professor Burnet thinks we may now dispense with them altogether 'nisi si quando scribae non ineruditi qui eos descriperunt felici coniectura in verum incidisse videntur.' Of course a few—a very few—of their con-
 jectures are right, and they should be quoted for these, just as we quote Stephanus for his; but we are on much surer ground with an entirely unsophisticated document like Vind. F. 'It is antecedently improbable that where they, (Ξ and q) 'depart from the earlier MSS. of their own family, they rest on anything better than conjecture' (*Cl. Rev.* l.c. p. 101). Why is it antecedently improbable? Professor Burnet himself reminds us that 'both of them come from the very centre of Platonic study.' Surely that is a reason for thinking that their readings were selected with some care, and that more than one MS. of Plato went to their formation, just as in another centre of Platonic study, the University of Oxford, an editor of the *Republic* lays several MSS. under contribution, although he may build mainly on one. That the 'scribae non ineruditi' made conjectures in former days, as they do now, and sometimes in the most light-hearted way, as alas! they still do, is unfortunately only too certain, and no doubt Ξ and especially q, like nearly every modern edition, Professor Burnet's and my own included, have suffered from this cause: but until we know more about the conditions under which MSS. were produced, we have assuredly no right to maintain that those admittedly right readings of Ξ and q which are peculiar to these or to these and a few other extant MSS. are never based on earlier MS. authority. It is nothing but the modern *cacoethes affiliandi* which forces Platonic scholars into so absurdly untenable a position. But whatever view we may hold of the lineage of Ξ and q, or the learning of their scribes, Professor Burnet's own estimate of their value for an editor of the *Republic* is attested by the eloquent fact that in at least thirty-three places—all of them be it noted, passages where he finds no help in A, D, M, or F, he has recourse *volens volens* to Ξ or q or both of these MSS. together for the reading which he himself adopts. 'Of course a few,—a very few—of their conjectures are right.' Is not thirty-three a somewhat liberal allowance, if not for a 'few,' at all events for a 'very few?' And are all these readings due to 'perverse ingenuity'?

Apart from the tendency to the apotheosis of this 'Glaucus of the sea,' Professor Burnet's treatment of the text is on the whole conservative. Emendations are admitted with commendable caution, and excision is very rarely exercised. On difficult and disputed passages he frequently takes an independent line, and sometimes apparently acquiesces, as every editor of a text must do, in the

traditional reading and punctuation in default of anything better. I am glad that he has restored the MS. reading in 521 c, where I rashly changed it; but the passage is not yet sound, unless a comma is printed after ἀληθινῇν. In 515 B, Professor Burnet reads εἰ οὖν διαλέγεσθαι οἰοί τ' εἶεν πρὸς ἀλλήλους, οὗ ταῦτα ἡγῆ ἂν τὰ ὄντα αὐτοὺς νομίζειν ἄπὸ ὁρῶν; Instead of νομίζειν (the reading of F), Paris A and other MSS. have νομίζεν ὀνομάζειν, and in all the oldest MSS. παρόντα stands in place of ὄντα. Whatever else is clear about this passage, it is surely certain that ὀνομάζειν is genuine: else what is the point of εἰ οὖν διαλέγεσθαι οἰοί τ' εἶεν?

There are of course many other passages in which many other Platonic scholars will differ from Professor Burnet, but his views always merit the most careful consideration, and frequently seem to bring to light important points which have not received sufficient attention at the hands of previous editors. His own emendations and suggestions on the text are tolerably numerous. I think the most plausible of those which I have observed are perhaps ἔστω for ἔστωσαν 352A (cf. 354A, where Stobaeus reads ἔστω), and οὐ δουλεύειν for αὐ δουλεύειν 444B (ought not the negative, however, to be μή?), but all of them are interesting and noteworthy. Misprints, etc., are rare: I have noticed the following: 341B δ for δ; 353A av; 351B πολλας; 382E οὐδ' (text and notes); 390E δῶο; 425B τὸ τοιαῦδε; 451A notes α6 for α7; 468A ἄν for αῦ; 524A ἐν γε; 565C notes ἔνα γε τινα. Is ἄνδρες for οἱ ἄνδρες in 556D correctly accented? Professor Burnet assigns this reading to myself, but in my edition I printed ἄνδρες. The following error is more serious. 'Considerable significance,' says Professor Burnet, 'must be attached to the fact that in *Rep.* 612d the reading of F (vx) and Stobaeus ἐπειδὴ τοίνυν, ἦν δ' ἐγώ, κεκριμέναι εἰσί is given in the margin of Par. A by the first hand with the sign γν, while in the text A has ἐπειδὴ ἦν τοίνυν κεκριμέναι εἰσίν, ἐγώ with DM' (*Cl. Rev.* l. c.). It is true that ἐπειδὴ τοίνυν, ἦν δ' ἐγώ, κεκριμέναι εἰσί appears in the margin of A (though the writing is not in my judgment by the first hand), but this is *not* the reading of Stobaeus and F(vx). Both Stobaeus (l.p. 402. 23 Hense) and F, etc. (according to Schneider,

whom Professor Burnet elsewhere follows) have ἐπειδὴ τοίνυν, ἦν δ' ἐγώ, κεκριμέναι εἰσίν, ἐγώ—a reading which is better than that which Professor Burnet ascribes to F because it retains the ἐγώ before πάλιν ἀπαιτῶ. But I think most scholars will agree with Schneider that ἦν δ' ἐγώ 'tam prope alterum ἐγώ valde insuave est,' and ascribe to Plato himself the reading ἐπειδὴ τοίνυν κεκριμέναι εἰσίν, ἐγώ (with Flor. C). The ἦν after ἐπειδὴ in A and other MSS. is one of the easiest of orthographic errors: and the ἦν δ' ἐγώ of F, etc. is in my opinion only an attempt to correct that error, and justifies so far as it goes, Schneider's description of the codex as 'haud raro interpolatus.' In 612 c, where Professor Burnet reads ἡγεῖσθε with Paris A, I notice that he attributes to D the reading ἡγείσθε (*sic*). Apparently he has taken this from my edition, where by an unfortunate misprint ἡγείσθε is assigned to that MS. in the foot-notes. In point of fact D has ἡγείσθε, as Jowett and Campbell correctly state.

It may also be mentioned here that ὀρθότερα is not, as Professor Burnet says, the reading of Paris A in 515D, but ὀρθότερον. This error dies hard; it still survives for example in Jowett and Campbell's edition. My own collation, made in 1891, gives ὀρθότερον, and M. Dorez, of the Paris Library, to whom I have written on the subject, has looked at the MS. again and found ὀρθότερον.

Professor Burnet has still the most arduous part of his task before him, and every student of Plato will wish him true success in grappling with the text of the *Laws* and the *Timaeus*. For my own part I think that no greater boon could be conferred on students of these two dialogues than a really trustworthy text, based on a new and accurate collation of Paris A, with a conspectus of various readings from other MSS., where A is wrong or obscure. Although I am unable to agree with Professor Burnet's critical method in his edition of the *Republic*, I gladly recognize that few living scholars are so well qualified to undertake such an edition of the *Timaeus* and the *Laws*: and nothing, in my opinion, will give the Oxford Plato so permanent a value in the history of Platonic scholarship as such a duty well and happily fulfilled.

J. ADAM.

BLAYDES ON EURIPIDES.

Adversaria Critica in Euripidem. Scripsit ac Collegit F. H. M. BLAYDES, M.A., LL.D. Halis Saxonum. 1901. 10 M.

It is some sixty years ago since the Rev. Dr. Blaydes published his first edition of a classical writer, namely an edition of a portion of Aristophanes. In 1859 he issued an edition of the trilogy of Sophocles in the *Bibliotheca Classica*; the rest of the plays were issued separately (and by another publisher) somewhere between 1870 and 1880. The Sophocles completed, Dr. Blaydes returned to his first love, and began a complete edition of Aristophanes on a large scale. It was completed in thirteen octavo volumes.

One would have imagined that such an output would have sufficed any ordinary editor; but Dr. Blaydes is not an ordinary editor, by any manner of means. Within the last decade we have had about ten volumes of '*Adversaria Critica*,' on the fragments of the Greek comic Poets, the Tragic fragments, on 'various Greek and Latin poets,' complete editions of the Aeschylean trilogy; '*adversaria in Aristophanem, Sophoclem, Aeschylum*'; and last of all, a portly tome of nearly 600 pages of *adversaria* upon Euripides. Not 'last of all'; for during the last few weeks another volume has appeared—'*Adversaria in Hero-*

dotum;' and a further volume '*Spicilegium Aeschyleum*' is announced as '*sub prelo.*' Shades of Porson and Dobree!

The present collection of notes and *adversaria* does not differ materially, in method—or the lack of it—from Dr. Blaydes' other volumes. There is a vast number of parallel passages—not all of them relevant—a great many wanton alterations of the text, introduced by 'qu.,' 'leg.,' 'malim,' and so forth, and a certain amount of exegetical material. All this material is thrown together without much regard to the first duty of an editor—careful revision; hence the book is somewhat of a '*rudis indigestaque moles.*' Dr. Blaydes sows with the sack; this besetting fault has never left him during his whole editorial career.

Still, when all is said and done, there is a mass of useful grain among the chaff; but it requires winnowing out. The book is curiously annoying in one particular; it scarcely ever notices recent editions, or the work of scholars in such publications as the *Journal of Philology* or the *Classical Review*. Even such well-known works as Dr. Sandys' edition of the *Bacchae*, or Dr. Verrall's *Medea*, appear unknown to Dr. Blaydes.

The present volume is dedicated to Prof. Robinson Ellis.

E. H. BLAKENEY.

WELLMANN'S FRAGMENTS OF THE GREEK PHYSICIANS.

Die Fragmentensammlung der Griechischen Aerzte. Band I. Die Fragmente der Sikelischen Aerzte Akron, Philistion, und des Diokles von Karystos. Herausgegeben von M. WELLMANN. Berlin, Weidmannsche Buchhandlung. 1901. Pp. 254. (Preis. M. 10).

THE comparative appreciation of the various writings of the *Corpus Hippocraticum* does not even yet make rapid or continuous progress, in spite of the admirable labours of Littré, Daremberg, Greenhill, Ilberg, Kühlewein, and others. The testimony even of Galen himself on this subject is hesitating and contradictory; it has been necessary therefore to rely on the somewhat

slippery ground of critical methods without definite testimony.

No little interest then was aroused in the subject by the discovery of the medical papyrus, now in the British Museum, described in this *Journal* by Mr. Kenyon in June 1892. This papyrus, dating not later than the Second Century A.D., is based in part upon Menon's compilation of Aristotelian notes: this part contains a large number of references to Greek medical writers; and if by means of these, or of any of them, certain extant treatises could be authentically attributed to particular authors a standard of comparison, now sadly wanting, would be supplied. Without repeating what I stated on this subject in

the Classical Review in 1898, I may say that to attribute, for example, even any one treatise of the Corpus definitely to Hippocrates himself would give us a 'point de prise' which now is wanting. Such and no less an attribution was boldly proclaimed by a recent critic,¹ and very startling would have been the results of the application of it to the Canon, had the apparent authorship stood the test of criticism. If this attribution were accepted it is not too much to say that on the one hand our conception of the genius of Hippocrates would, to say the least, be profoundly altered; and on the other hand that the current conceptions of the Greek Schools and their doctrines would be turned topsy-turvy.

The treatises of the Hippocratic scriptures are by no means congruous in doctrine; on the contrary they are very inconsistent, some of them even in polemical opposition. A few of these treatises we now regard as scientific in method, founded, that is, upon reason tempered by experience; and such we have been wont to attribute to the School of Cos, some of them indeed more or less directly to the Master himself. So firmly indeed was this opinion held that with modern physicians the phrase 'Hippocratic Method' became current to signify cautious induction from clinical observation, after the manner of our own Sydenham; as opposed not only to dogmatic or fantastic philosophizings and dialectics, but even to more sober use of logical and speculative thought. The School of Cos leaned to the former habit, that of Cnidos to the latter. To Hippocrates himself it is usual to attribute certain treatises which, combining breadth of view with close observation of Nature, seem to justify his claim to a place beside the greatest of the ancients.

If then it should suddenly appear that to Hippocrates must be assigned not merely a work of Cnidian cast, but one indeed of the most fantastic of a sophistical kind, it is evident that the bearer of this name must descend from his pedestal; that the works hitherto attributed to him must have been written by some other person, even more mythical than Homer. Furthermore it would soon appear that by such a criterion the whole Canon would have to be re-shuffled and re-distributed. Now from the more metaphysical, the more formalizing side of the Hippocratic Collection, such a particular work, the *Περὶ φύσων*, a treatise fanciful and

metaphysical beyond almost any of them, seemed in the Menonian Aristotle to be attributed to the great Hippocrates himself. Thus a confusion was set agoing; and voices were heard to declare that, contrary to all tradition of him, Hippocrates was a speculative, and even fantastic thinker: that he was indeed a forerunner of that Pneumatic School on the history of which, as set forth by Max Wellmann, I wrote a short notice in the 9th volume of this Journal (*C.R.* Vol. ix. p. 162, *et seq.*)

In the volume now before me, which forms the first of a new edition of the Fragments of the Greek Physicians, Max Wellmann presents us with the Fragments of Diocles of Carystos (fl. c. 400—350), and of the Sicilian physicians Akron, and Philistion. The volume contains also a chapter on the *Περὶ καρδίας* of the Hippocratic Collection, and one on a Tractate of Vindicianus, whose historical relation to Diocles, by way of Soranus, is made manifest by a careful comparison. I sincerely hope that the indisposition, to which the learned Editor attributes some delay in this work, is past; and that it may not interfere again with his admirable labours.

In this volume Wellmann relieves us, at any rate for the present, of turning the Hippocratic Canon inside out. He agrees with Diels (*Hermes* xxviii) and with Ilberg (*Phil. Woch.* 1897, f. 1153) that the Menonian Papyrus is in error; and that the *Περὶ φύσων*, although a part of the original Corpus, probably belongs as little to Hippocrates as any treatise in it can be said to do. Both by its style and its tendency indeed it is marked off from all the other treatises of the Collection, being a compromise between the teaching of the Sicilian physicians and that of Diogenes of Apollonia. Diels has supported the prevalent opinion that a collection, or Corpus, of the Hippocratic writings was in existence before the Menon-Aristotle; and that the *Περὶ φύσων* was contained in it—that is in the Fourth Century, not long after the time of Hippocrates. In support of this opinion the testimony of Diocles of Carystos is very important. Diocles, an eminent Athenian physician with some connection with the Sicilian School, who flourished between the time of Hippocrates and the rise of the school of Alexandria, was after Hippocrates the greatest physician of the period, and was known as "ἄλλος Ἱπποκράτης"; Pliny speaks of Diocles as standing next in renown to the great Hippocrates. Few of the writings of this century remained even

¹ Cf. 'Die geschichtliche Entwicklung d. sog. Hippokratischen Medicin in Lichte d. neuesten Forschung; von Dr. Med. Spaet, Berlin, 1897.

in Galen's time; and little of their conditions of life; and among the few names of the disciples of Cos now known to us that of Diocles seems to be by far the most important. His *Περὶ παρασκευῆς ἀνατομικῆς* and *Περὶ ὑγιεινῶν*, and a work on the Diseases of women were most noted. Diocles seems to have been a learned and observant physician; but it appears to me, not in the case of Diocles only, that on the fall of Greek political freedom the value if not the activity of Greek thought altered greatly; it busied itself more and more with speculations on entities; and the sundry 'pneumatic' doctrines lurking in the Hippocratic writings sprang into dominance at the expense of the closer observation of nature.

Wellmann, by an ingenious and convincing comparison, finds a source for much of Diocles in the tract of Vindicianus, the importance of which he was fortunate enough to discover. Vindicianus was physician to the Emperor Valentinian, and in this essay he seems to have taken the work of Diocles, as handed down by Soranus of Ephesus, as his model. I see in Smith's Dict. of Biog. (Art. Vindicianus) the late Dr. Greenhill tells us that St. Augustine gives Vindicianus a high character for skill, wisdom, and learning. Putting together the known Fragments of Diocles and the Tract of Vindicianus, Wellmann concludes not only that the Hippocratic Collection existed in the time of Diocles, but also that Diocles may well have been himself the collector; and that in this sense he bore the name of ἄλλος Ἱπποκράτης after a more intimate fashion than we had supposed. Now internal evidence suggests that the 'sophistisches Machwerk' (the *Περὶ φυσῶν*) was the work of Diocles; and if this be the case the error of Menon in attributing this treatise to Hippocrates II. (the Great) is very ingeniously explained. Wellmann ends his chapter ironically enough, however, with the opinion that the 'creator of the Hippocratic

Corpus,' if such he were, seems to have known about as much or as little of the 'echten grossen Hippocrates' as we do.

In his second chapter Wellmann compares the doctrines of Diocles, of Philistion of Locri and of Acron of Agrigentum; and traces their dependence upon Empedocles; and so I may add, upon Pythagoras who was a sort of father of Greek medicine: he points out that one of the great distinctions between the Coan and the Sicilian Schools is in the seat of the soul (Seele), which the Coan School place in the brain, the Sicilian in the heart. Akron wrote *Περὶ τροφῆς ὑγιεινῶν* of which crumbs rather than fragments remain. The most interesting story we know of him is that during the plague he burnt fragrant woods both to purify the general air and to disinfect the patient himself. Philistion wrote on Surgery (Oribasius) and also on Diet. It is interesting to observe how from the earliest (Homeric) times all these Greek Schools kept clear of religious cult and strongly enforced the wise management of life.

In the chapter on the Hippocratic treatise *Περὶ καρδίας* Wellmann finds a close connection between the author of this work, the Fragments of Diocles, and Plato. He regards the *Περὶ καρδίας* as written under the influence of the Sicilian school, and especially of Philistion; and notes that in its correctness of human anatomy it supports the belief that in its regard for anatomy the Sicilian School followed that of Alcmaeon of Crotona.

Of the technical scholarship of this instalment of the edition of the Greek medical Fragments I am no adequate judge; but speaking as a physician and, more or less, as a historian, I may be permitted to express the great interest I have found in reading it, and in the manner in which Max Wellmann has dealt with materials of much importance in these respects. I hope the future volumes of the series may be no less interesting and no less skilfully edited.

T. CLIFFORD ALBUTT.

KONSTANTINIDES' GREEK LEXICON.

Liddell and Scott in Modern Greek: Μέγα Λεξικὸν τῆς Ἑλληνικῆς Γλώσσης Ἀρίστη Κωνσταντινίδου. τόμος πρῶτος A, B, Γ, Δ, σελ. xxxii. + 669.

THE auspicious appearance of such monumental dictionaries as the *Historical English*

Dictionary and the *Thesaurus Linguae Latinae* now in progress, have raised such reasonable claims to a worthy compeer for the Greek language, that no ordinary lexicon, however copious and elaborate, can any longer satisfy the legitimate longings of earnest Greek students. For whereas they

are already provided with several excellent and more or less comprehensive dictionaries of archaeology, history, geography, and the like, the possession of an exhaustive Greek lexicon is still a *pium desiderium* which is not likely to be realised in the near future. So meanwhile we must be content with the current and time-honoured 'hand-lexica,' such as our Liddell and Scott, Passow (1841-57), Pape (1880), Jacobitz and Seiler (3rd ed. 1880), Suhle and Schneidewin (1875), and the like. For my part, every time I consult one or more of these dictionaries I close them with a feeling of misgiving if I am unable to check the information derived from them, especially in the numerous cases where the interpretation is manifestly forced into agreement with some fanciful etymology or grammatical theory, however authoritative or popular. This somewhat exaggerated caution on my part is justified not only by sad experience, but also by the consideration that no lexicon, however recent or esteemed, is a really independent work. Indeed the lexicographer has not yet been born who could have both the courage and life long enough to collect the huge material of the Greek language, and to trace critically the history and usage of every individual word, by examining and sifting the original sources. As matters now stand, every 'new' lexicon is based upon previous lexica, and the latest production, while correcting many previous errors, is bound to reproduce or inherit many more sins, and to add a fresh number of its own. We must also remember that as the study of Greek was, down to recent times, restricted to a select number of 'classical' poets and writers, Greek lexicography, which has always been guided primarily by the interests of schools and colleges, has paid especial regard to the vocabulary of the said classical texts, and only admitted, by way of toleration, such additions and curiosities from extra-classical and late texts as could be conveniently scraped from a few sporadic indices. If we further consider that all our lexicographers were unacquainted with the vast vocabulary and the peculiar orthography exhibited in the inscriptions, papyri, and new MSS recovered within the last thirty years, we shall realise upon how insufficient and unsifted material our current Greek lexica are founded. Not only words by the thousand and meanings by the hundred await incorporation and treatment, but the very orthography and inflexion of the words already embodied require a thorough revision.

Thus, to give only a few familiar illustrations, the letters *F* and *Q* have not yet found a place in the lexicon, so that all words provided with these symbols have no existence, e.g. *Φοῖκος*, *ῥέπος*, *ῥίκατι*, *ῥέκατος*, *ῥῥῆξις*, *κλέφος*, *ῥέργον*, *ἀῤῥός*, *ὄρῥος*, etc., *Φόρρη*, *Φόραξ*, *γλανΦῶπις*, etc. In the same way our lexica ignore or condemn such forms as *υῶς*, *μεικτός*, *μείγνυμι*, *οἰκτῖρω*, *κληδίον*, *θνήσκω*, *ἀμαξήπους*, *γεισήπους*, *συβίνη*, *Λεωντίς*, *Μουνιχίων*, *Σίβιλλα*, *Ἀλκμεωνίδης*, *Ποτειδεάτης*, *ὀλείζων*, *ποιεῖν*, *ποπήτης*, *ἀρήν*, *κάτροπον*, *ἐνώδιον* (= *ἐνώπιον*), *Βάχχος*, *εἶ* (= *ἦ* i.e. *ἄρα* and *ὄντως*) and *εἰ μὴν* (= *ἦ μὴν*), *ἐραννάω*, *ἐατοῦ*, *ἀτός*, *ἡμυον*, *ἡμυωβέλιν*, *παγκράτιν*, *ὥς* (= *ὥς*), *χαριστήριν*, *στάδιον*, *ἡμισος*; *ἵνα* for *ἄγε* (*let*), for *ὥστε*, for *ὥς* or *εἴθε* (*utinam*), and for *ὅτι* (*because*); *μικρός* (= *νεώτερος*), direct interrogative *ὦ*, *τι* or *ὅτι*; (*what?*), *λοιπόν* (= *οὖν*), *ταχύ* *τάχῃ*, *ἦδη* *ἦδη* (*jam jam*), *σιγῇ* *σιγῇ*, etc. etc.

However, as our prospects, of a thoroughly new Greek thesaurus are still remote, we must be grateful for any enlarged or revised edition of such current 'hand-lexica' as our Liddell and Scott, Pape, or Passow. We are, therefore, glad to hear that such a scholar as Dr. W. Crönert is now engaged in the preparation of a Passow, and that in this heavy task he intends to embody the rich crop of lexical material accumulated within the last half century through the inscriptions papyri and MSS, and still scattered in numerous inaccessible publications. Nothing but sincere praise and gratitude will be due to Dr. Crönert for his heroic task, though many of us would feel more confident if the work were founded upon our Liddell and Scott, which is, after all, a revised and greatly improved edition of its German parent, Passow, and so offers superior advantages in every other point except in accentuation. Be it as it may, a lexicon elaborated after Dr. Crönert's prospectus will no doubt be a great gain to classical scholarship, but in order to make it a real boon to students I would suggest that Dr. Crönert should secure the assistance of at least one more industrious collaborator who would sift and verify the material already contained in the present Passow. For, as is well known, the great Passow (1841-57) is founded upon the Lexicon of Jo. Schneider (3rd ed. 1819-21)¹ while Schneider rests upon

¹ Curiously enough the earliest translation and revision of Schneider's Lexicon (1804) was made by 'Ανθίμος Γαζής, a most learned Greek monk who issued it at Venice in 1809-12 in three large volumes in quarto. This *Λεξικὸν Ἑλληνικόν* is still a mine of valuable and original information, especially with

the old Stephanus (1572) and his dishonest corrector and plagiarist Jo. Scapula. This being so, a mere enlargement, however copious, of the existing Passow, is sure to perpetuate many of the errors and sins of its successive predecessors, which predecessors grew up in times and conditions less exacting than is the case with critical scholarship and textual criticism in our days. Wishing then Dr. Crönert health and strength for his Herculean labours, we look forward to the year 1905 when the first part of his new Passow is expected to make its appearance.

Meanwhile it is refreshing to see that another Greek lexicon, similar in character but more modest in compass, is already being issued in Athens, and this work though intended primarily for the Greeks, is sure to prove useful also to scholars of other nationalities, as the language used therein can easily be understood by any Greek student. This new *Ἑλληνικὸν λεξικὸν* is our Liddell and Scott carefully translated into modern Greek, and truly revised, that is largely corrected and enlarged. This is a distinct gain to Greek scholarship, and we compliment both editors and publishers on their great courage in undertaking an adventure of this magnitude, which they know full well will bring them neither great profit nor great fame in such a small country as Greece. Originally translated into modern Greek by Μόσχος, the work was declined by several publishers until the late *Ἀνίστην Κωνσταντινίδης*—a most acute and enterprising man, certainly the most remarkable publisher of Greece—realised the great value of the offer and undertook its publication. The enlightened publisher having been suddenly called away, his enterprising sons realising the great difficulty and responsibility of the task wisely decided to secure the editorship of *Μετὰ Κωνσταντινίδης* of *Κύζηκος*, an excellent Greek scholar, who, having taught Greek over twenty years in London and translated several scholarly works from English into modern Greek possesses a thorough knowledge of both Greek and English. This very industrious and conscientious editor, in order to attain greater accuracy and thoroughness, sought and obtained the friendly assistance of several eminent Hellenists in Athens, besides the

regard to Patristic and Byzantine Greek. As it covers the whole history of the Greek language, it is still highly and justly esteemed in Greece, despite the appearance in recent years of other rival *Ἑλληνικά λεξικά*, e.g. one by *Βυζάντιος* (1852, after the latest Stephanus), another by *Σακελλάριος* (1898, after Papo), and an *Ἐπίτομον λεξικὸν* by the present reviewer (1891, after Liddell and Scott).

active co-operation of Prof. A. *Οἰκονόμου*, a shrewd and critical scholar who lectures on archaeology in the National University of Greece. Among the voluntary contributors outside the staff, the name of Prof. K. *Κόντος* deserves especial mention, because after and next to *Κοραῖς*, Prof. *Κόντος*—Cobet's most brilliant pupil—is indisputably the greatest classical scholar of modern Greece, the founder and leader of critical and accurate scholarship in that country, a man whose name is deeply revered though also loudly abused in his own country.¹

The first part already before us opens, by way of introduction, with a concise and lucid survey of the history of the Greek language, written by the eminent philologist, Professor Γ. *Χατζηδάκης*; then follows A. Autenrieth's short history of Greek lexicography, translated into easy and fluent Modern Greek from I. v. Müller's *Handbuch der Klassischen Alterthumswissenschaften* (vol. ii.) by Professor Γ. *Σωτηριάδης*, a man of wide learning. After these introductory essays, follows Liddell and Scott's comprehensive list of Authors in alphabetic order, which list, by a curious slip is mistranslated *χρονολογικὸς πίναξ*. Here the Greek editor might have improved his *πίναξ* by inserting such names as that of Hero(n)das and the fictitious Hermes Trismegistos so often quoted in the Lexicon, or by correcting the date or floruit of many an author such as Choroeboskos, Crates, Ctesias, Hippocrates, Lesbos, Plato Comicus, Simonides Ceius, and others so sadly misdated in the original.

As to the text proper, the part before us contains the first four letters (ΑΒΓΔ) in a space of 670 pp. as against the 400 pp. of the original English, so that, when completed, this modern Greek Liddell and Scott will fill no less than 3000 pp. against the 1775 of the original. This enormous increase in the bulk of the book is of course due primarily to the polysyllabic nature of the Greek words as compared with their commonly monosyllabic equivalents in English (e.g. *ἄνθρωπος*—man, *βασιλεὺς*—king, *περιπατῶ*—walk, *οὐρανός*—sky, *έρχομαι*—come, etc.), but largely also to the new material embodied in the Lexicon. It is only a matter of regret and surprise that the editors have not laid under larger contribution the inscriptional material already indexed in various volumes, and that even such hand-books as the Greek

¹ Classical scholars will hear with genuine regret and sympathy that Prof. *Κόντος* is threatened with total blindness, though his prodigious memory and critical acumen—he is a veritable walking library—enable him still to lecture and pursue in a way his literary studies.

grammars of Meisterhans, Brugmann, and G. Meyer have been overlooked. Even so, however, this modern Greek Liddell and Scott marks a distinct progress in Greek lexicography. A cursory comparison of the English original with its Greek edition will show that the latter, in the letter A alone, has been enriched by no less than 1000 new words, compiled from Hesychios, Bacchylides, then from inscriptional and other sources. To begin with the first page, while the English original shows twenty entries between α and ἀάω, its Greek representative numbers no less than forty, the new insertions being (leaving out their individual interpretation to save space): ἄα (ἦ), ἀάβακτος, ἄαδα ἀαδεῖν, ἀαδένῃ, ἀαδής, ἀάθι, ἀάθικτος, ἀακιδωτον, ἀακραγές, ἄακτος, ἀάλιον, ἀάμυνς, ἀαναίμα, ἀάνδιχα, ἀανής, ἀάρης, ἀάσχω, ἀάστονος, ἀάταλος. True these and most of the other numerous entries are largely solitary glosses compiled from Hesychios, thus being chiefly dialectal words which hardly occur in classical writers, but in a lexicon not intended exclusively for schools, all words are equally important, and an earnest student is likely to consult his lexicon in the case rather of a rare term than of a common word. Likewise in p. 20 the original has been enriched by the following entries:—

ἀδελιάτος, ἀδείματος, ἄδειος, ἀδειςία, ἀδειςι-βόας (Βακχ.), ἀδελφίδες, ἀδελφιδεύς (inser.), ἀδελφίον, ἀδελφογαμέω, ἀδελφογαμία, ἀδελφοζωία, ἀδελφόθεν, ἀδελφοζέος (an epithet of James the brother of the Lord), ἀδελφοκοιτία, ἀδελφοποιέω (misplaced in L and S), ἀδέματος, ἀδέσμεντος, ἀδετοχίτων, ἀδέτως, ἀδείμεθα, ἀδεύτων, ἀδῆ, ἀδημα, ἀδημείν.

Then p. 329:—

δελοκάρδιος, δελοκαταφρονητής, δείλομαι (= βούλομαι inser.), (δειλόφθονος), δευματρός, δευματοποιός, δεινίας, δεινοεπής, δεινολόγος, δεινόμορφος, -παθής, -παθήσις, -πενθής, -πενθέω, -ποιήσις.

But while readers of dialectal and late Greek will be thankful for these and all other numerous additions to the Lexicon, students of classical Greek will be glad to find that every page bears the marks of *revision and improvement*: not only a great number of errors, still grievously marring the English original, have been corrected, but many an article has received valuable additions and elucidations. Thus L. and S. (Liddell and Scott, eighth ed.) says s.v. ἄγγοριον, τὸ, 'a water-melon,' whereas every Greek understands 'a cucumber.' ἀκολπος: L. and S. 'without bay or gulf,' which now K. (Κωνσταντινίδης) alters to 'without bosom i.e.

stomach.'¹ ἀλόγοθέτης is not 'of which no account is given': but 'of which there is no question, unquestionable.' ἀμετάφραστος, ον, L. and S. 'not to be interpreted, Hesych.'; K. 'that cannot be expressed by another term, untranslatable, Photii Lex. s.v. πίπταξ, Hesych. s.v. θρίττε.' ἀμφίλαλος, not 'chattering incessantly'; χέλη Ar. Ran. 678': but 'talking in two tongues, and, mixing foreign words with Greek, of Cleophon whose mother was a Thracian, χέλεισιν ἀμφιλάλοις, Ἀριστοφ. Βατρ. 678.' ἀμφίστομος: L. and S. 'Antiph.' Σφγγ. K. 'Εὐβούλος' ἐν Σφίγγοκαρίωνι. ἀμφιφῶν not a cake 'offered by torch-light' to Munychian Artemis, Pherecr.: but a cake offered 'between two lights, i.e. between sunset and sunrise,' ep. ἀμφιφῶς οἶσαντο, Ἀθην. 645 C.' ἀνάρρυμα not a sacrifice,' but 'a victim' (ιερείον, σφάγιον, θύμα). ἀνελίσσω: not 'Ep. and Att. ἀνελ—': but 'Epic and Ionic ἀνελ—.' ἀνεμώδης 2 L. and S. 'ναῖν, ille,' referring to Plut. 2, 967 B,' but there Plut. speaks of an ἀνεμῶδες ἀκρωτήριον, a promontory 'exposed to the winds.' ἀνεύφραντος L. and S. incorrectly 'not rejoicing, joyless,' for 'giving no pleasure' (μὴ προξενῶν ἡδονήν). ἀντισοφιστεῖω: 'ἀντισόφενμα,' K. 'ἀντισοφίστενμα,' ἀντιστατικός: 'so ἀνάστατος,' K. so 'ἀτίστατος.' ἀπαμφιέννυμι: 'Xenarch. Πλουτ. 1, 5: K. 'Ξεναρχ. ἐν Πεντάθλῳ.' ἀπάνευθε and before 'consonants' (read 'vowels') -θεν. ᾗ παξ II. c. 6 not 'ἰδ' (i.e. Amphis) but Ar. (i.e. Ἀριστοφάνης) ἀπατιμάω: the example 'οὐ μιν ἀτιμήσειε θεή' should be inserted under ἀτιμάω. ἀπλατος: 'ὄφεις, Τύφων Πινδ. P. 12, 15, etc. read ἀπλάτοις ὄφιν κεφαλὰς... 'ἀπλατον... Τυφῶν' (i.e. Τυφῶνα) Πινδ. Fr. 93.' ἀποδιπλόμαι: not 'to be doubled' but 'to be unfolded.' ἀποίητος III. not 'of persons awkward, Geop.,' but 'of things or lands unfit, ἡ γὰρ περρὰ γῆ εἰς τοῦτο ἀποιήτος: ἔκκαίει γὰρ τὰ στελέχη. Geop. 72, 12.' ἀποκάθαρμα II. not 'an expiatory offering,' but dirty water, 'slops.' ἀπομνήνω: not 'having departed from wrath,' but 'having waxed wroth or angry.' ἀποπεράννυμι: not 'to spread out all ways,' but 'to lift up, to remove.' ἀποπίνω: not, 'to drink up, to drink off,' (Hdt. 4, 70), but 'to drink out of.' ἀποφλέω and ἀπόφλω: not 'to owe, Byz.' but 'to pay off, ἔχεις τὸ

¹ L. and S.'s error may be due to a misunderstanding of Passow's definition (s.v.) 'ohne Einbug.' But in the passage referred to (Ael. H.A. 15, 16) there is question of the garish: θαλάττιοι βελόναι: ἐκολποὶ τε οὖσαι καὶ λεπτὰ i.e. having no crook or cavity.

χρέος ἂν σοι ἀποφληβὲν τελῶς, Tzetz. Hist. 13, 614, ἀπαραγμάτευτος: III. not 'highly wrought, inartificial,' but 'easily procured,' ἀραχνοῦ φῆς: not 'spun by spiders,' but 'fine as a spider's web,' ἀρμα-τηγός: not 'driving a chariot,' but 'be longing to a chariot,' διὰ τῶν ἀρματηγῶν τροχῶν μὴ διείναι τὰς περόνας, Parthen. 6, 3. αὐτόκριτος: not 'self-condemned' but 'self-explaining,' ἄφορτος: for 'not burdened,' read 'not vulgar, polished.'

Another welcome feature of the volume before us consists in the correction of numerous references, and in the enrichment or expansion of many an entry by consulting or even reproducing, the very passage of the author, merely referred to in L. and S. Improvements of this kind we have noticed in almost every page, notably *s.v.* ἀγάπη, ἀγίασμα, ἀγιασμός, ἀηλότυπος, Αἴας, Αἰγάβην, ἀθεώρητος ii, ἀλευρον, ἀλθεῖς, ἀμανρός ii, ἀμεταχείριστος, ἀμτροχίτωνες, ἀμφίς B. ii., ἀμφίστομος, ἀνάθεμα, ἀνακίρναμαι, ἀναπαύω ii., ἀναφέρω i. and ii. ἀναφορά, ἀνδρόθεν, ἀνεπιστήμων, ἀνεκτικός, ἀνθέω ii., ἀνθητικός, ἀνθινος, ἀνίημι 2, ἀνόητος 2, ἀνοργιστος, ἀντανάκλασις, ἀντί sub fine, ἀντίφορτος, ἀντιάω, ἀντικαθίστημι ii., ἀντίπορθμος, ἀντιστρεπτός, ἀντιστρέφω 2, ἀντιφορτίω ii., ἀντίχορδος, ἀντλία, ἀντομαι, ἀπαξ ii., Ἀπατούρια ἀποκίνησις, ἀπολαγχάνω 2, ἀποθρῶσκω ii. 2, ἀποτυρός, Ἀργαδᾶς, ἀρχαιολόγος, αὔετος, αὐλών, ἀμπελομξία, etc.

As a matter of course, the numerous accentual mistakes and other misprints which sorely and unaccountably disfigure every page of our English Liddell and Scott are tacitly removed from its Greek edition, and so we now read *s.v.* αἵματωπός Eur. Phoen. 870. not δερμάτων, but δερμάτων; ἀνασφύζω Soph. El. 1133, not φόβον but φόνον. ἀπολυτρόω: Plat. Legg. 619a not 'ἀπὸ τῶν μακροτάτων λύτρων,' but 'ἀπὸ τῶν μιαιροτάτων λύτρων.' ἀνατέλλω: Aesch. Fr. 304, not Δημητρός ἀνατέλλει σταχύν' but Δήμητρος-στάχυν. ἀρηγήρ: not ῆ but ὁ. ἀστήρ: not 'ἀστρασι' but 'ἀστράσι.' ἀστράγαλος IV: not 'πεταλίζειν' but 'πεντέλιθοι.' The remaining accentual errors now tacitly corrected are too multitudinous to be enumerated here, but possessors of this Ἑλληνικὸν Λεξικὸν will find that very few accentual errors have escaped the eye of the editors, *e.g.* ἀγαθοδοσίς, ἴδος, for -δόσις, ἴδος.

So far then, a *Θησαυρὸς τῆς Ἑλληνικῆς Γλώσσης*, or, at least, a comprehensive and accurate Greek Lexicon, is still a *pium desiderium*. But if German scholars take pride in their Passow, and British and American students are well-pleased with possessing a superior Passow in their Liddell and Scott, Greeks may be congratulated on acquiring a surpassing Liddell and Scott.

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SOME RECENT AMERICAN WORK IN LATIN GRAMMAR.

The Subjunctive Substantive clauses in Plautus not including indirect Questions. By CHARLES L. DURHAM. Cornell Studies in Classical Philology, No. xiii. The Macmillan Company, 1901. Pp. vi. 120. Price 80 cents.

The Stipulative Subjunctive in Latin. By Prof. CHARLES E. BENNETT, Cornell University. Transactions of the American Philological Association (Ginn & Co.) for 1900, pp. 223-250.

A Study in Case Rivalry being an Investigation regarding the use of the Genitive and the Accusative in Latin with Verbs of Remembering and Forgetting. By CLINTON L. BABCOCK. Cornell Studies, xiv. The Macmillan Co. 1901. Pp. vi. 120. Price 60 cents.

The Case constructions after the Comparative in Latin. By K. P. R. NEVILLE. Cor-

nell Studies, xv. The Macmillan Co. 1901. Pp. 87. Price 80 cents.

The Latin Pronouns is, hic, iste, ipse. By CLARENCE LINTON MEADER, Ph.D. Instructor in Latin in the University of Michigan. The Macmillan Co. New York; Macmillans. London. 1901. Pp. xvi. 222. Price \$1.40 c.

MR. DURHAM states his aims as follows (pp. 2, 3):—

Taking the original force of the subjunctive to be that of 'will' or 'determination,' showing itself in the first person as 'determined resolution' and in the second and third persons as 'jussive,' and that of the optative mood to be first 'wish,' and secondly 'contingent futurity,' (the 'should'-'would' idea), I shall endeavor to show that the subordinate subjunctives in the substantive clauses in the extant plays and fragments of Plautus can be referred for their origin and development to these original modal

forces: that...it is possible for us with the wider knowledge of comparative grammar at hand to... show which of these substantive clauses were in their origin volitive, (Determined Resolution, jussive), and which were optative (Wish, Contingent Futurity): furthermore that *nē* (*nei, ni, neu, neue*), is the negative of the Volitive and the Optative, along with their developments, while *non* (*nei, neque*) is the negative of the Subjunctive of Contingent Futurity, and its several developments and...that this development [viz. from the two sources named], 'as indicated by the negative employed is always capable of demonstration except in those rare cases where subsequent development on Latin soil 'can be definitely shown.'

Mr. Durham's attitude towards the grammatical questions to which America has lately devoted a superfluity of energy is clear from this quotation, and it appears to be in the main a correct though hardly a novel one. His treatise works out in detail the development or decay of meaning of the subjunctive in the various classes into which he distributes its uses, cataloguing each of the several heads, first the original use when it is extant, and then the 'derived' uses according to the various extensions enumerated on pp. 11 *sq.*, such as 'extension in tense,' 'Negative' 'Interrogative,' 'Passive' extensions. Here, too, Mr. Durham is sound in the main, though he does not sift enough. Thus he appears to take no account of the Plautine metre as modifying Plautine syntax. For example under the original uses of *uolo* with subjunctive alone seven examples are given, in five of these *uolo* forms the final iambus is an iambic or trochaic line; of the rest one is from a prologue (Mr. Durham betrays no misgivings about the genuineness of the prologues) and there remains only Poenulus 1197. Similarly under *uolo* with 'the subjunctive following,' Rudens 414 (read 1414) 'iuris iurando (read -i) uolo gratiam facias,' is quoted without remark, though the position of the main verb is similarly fixed. There is a like neglect of the verb's position in the verse in the case of *face, uide, licet*.

Mr. Durham does not regard the order of words in a phrase with sufficient respect, or he would hardly have maintained that in *potin' abeas* and the like the original meaning was *go away! can't you?* Considering the frequency of *potin' ut abeas*, etc., it seems more likely that this form is the older, and that the twice occurring *potin' abeas* is a variation upon it for the purpose of giving greater abruptness. We may here refer to the Cornell explanation of *ut* in certain clauses which Mr. Durham it would seem derives from his teacher Prof. Bennett, Latin Gr.

Appendix § 368.¹ *Ut*, it is said, had sometimes 'an indefinite value corresponding to that of *qui* in some way,' 'somehow,' 'just.' 'That *ut* did have this force seems clear from the fact that it is freely used interchangeably with *qui* in independent optative and jussive uses in early Latin: cf. e.g., Terence Phorm. 123 *qui illum di omnes perduint* with Eum. 302 *ut illum di deaque perdant*.' The suggestion is more ingenious than plausible. Both *qui* and *ut* in such sentences may be originally interrogative, like the Greek *πῶς* as used in wishes. The author applies this 'somehow,' 'just,' theory to all the *ut* clauses that he can, amongst them to those which follow verbs of fearing. For more years than I care to remember, I have taught that *metuo, ut ueniat* meant originally 'I am afraid: how can he come?' and 'so I am afraid he will not come,' and that this is why it is not found after a negative, 'I am not afraid; how can he come?' being an absurdity, but *ne non* is used instead. Who should be credited with first publishing this view, I do not know; but it must be well known by this time and it appears to have more than one advantage over the suggestion that *ut ueniat* in such clauses meant originally 'just let him come,' 'O that he might only come.' The order of words is disregarded again when it is maintained that *metuo ne ueniat* is an inversion for *ne ueniat: metuo* (p. 4). What grounds, linguistic or psychological, are there for this assumption? The following expressions are neither classical English nor attractive neologisms. 'My thanks are also due Professor Elmer (preface); ('Morris . . . who aims to suggest that' (p. 2). The volume has an index—a welcome addition to its utility.

I touch next on a paper in which Mr. Durham is referred to and which deals with the Subjunctives of pp. 64–69 of his treatise. In his 'Stipulative Subjunctive in Latin,' Prof. C. E. BENNETT has done well to call attention to a somewhat puzzling use of the subjunctive. His typical example is Plaut. Bacch. 873 *sq.* 'uis tibi ducentos nummos iam promittit | *ut ne* clamorem hic facias neu conuiuium | ... atque *ut* tibi mala multa ingeram.' 'Will you agree to take two hundred nummi on the understanding that you are to make no outcry or disturbance . . . and that I am to abuse you roundly?' 'To this usage he earlier gave the name 'Stipulative' (Cornell Studies. ix. p. 21). The new name

¹ Mr. Durham also adopts Prof. Bennett's views on the Stipulative.

was hardly wanted, and the increase of grammatical terms is a real hindrance to grammatical study. But protest in a matter of this kind is usually unavailing. This subjunctive Prof. Bennett regards as of 'jussive' (or 'volitive') origin; and I think this is clearly right. He properly dwells upon the point that *ne* (not *non*) is the negative of the jussive and that *ne* and *ut ne* are found in the 'Stipulative.' But, in his eagerness to find Stipulatives under every stone, he proceeds to weaken his argument by referring to the same origin sentences in which the negative is *non* and which previous inquirers have been satisfied to regard as 'consecutive.' As Prof. Bennett does not deny the existence in Latin of a true 'consecutive' subjunctive (that is, a subjunctive to which, when negated, Greek *ὥστε* with *οὐ* and an indicative would correspond), it is enough to observe that, if *e.g.* Cic. *Diu. in Caecil.* 46 'cuius ego ingenium ita laudo ut *non pertimescam*' be stipulative, there is not a single consecutive sentence in the language that cannot be made out to be so too. The same spectre disturbs Prof. Bennett's vision when he examines the constructions of *tanti*, *non tanti*. He says p. 246, 'An examination of the very numerous examples of the idiom I have gathered points clearly to another' [*i.e.* non consecutive] origin of the *ut*-clause occurring in it. In the negative type of the clause after *tanti* we never have *ut non* but *ne e.g.* and then two examples are quoted. One is Seneca de Ben. iii. 23 'tanti iudicauerunt ne domina occideretur uideri dominam occidisse,' of which Prof. Bennett says it 'plainly means they deemed it worth while (*tanti*) to seem to have murdered their mistress, on the understanding that she wasn't really to be murdered.'! Thus enter Stipulative. The incident on which Seneca is commenting is this. At the capture of Grumentum two slaves who had previously deserted to the besiegers saved their mistress' life by a noteworthy stratagem: 'dominam suam autē se egisse; quaerentibus quanam esset, dominam et quidem crudelissimam ad supplicium ab ipsis duci professos esse. eductam deinde extra muros summa cura classe donec hostilis ira consideret, deinde, ut satiatus miles cito ad Romanos mores rediit, illos quoque ad suos redisse et dominam sibi ipsos dedisse.' The words which immediately precede the sentence in which *tanti* occurs 'a uictoribus ad captiuam transfugerunt, personam parricidarum ferentes quod in illo beneficio maximo fuit' show that Seneca had in view no such psychical farce

as Prof. Bennett would make him impute to the slaves, and that his meaning is this: 'to save their mistress from being murdered (a final *ne*), the slaves were willing to incur the odium (called *fama sceleris* in the next section) of being considered her murderers.' The other example is still more remarkable. In Propertius iv. 12. 8 [iii. (iv.) 12. 4] 'tantine ulla fuit spoliati gloria Parthi ne faceres Galla multa rogante tua?', since Bekker refuted the error of Bach, it has been customary to construe *ne faceres* (= *ne signa sequeris*) with *rogante*.

Prof. Bennett takes Juvenal x. 98 'sed quae praeclara et prospera tanti | ut rebus laetis par sit mensura malorum?' as his 'typical example.' But method in syntax demands that in investigating a usage we should start with the earliest and not the latest author of the period that we are examining. And this example of the idiom is not a 'typical' one, otherwise Madvig, whose discussion in his opuscula ii. 189-195 still contains all that is worth reading on the subject, would not have spent so much trouble upon bringing out its meaning. This is obscured by the fact that the expression in the *ut* clause is a variation on a more natural one, such as 'ut laetis rebus paria mala accipias.' There is no difficulty that I can see in understanding a phrase like 'haec hereditas tanti est ut de ciuitate in dubium ueniam' as 'this inheritance is so valuable that I would imperil for it my civic rights' 'ut in dubium ueniam,' *ὥστε καὶ δινεύσαιμι ἄν*. When Madvig expands the sense of Ovid Met. 10. 619 'amat tantique putat conubia nostra | ut pereat' by 'hoc est ut perire uelit' he has Ovid himself upon his side, R.A. 750 (quoted by Prof. Bennett) 'non tamen hoc tanti est, pauper ut esse uelis' where, metro permittente, he might have written *sis*. What sense *uelis* has in a 'stipulative' or jussive sentence we have yet to learn.

MR. BABCOCK'S study is an excellent piece of work. The first chapter, of 14 pages, is a historical survey of the previous utterances on the subject. Their diversity and incongruity is of itself proof that a fresh inquiry was needed. Chapter II. (26 pages) is a collection of all the instances in extant literature down to the end of the Augustan period, in which a verb of *remembering* or *forgetting* occurs with a direct object in either the genitive or the accusative case. The arrangement is chronological; and under the authors the uses are distributed according to the verbs employed. A noticeable

result is the disappearance of *recordor* with gen. from the Ciceronian writings. A supplement to this chapter gives a summary compiled from various indexes of the usages of post-Augustan writers as far as Justin. The results are then tabulated. Chapter III. contains the writer's reconstruction. The first part is critical and analyses the three principal views which have been put forward.

(i) That the genitive after verbs of *remembering* is the so-called *paritive* genitive,

(ii) That the genitive is due to the substantive idea inhering in the verb,

(iii) That the difference between the genitive and the accusative is of a more special character; e.g. that these verbs take a gen. of the object when used of a continued state of mind but the acc. when used of a single act (Greenough).

Mr. Babcock shows conclusively that all these theories are unsatisfactory. We next have his own results which we may thus briefly summarise.

The genitive with these verbs was a *development*. Rare at first, it ultimately displaced the accusative. This is evidenced by the grammarian Nonius who quotes some dozen instances of 'Accusativus pro genituo' but not one of 'genitivus pro accusativo.' This development was due to (i) the genitive with the participle-adjective *oblitus*, (ii) the genitive which has from the first the regular construction of the personal and reflexive pronouns (*meminit sui*).

'These two forces operated to give rise to and to increase a strong genitive tendency on the part of *obliscor*. The use of the genitive with *memini* seems to be due partly to the influence of the personal and reflexive pronouns, still more to the influence of its opposite *obliscor*. Thus we find no increase in the proportion of genitives with *memini*, in the Ciceronian period as against early Latin, but in the Augustan age, when the genitive with *obliscor* had become practically universal, the increase of the genitive with *memini* is very rapid' (p. 71).

On the first point Mr. Babcock says that in only 3 passages out of 94 has he found an accusative following the adjective or participle *oblitus*. One of these is a fragment of Accius 'mea facta in acie obliti' where the context, if we had it, might show that *obliti* was really verbal. In Livy 22. 58. 8 the acc. is a neuter pronoun whose use, it is well known, was subject to rules of their own. The last is Virg. G. 2. 59 'pomaque degenerant sucos oblita priores' which disquiets Mr. Babcock most. Here however we are not forced to construct sucos with *oblita* as it may be taken also with *degenerant*. See Ovid Met. 7. 543 sqq.,

a place on which some stress may be laid as it contains both the words, 'acer ecus quondam magnaecum in pulvere famae | degenerat palmas ueterumque oblitus honorum, | ad praesepe gemit,' with other passages. The one recalcitrant example thus disappears. The author's final conclusion that it is not possible to discover a dynamical difference between the two cases or to lay down inflexible rules for their use at any given period will be I fear disappointing or unpalatable to many people; but to those who bear in mind that 'Cicero de Div. i. 63 writes *meminit praeteritorum*' while in 'In de Fin. i. 62 he writes *praeterita meminit*' it will seem a wise and commendable reserve.

MR. NEVILLE'S conclusions briefly stated, are as follows (see pp. 85 sq.)

A (i) The *Ablative* is always used in the expressions (a) *opinione, spe, expectatione; aequo, iusto*, e.g. 'opinione celerius,' 'iusto grauius'; (b) *alius alio*.

(ii) It is regularly used in:

(a) Universal negative sentences whether of the accusative or nominative type.

(b) Rhetorical questions.

(c) Proverbial expressions.

B The *Ablative* or *quam* is used indifferently

(a) when the comparative agrees with an accusative, the object of a verb in a positive sentence.

(b) when the adjective agrees with the first term of the comparison in the nominative.

C Elsewhere *quam* is either (a) *regular* or (b) *necessary*. It is necessary in all cases where the comparative adjective is not in agreement with a noun in the nominative or accusative constituting the first term of the comparison. Thus 'senex est meliore condicione quam adulescens,' though we may have 'senex melior' (or 'senem meliorem') 'adulescente.'

As Mr. Neville treats of only a part of the history of the comparative, he should have separated the pre-classical and classical usages. The gap between Cicero and Cato or even between Lucretius and Ennius is much wider than that between the later republican and the Augustan writers. Should he continue his researches, it is to be hoped he will give us a sketch in proper perspective of the whole period down to the beginning of the Empire.

His treatment is in general clear and methodical; and his monograph advances our knowledge of the subject. But he leans too much to subdivision. Classification may easily become too minute; and a certain residue of examples is better left to be appreciated by the linguistic sense unhampered by the consideration of categories. He is aware that in a given case a construc-

tion may be determined by a concurrence of considerations: but sometimes he forgets this, as in his remark that 'the rule which states that the relative pronoun never has the *quam*-construction is entirely unnecessary.' It would certainly appear that the ablative is found in all examples where the statement is explicitly or, as in rhetorical questions (*quo quid turpius?*), implicitly a universal negative. But *quam qui* is of itself as impossible as *quam quibus* or *ōre ōs*, and I fail to see why this consideration should be neglected. Mr. Neville properly notes the frequency of phrases of the form '*Quid* Petronio fuit stultius?' instead of *quis*; but he should have observed that the gender is not wholly insignificant. *Quis* confines the comparison to persons. *Quid* is wider, it includes things and thus expresses more emphasis, and, in the example quoted, more contempt. As Mr. Neville makes a special class for sentences containing *neminem* and of the type '*miseriorem quam te uidi neminem*' Plaut. Cas. 520, we may note that in his two exceptions Cic. Fam. 3. 5. 1, Phil. xi. 5, 12, the correlative of *neminem* is also the relative *quo* (abl.).

There is a strange slip on p. 42. Catullus 21, 8 contains *prior*, it is true, and an ablative; but these have nothing to do with this inquiry. In Cic. or. post red. 10, 25, '*quid* [ego] gloriosius [meis posteris potui relinquere] quam hoc senatum iudicasse qui me cuius non defendisset, eum rempublicam saluam noluisse.' The words in square brackets are omitted, and the passage is quoted as an exception to the rule of category XVII. 'It is often desirable to sum up a following infinitive or other modal construction, that takes *quam*, by a neuter pronoun; this pronoun is put in the ablative after a comparative.' Now is this an 'exception'? Does Mr. Neville think that a Latin stylist of any age whatever would in this sentence have inserted an *hoc* (abl.) with *gloriosius*? It may be an exception to a pigeon-hole category; but what rule or even tendency of Latin speech does it run counter to? To say of Cic. Fin. 4 § 10, '*ars tamen est dux certior quam natura*' 'The form of this sentence is unparalleled; in no other instance do we find a predicate apposition appearing in comparative sentences, as *dux* does here' (p. 41) is the extremity of formalism. Supposing the use were unique, what then? But is not Verr. 4. 55. 123 (of Verres), which Mr. Neville cites on p. 35 with the words in brackets omitted, near enough for our purpose '[uide]te quanto *tætrior*

hic tyrannus [Syracusanis fuerit] *quam quisquam* [superiorum].' How is *tætrior tyrannus* a different conjunction from *dux certior*? Mr. Neville's habit of reducing his quotations to an absolute minimum saves space, it is true; but the parsimony is, for all that, mistaken. In many cases the usage cannot be properly appreciated unless its environment is given in full.

DR. MEADER'S book, which is dedicated to his teacher, Prof. Wölflin, consists practically of monographs on four Latin pronouns, *is*, *hic*, *iste*, *ipse*, together with a fifth on the pronouns used for the determinative *is* and for the definite article. As his list of materials shows, he has read widely in every period of Latin. The outcome of his reading is presented in the form of more or less definite statements illustrated by quotations, and from time to time by statistics. The book shows how the study of even an unpromising subject like pronouns may be made not only profitable but interesting. The classical poets' avoidance of *is*, the rivalry and confusion of *is* and *hic*, the development of what we may call a new *hic* in *iste*, the use of *ipse* for *idem* in post-classical and the use of all these as well as *ille* in Christian Latin to represent the definite article ($\delta \eta \tau\acute{o}$) with other topics of these pronouns' usages are treated of in such a way as to attract those who care only for grammar and those who care only for style. Dr. Meader does not neglect the influence of metre in determining poetic usage: but he is not yet perfect in the somewhat difficult task of comparing statistics of usage in verse with statistics of usage in prose. His comparative statement of the frequency of different parts of *is* in Caesar, Plautus, and the poets, will I fear be somewhat misleading. For the pressure of quantity was by no means so heavy on the prose writer as on the poet, and so the prose expression has less temptation to run in grooves. Accordingly to take an example, the uses of *ea* (fem. sing.) and *ea* (neut. plur.), whose occurrences both in prose and poetry are lumped together by Dr. Meader, are likely to be governed by very different considerations in the two kinds of composition. I do not wish to dwell upon small faults in what for a first book is a most meritorious performance: and so I will only suggest to Dr. Meader that when he publishes his monographs upon *ille* and *idem* he should not omit an index and that he should use either italics or at least inverted commas to help his readers' eyes in distinguishing Latin

quotations from English text. There is no question which is clearer: is it found—or it is found—.

Since the appearance of Prof. Hale's memorable investigations of *cum* constructions (*Cornell Studies*, 1887-9) the activity of 'the American school'¹ in the department of Latin syntax has been very remarkable. And some general observations on its character and tendencies, free from any comparison whether overt or covert with activities elsewhere, may form no unfitting pendant to these notices.

As in a matter of this kind the question of ultimate utility cannot be altogether excluded, I must frankly confess that I am not in sympathy with an idea which seems to enjoy wide currency and powerful countenance in the United States. The study of Latin or for that matter Greek grammar is not to be regarded, like ping-pong, as an end in itself. Its sole value is that it contributes to the understanding of the ancient literature or of the workings of the human mind. As however the investigation of syntactical phenomena need not necessarily be harmed and may in fact be stimulated by this exaggeration of the importance of syntax, I do not dwell upon it here and pass on from aim to procedure.

For its recognition of method and system and of the need for exhausting the field of facts with which it is concerned recent American syntactical inquiry is deserving of the greatest credit. It has moreover thoroughly grasped the importance of such practical principles as division of labour, use of time-saving devices, and attention to one thing at once. But it cannot be altogether acquitted of the charge of producing in haste. It is not so long ago that a series of articles upon a difficult and complicated grammatical problem appeared in a journal, edited by an American grammarian of acknowledged eminence in which one of the chief things to strike the reader were the words 'hurried' and 'hurriedly' which the writer applied more than once to his own procedure. This 'hurry' is completely inconsistent with sound work in syntax. The professed investigator of some detail of syntax through a literature or a considerable number of authors has the general reader entirely at his mercy; and he is in literary honour

bound to see that his material is complete before he prints a line and his corrigenda ought to be limited, as e.g. Mr. Durham's and Mr. Neville's are not limited, to errors of the press. But I need not say more on this subject as an American scholar has just dwelt with emphasis on the vital importance of accuracy in the details of a syntactical inquiry in the columns of this review.

The widespread, though not of course universal, indifference of America to textual matters must have struck others before now. Rarely, however, does it take so naive a form as in Mr. Neville's Preface: 'For the citations in this paper I have used the Teubner series under the belief that they were the most *accessible* (my italics), complete texts of the authors included in the investigation.' But a syntactician cannot get off so easily. It is his duty not merely to use the best texts, which do not necessarily grow in series's, but to ascertain for himself the actual facts about the texts by reference to the standard critical editions, and further in strict connexion with his grammatical inquiries to discuss the reading of all passages which are disputed or disputable. If he fails to do this, he may count himself fortunate if he does not find too late that he has built his house of conclusions and statistics upon a rotten foundation. Here too I am glad to refer for support to a native American scholar. Prof. E. B. Lease in a passage, which I had not read when I wrote the above notices, says in *Studies in Honor of B. L. Gildersleeve*, p. 414 n. 'It is unfortunate that a complete *apparatus criticus* for every writer of the Silver Age is not available. In an investigation of this sort, the knowledge of all variations in text tradition is an obvious necessity.'

It may perhaps be a result of studying classics in editions 'for rapid reading' (well enough in their place) that the conditions of a context such as metre and rhythm, archaic tone and so forth are not always held in sufficient regard. Even simple syntactical usages are often the product of a complex of tendencies, nor can they be cut out of their context and labelled without more ado. To sum up, we are indebted to 'the American School' (I am speaking only of the younger writers; this article has no reference to the veterans) for a great deal of good work in syntax, but this would have been none the worse for some more circumspection and insight and a little less attention to mechanism.

J. P. POSTGATE.

¹ This designation is from the table of contents of E. F. Morris' recently published 'Principles and methods in Latin Syntax,' where it is associated with the names of Hale Bennett and Elmer.

PERSSON'S GERUND AND GERUNDIVE.

De Origine ac Vi Primigenia Gerundii et Gerundivi Latini. (Skrifter utgifna af K. Humanistiska Vetenskaps-Samfundet i Upsala, iii. 4.) Scripsit P. PERSSON. Pp. [i], 138. Upsala (Lundström) and Leipzig (Harrassowitz), 1900. M. 3.

UNDER the above title the author of the *Studien zur Lehre von der Wurzelweiterung und Wurzelvariation* (1891) comes well prepared to a discussion of perhaps the most disputed of all grammatical forms. It is a curious circumstance in connection with the Latin Gerund and Gerundive that nearly all the possibilities of etymological explanation were suggested at a quite early date and several of them have been revived with new explanations in recent years. Dr. Persson, who devotes the first twenty-five of his pages to a critical review, is himself the exponent of a theory which in a crude form originated with Corssen.

It is gratifying for a reviewer to be able to announce that in his opinion a decisive word has now been uttered in this long debate, and I do so all the more readily inasmuch as I have myself (see *Cambridge University Reporter* for Nov. 21, 1899 and *Transactions of the Cambridge Philological Society* vol. v. part ii., 1900, *The D-Suffix*) been led by much the same evidence to nearly identical views. It is a sound maxim that forms which resist explanation within the individual language are probably legacies from a parent tongue, and Dr. Persson's simple solution of the present problem is to refer the termination *-endo -ondo-* to the *Ursprache*. It is therefore a question of evidence. In the face of the testimony adduced, especially from the Litu-Slavonic languages, it seems difficult to deny that such a suffix existed in the Indo-European mother tongue, and that this is the source of the Latin forms. It is further shown that this secondary suffix was connected with a primary suffix in *-nd* and hence with the *d*-suffix generally. In the papers above referred to I have sought to prove also, (1) that a participle in *-do* was part of the ordinary complement of the I.E. verb, (2) that the termination in *-ndo* was frequently accompanied by a hypocoristic sense, and thus comes into connection with the *d* of the Greek and Latin patronymics, (3) that the athematic nouns in *-d* were largely abstracts and collectives, and (4) that the

Teutonic languages afford evidence of a collective sense in the *d*-suffix and a patronymic employment of that in *-nd*.

For the detailed proof of Dr. Persson's thesis we must refer to the work itself. The words now first introduced into the discussion are for the most part derived from Leskien's *Bildung der Nomina im Litauischen* and from the great storehouse of Miklosich's Slavonic Grammar. One of the most interesting examples of the *-ndo* suffix as a primary is the Latin *-bundus* which we may now most reasonably regard as a direct representative of an original *bhūndos*.

The latter part of the book (pp. 85-135) is devoted to a discussion of the relations of the gerund and gerundive in Latin, and this problem will appeal to a wider public. Weisweiler has proved that the earlier in time was the gerundive, from which the gerund can be derived without difficulty and with the support of analogies in other languages. But he also ascribes to the forms an inherent notion of passivity and of necessity. This view, which has been accepted by Brugmann, *Grundriss* ii. p. 1424 and by others, requires a forced explanation of such words as *labundus* and *secundus*, and fails entirely to account for the words in *-ndo-* which have no attachment to verbs. It has been conclusively refuted by Dr. Persson, whose own opinion may be summed up in two quotations:—

Sic igitur censeo in structuris gerundivis, quae vocantur, gerundivum ipsum per se principio nusquam finalem vim habuisse neque actionem gerendam significasse, sed in multis locutionibus orationis contextu factum esse, ut talem significationem acciperet. Quod si ita est, ex hoc quoque fonte illa significatio latius manare potuit (p. 112).

and again

Haec omnia qui consideraverit, eum credo Weisweilero vix adensurum prorsus neganti in Latinis participiis suffixo *-ndo-* terminatis ullam nisi passivam inesse potuisse significationem. Immo, dum demonstratum erit (quod lucisque quidem demonstratum non est) ipsum suffixum *-ndo-* eiusmodi esse, unde non potuerit nisi passiva provenire significatio, credere licebit figuram in *-ndo-* cadentem non magis

quam cetera participia, de quibus supra egi, 'necessario' passivam esse. Quod confirmare videntur adjectiva illa suff. -undo- -cundo- formata, de quibus supra p. 63 egi: haec enim omnia a participiis passivae significationis repetere vix licet (p. 91).

Thus, in fine, *legendus* originally meant neither 'being read' nor 'to be read' nor even 'reading,' but bore the indifferent sense of the noun-adjective in such a phrase as 'a reading desk.' In accordance with this view Dr. Persson regards the names of the divinities *Adolenda*, etc. as properly nouns of action. It seems somewhat inconsistent, if one may raise a small point,

after this to treat *calendae* as an adjective with *dies* understood, when we may easily suppose the original sense to have been 'hustings.' *Dies* would probably have demanded a masculine *calendi* (cf. *fasti*), and if anything were to be substituted, our preference would lie, in spite of Dr. Persson's protest, p. 96 n., with *feriae*.¹ The Greek words in -ado seem to me for the most part to come not from *ndo*, but from -ado-. But Dr. Persson (pp. 35-7) does not insist over-much upon this point. F. W. THOMAS.

¹ It is curious that the Slavonic dialects which have a word *kolenda*, 'new year's day,' supposed to be borrowed from Lat. *calendae*, exhibit also a form *merendya* denoting 'provision for a journey': cf. Lat. *merenda*.

PISCHEL AND GELDNER'S *VEDISCHE STUDIEN*.

Vedische Studien. VON RICHARD PISCHEL und KARL F. GELDNER. Dritter Band. Pp. [ii], 215. Stuttgart, Kohlhammer, 1901. M. 7.

IN this third volume of the *Vedische Studien* the distinguished authors continue the application of their now well-understood principles to the interpretation of Vedic lexicography. The view that the Rg-Veda is essentially an Indian book and cannot properly be held apart from subsequent literature is one which commands assent. In no language can the meanings of texts or even of words be determined by mere etymologizing, a fact which was familiar to the Indian grammarians, who distinguished between the *rūḍha*, or conventional, and the *yaugika*, or etymological, sense. But though this was, of course, not overlooked by the school of Roth and Whitney, in practice they assigned a very inconsiderable weight to the tradition of native grammarians and lexicographers. The reliability of these is now much more highly appreciated in many departments. It is the merit of Pischel and Geldner to have considered their opinions more attentively in connection with the Veda. We must add also that they have more carefully than their predecessors employed the comparison of similar passages in the interpretation of the Veda from itself, and such comparison has indeed formed the bulk of the matter in these three volumes. It would be difficult to name two scholars whose combined command of the

great range of Sanskrit and Iranian literature better fits them for the task which Pischel and Geldner have undertaken.

One or two interesting propositions of a general character are enunciated, though not elaborated, in the present volume. On p. 152 the old view that the hymns were composed on the banks of the Indus is rejected in favour of Brahmāvarta, the holy land of Brahmanical India. 'Though in R.V. times single Aryan tribes may have been established on the banks of the Indus and its tributary streams, nevertheless the region of the Sarasvatī, i.e. Brahmāvarta, Kurukṣetra, the land of the Brahmarṣis in general, was its proper home. All geographical data of the R.V. combine to prove this. The Sarasvatī is never the Indus. In the broad, mostly dry and barren plains of the Panjab, lying between the Indus and the Sarasvatī, the R.V. people could not be settled, since in fact no people could permanently fix its abode there.' The importance for all Vedic questions of this proposition, stated, indeed, though less definitely, in vol. 2, p. 218, cannot be over-estimated, and it will no doubt attract the attention of scholars. A more hazardous suggestion is made, p. 26, that writing was known to authors of R.V. hymns: a Vedic employment of writing was thought not impossible by Bühler *Indische Palaeographie* p. 4. The date of the *pada* text is an old *streitfrage*: Geldner proposes to accept the traditions which make its originator Śākalya a contemporary of Āruni and his pupil

Yājñavalkya, and the *pada* text therefore as old as the White Yajur Veda (pp. 144–6). We hope that Pischel's discussion of the phrase *sūre duhitā* will not escape the observation of comparative philologists, who have adopted with too great enthusiasm the explanation of *sūre* as a genitive derived from *sūraz* (Brugmann now accepts Pischel's view *Indog. Forsch.* xiii, p. 149 n). On p. 126 we are told that the 'cloud-mountains' are a dream of the Comparative Mythologists.

It is impossible for a reviewer to discuss in detail the many new interpretations of words and phrases which form the bulk of the volume. The lion's share belongs to Geldner, his colleague having been much preoccupied with his Prākṛit Grammar and his duties as Rector at Halle. The longest articles deal with the words *ari*, of which the general meaning is given as 'rich man,' *vip* = 'tongue,' *yakṣa* = 'marvel,' and 'a marvel,' and the roots *ṛj* and *yat*. We may refer briefly to one or two points. The word *dvitā* is now explained as meaning 'by oneself,' 'alone,' 'in person,' &c. It is, therefore, equivalent in root and sense to the Greek *δίχα* and as regards *tmanā*, which is used to convey the same meaning, we may add that the classical *ātmanā* is similarly employed. Whether *ātman* is really to be separated from *athem*, etc., and to be derived from *vat* (p. 116), one would not like to

decide in haste. On the other hand Pischel's explanation of *apsaras* as = *arūpa* and the opposite of *sapsaras* (p. 197) is convincing. *Dhenā* in the sense of 'sister' belongs of course to the root of *θηλή*, *τιθήνη* *filius*, etc., and may be used in support of the derivation of *duhitar* from *duh*. *Svasara*, as denoting a time of day, recalls the Greek *βουλυτός*. In connection with the word *āscarya* 'marvel' p. 130, we may note that the same root appears in *avaskara* 'secret,' etc., and in the Zend *skar* 'leap,' Greek *σκαίρω*, etc. In equating the Sanskrit *ohate* to the Greek *εὔχεται*, Geldner is in agreement with a note printed in this *Review*, Vol. iv. p. 63.

A very interesting feature of this, as of the earlier volumes, is the treatment of whole hymns. This forms an admirable test of the principles followed, and no one who examines Geldner's discussion of the hymn R.V. I, 105 will deny that in this case the light derived from later literature has restored the poetry of the old Rsi's verse.

A work dealing with many debated questions could scarcely pass by the views of other authorities, and without criticism there is no progress. We welcome the courteous tone here maintained and the absence of acrimony in the references, in some cases necessarily frequent, to the authors of controverted views.

F. W. THOMAS.

REPORTS.

PROCEEDINGS OF THE OXFORD PHILOLOGICAL SOCIETY.—HILARY TERM, 1902.

ON January 31st, Prof. COOK WILSON read a paper on the 'ὑποζώματα of Greek ships.'

The view connected with the name of Böckh though really due to J. G. Schneider, that the *ὑποζώματα* passed from stem to stern outside the vessel horizontally, seemed to be abandoned by the most recent writers, who return to the improbable view that the *ὑποζώματα* was a straight hawser stretched from stem to stern inside the vessel; probably because they (as well as even writers who agreed with Böckh), were unaware of the existence of an important piece of evidence which it was the main object of the paper to resuscitate. This was a small bronze, representing the fore part of a trireme shewing ropes passing exactly as Böckh supposed. Though Böckh himself referred to it and to a representation of it in an old book—Breger's *Thesaurus Brandeburgicus*, vol. III p. 406,—there was no sign in the more modern writers that they knew of its existence, and it had apparently been lost sight of for perhaps sixty years. [Since reading the paper Mr. Wilson has been able by the kindness of Dr. E.

Pernice of the Königliche Museen to verify the existence of the bronze in the Berlin Museum, and to obtain photographs of it which he hopes to publish.]

Further it was probable that there were two kinds of *ὑποζώματα*, not only one of the kind supposed by J. G. Schneider carried by triremes under all circumstances, but also one applied temporarily after storms or sea-fights, to prevent leakage and passing in a vertical plane under the keel.

The passages, cognate to the subject, on the construction of battering rams in Vitruvius and Athenaeus (*Mechanicus*) were also discussed, and it was maintained that their bearing had been misunderstood and that they really contained evidence of the existence of the two kinds of *ὑποζώματα*.

['Since reading the above paper I find I have overstated the neglect of the bronze relief. Its importance has been curiously misunderstood, but Böckh's reference to it has been remarked upon. I hope to publish a detailed discussion of the subject shortly.—J. COOK WILSON. ']

On February 7th, Mr. JOACHIM of Merton College, read a paper on 'Aristotle's theory of Chemical Combination.' The paper dealt first with Aristotle's use of the terms *σύνθεσις*, *κρᾶσις*, and *μίξις*, and showed that in strict Aristotelian terminology *σύνθεσις* means 'mechanical mixture,' *μίξις* 'chemical combination' in general, and *κρᾶσις* the 'chemical combination of liquids.'

Next, the general principle of the distinction between *σύνθεσις* and *μίξις* was stated: and it was shown that every *μικθὲν* is necessarily *δμοιομερές*. The nature of the *δμοιομερῆ* was then explained. It was shown that they all involved the same four components, and that the difference between them depends upon the 'combining-proportions' of these components. The definition of any *δμοιομερές* is the *λόγος τῆς μίξεως* of its components.

The paper then proceeded to discuss at length the details of Aristotle's theory of *μίξις*. It endeavoured (by a consideration of the relevant passages in the *περὶ γενέσεως καὶ φθορᾶς* and in the fourth book of the *Meteorologica*), to answer the questions, (1) what are the constituents of the *δμοιομερῆ*? and (2) what takes place between these constituents in the process of *μίξις*? In connection with the first question, the nature of the elements, and of the actual qualities in virtue of which they combine, was discussed at length: and in connection with the second question, it was shown that Aristotle recognizes a double operation in the production of a *μικθὲν*, viz: (a) a transient reciprocal action of Contrary on Contrary, and (b) an immanent action of the 'tempered-hot' on the 'Moist and Dry.'

On February 14th, Mr. MACAN, of University College, read a paper on 'B. Keil's *Anonymus Argentinensis* (1902).' While accepting in the main the editor's conjectural emendations, and recognising the many valuable and stimulating *aperçus* in his discussion of the new text, the reader challenged several of the novel conclusions propounded by Dr. Keil in regard to the history of the Delian League, in particular (1) the amount of the supposed reserve fund: (2) the personal intervention of Perikles in the Delian synod: (3) the date of the transfer of the treasury from Delos to Athens. On the first point Mr. Macan argued that at the date of the transfer to Athens (still dated 454/3 B.C.), there was little, if any surplus, in the treasury at Delos. The psephism of Perikles, recorded in the new papyrus, was (he argued) an act not of the Delian synod but of the Athenian *ekklesia*. As to the date, the advent of the tributes to Athens should not be separated from the first payment of the Quota (*ἀπαρχή*) to Athens (453 B.C.). The act of Perikles, dated in the papyrus to 450/49 B.C. might (he suggested) be interpreted as an inaccurate report of the original motion for the formation of a reserve-fund, and its deposit in the Akropolis. (The substance of the paper will probably appear elsewhere.)

On February 21st, Mr. COWLEY, of Wadham College, read a paper containing notes on the Lycian Inscriptions. After a short account of the work hitherto done in elucidating the inscriptions, the arguments were discussed for and against the Indo-European character of Lycian. By a comparison with Old Persian grammar it was shown to be probable that the Lycian inflexions are Indo-European. On the other hand the vocabulary seems for the most part not to be so. The conclusion suggested was that the language points to a mixture of races: that an originally Indo-European people, while retaining their grammar, took over an alien vocabulary from conquerors or conquered. The affinities of the

latter were not discussed, but it was suggested that the foreign element represented a race at one time widely spread over Asia Minor and perhaps other parts of the west of the Mediterranean.

On February 28th, Prof. BYWATER, read a paper containing suggestions on the text of Plato Rep. 328 c, 359 e, 363 A, 380 D, 405 B, 408 A, 442 E.—Aristotle De Coelo 2, 12, p. 292^a, 26: Metaph. 1, 1, p. 981^a, 12: 1, 8, p. 988^b, 23: Rhet. 1, 1, 1354^a, 8. The paper will probably be shortly published.

On March 7th, a paper was read by Dr. L. R. FARNELL, of Exeter College, on 'Usener's theory concerning the Roman Indigitamenta and its bearing on the Hero- and Daimon-cults of Greece.' After giving a list of the cults of those *ἥρωες* or *δαίμονες* that are designated merely by an adjectival name, or a name expressive of some special function, such as *ἥρωες ἐπιτέγιοι*, *Εὐνοστος*, *Ἐχέτλαιοι*, *Κυαμίτης*, *Στρατηγός*, *Ἴατρος*, *Ταράξιππος*, etc., the reader proceeded to examine the view set forth by Dr. Usener in his 'Götternamen' that such cults are relics of an older stage of European religion, the period of 'Sondergötter' and 'Augenblick-Götter,' shadowy potencies that were narrower in range and less anthropomorphic than the forms of Hellenic polytheism: that the latter concrete personalities were in some way evolved from the former, and that traces of the older system survived also in the Roman Indigitamenta and in certain features of the Lithuanian religion. Confining himself mainly to the Greek evidence, and admitting that there were discoverable traces in Greek religion of pre-anthropomorphic conceptions, the reader argued that the evidence failed to support Dr. Usener's far-reaching theory: (a) a deity was not necessarily nameless, because he was not usually named, for primitive as well as higher races have a tendency to conceal or rarely to employ the personal name: (b) many of these adjectival or functional names are as personal and anthropomorphic as names like Apollo or Athena: (c) many are of a late period, being mere by-products of fully developed polytheism and implying the cults of the High Gods: (d) some may have been descriptive titles of real individuals who were 'heroised' after their death under functional names, such as *Ἴατρος*, *Στρατηγός*, in Attica, *Σύμμαχος* in Thessaly, *Ἐπίμαχος* at Knidos and Erythrae, others such as *Ταράξιππος* show the desire to invent a designation for a ghostly personality that hovered round a forgotten grave: (e) others such as *Κέραμος*, *Κεράων* and *Μάττων* were obvious fictions, parallel to the fictitious personalities of eponymous heroes of tribe or clan: (f) names like *Κουροτρόφος*, *Καλλιγένεια* may have easily been detached from some concrete High Goddess, Greek polytheism being specially prone to such detachments: (g) even such a presumably primitive figure as *Εὐνοστος* of Tanagra, the aboriginal hero of an agricultural ritual that prevailed in Greece, as elsewhere in Europe, perhaps before the evolution of the 'Olympian order,' is in legend and cult as personal as Apollo; and in general these functional heroes with adjectival names are by no means the amorphous characters to which Dr. Usener's definition of a *Sondergott* would be applicable, while rigid specialisation of function is not necessarily a mark of primitive religion but belongs also to advanced polytheism.

The paper was a sketch of the last chapter of the writer's forthcoming fourth volume of 'Cults of the Greek states.'

LEWIS R. FARNELL.
Hon. Sec.

VERSION.

A WOOING SONG OF A YEOMAN OF KENT'S
SON.

I have house and land in Kent
And if you'll love me, love me now ;
Twopence-halfpenny is my rent,
And I cannot come every day to woo.

CHORUS. *Twopence-halfpenny is his rent,
And he cannot come every day to woo.*

Ich am my vather's eldest zonne,
My mother eke doth love me well,
For ich can bravely clout my shoone,
And ich full well can ring a bell.

My vather he gave me a hog,
My mother she gave me a sow ;
I have a God-vather dwells thereby,
And he on me bestowed a plow.

One time I gave thee a paper of pins,
Another time a tawdry-lace ;
And if thou wilt not grant me love,
In truth ich die bevore thy face.

Ich have been twice our Whitson-lord,
Ich have had ladies many vair,
And eke thou hast my heart in hold
And in my mind seems passing rare.

Ich will put on my best white slops
And ich will wear my yellow hose,
And on my head a good grey hat,
And in't ich stick a lovely rose.

Wherefore cease off, make no delay,
And if you'll love me, love me now,
Or else ich seek some oderwhere,
For I cannot come every day to woo.

1611

*Αγρικός μνηστεύων.

Οἶκον ἔχω καὶ ἀγρὸν Βοιωτίων, ἔνθεν ἔτειος
τρεῖς ὄβολοι πρόσδοδος· τὸ δὲ νῦν φίλει εἴ
με φιλησείς,
μναστεύσω γὰρ ἐκάστω ἐπ' ἄματος οὐ κα-
ίκοιμαν.

Πρεσβύτατος τῷ πατρὶ γόνυ γέγον', ἃ δέ με
· μάτηρ
ἐκ κραδίας πεφίλακ', εὖ μὲν κωδωνοκροτεῦντα,
εὖ δ' ἔτι καὶ κρηπίδας ἐπιστάμενον καταράπτειν.

*Ἄρσενά πρὶν μὲν ἔδωκε πατὴρ ὕα, νῦν δὲ
φίλα μοι
μάτηρ καὶ θήλειαν ἐπάγαγεν· ἔστι δὲ πάτρως
ἀγχόθι πα ναίων· ὁ δέ μοι καὶ ἄροτρον ἔδωκεν.

Μέμνωσ' ὥς ποκὰ μὲν περόνας ποκὰ δ' ἔργον
ὑφαντῶν
ἐξ ἀγορᾶς ἀσκητὸν ἔδωκά τοι· αἰ δὲ κ' ἀναιήν,
αὐτίκα τὰν ψυχὰν καὶ ἐν ὄμμασιν ἐνθάδ' ἀφήσῃ.

*Ἦδη πομπεύειν τὰ Θαλύσιά μ' εἴλετο κόμα
δῖς ποκά, καὶ πολλαῖσιν ἄδον κἀλλαισι γυναιξίν,
ἐκ τεύδ' ἤρτημαι, τὸ δ' ἐμὰ γνῶμα τι περισσόν.

Καὶ μὰν τὰν βαιτῶν ἐνδύσομαι ἄτις ἀρίστα
καρβατίνας τ' ἐπὶ τῇ τὰς φερτάτας· ἐντὶ δὲ πυρραῖ·
καὶ στέφανον κομψῶς ῥόδιον περὶ κρατὶ φορησῶ.

Πρὸς τάδε μοι φράζευ, καὶ μὴ τριβᾶς, εἰ δὲ
φιλησείς
νῦν φίλει, ἣ ζητησῶ ἀπ' ἄλλοθεν, οὐ γὰρ
ἐκάστω
μναστεύσονθ', ὥς εἶπον, ἐπ' ἄματος οἷά θ' ἰκέσθαι.
W. H.

ARCHAEOLOGY

THE HUNTERIAN COIN-CATALOGUE.

*Catalogue of Greek Coins in the Hunterian
Collection, University of Glasgow.* Vol. II.
By GEO. MACDONALD. £3 3s.

THE second volume of this stately work has appeared at an interval of but two years and a half after the first. One does not know which to admire more, the rapidity with which the author works, or the unselfish devotion with which he dedicates his

scanty leisure to the task of making Hunter's treasures more accessible to scholars than they have hitherto been in Charles Combe's remarkable, but now obsolete catalogue. Only those who have made catalogues can realise the amount of work involved in a compilation of this kind. If the catalogue is carefully written, what gets into print represents about a tenth part of the time spent in comparison and combination of the material available in other

collections. The scientific catalogue contains nothing but the essence distilled from such material, and the rigid exclusion of extraneous matter, with the increasingly elaborate specialisation of numismatic study, gives the whole product a stern and unattractive appearance. Probably many archaeologists believe that when numismatists meet in secret, their toast—a modification of that generally ascribed to mathematicians—is: “The Higher Numismatics, and may they never be of any use to anybody.” Without sacrificing scientific accuracy of description, Mr. Macdonald has been less uncompromising, and, as in his first volume, relieves the text of his catalogue with brief notes, which serve to give the reader his bearings, and especially to call attention to the more recent periodical literature. For beginners in numismatics, these two volumes, with their sixty-two photographic plates, are already recognized as an invaluable training-ground. The Hunter Collection is sufficiently small to be manageable by the beginner, and is nevertheless very fairly representative. Gaps of course there are. It is curious to see the Cyzicene electrum represented by one stater and one sixth. The collection is poor in Asiatic electrum generally; of the coins generally attributed to the time of Croesus there is a single specimen in silver; Amyntas of Galatia is represented by bronze alone; and the series of Elis and Argos are comparatively weak. Nevertheless these gaps have their interest, as shewing what series, now well known, were in Hunter’s time less common or completely hidden in the earth, and as holding forth a promise of future discoveries. In one respect, the collection is surprisingly modern, and inspires great respect for Hunter’s good sense: the coinage of the Greek cities under the Empire is very fully represented. These coins are not beautiful, but in other respects are often of much greater importance than the autonomous issues. By collectors as a rule they are neglected because they make no display, and generally are an unprofitable investment from the pecuniary point of view. Hunter was perhaps the first among the short series of honourable exceptions to the rule—exceptions such as Leake, Borrell, Bunbury, and, among living Englishmen, Sir Hermann Weber.

This is hardly the place to enter into matters of detail, even if there were many criticisms to make. Mr. Macdonald mentions, but prudently refrains from accepting, Lermann’s theory that the Athenian tetra-

drachms with three olive-leaves in Athena’s helmet begin as late as 480 B.C. On No. 33 of Athens, as he says, an argument might be based for the continuation of the tetradrachm issues during the time of Philip and Alexander; if the coin did not appear to be possibly of Eastern origin. To judge from the plate, the latter alternative seems highly probable. The same is true of Nos. 48 and 49. The symbol on the latter recalls a symbol on some strange coins with Tarsian types (B.M.C. *Lycaonia* etc. Pl. xxxii. 5, 6), which were certainly not struck at Tarsus, and are probably of Phœnician origin. No. 133 of Corinth represents the familiar conical erection within an enclosure. The cataloguer refers to Imhoof-Blumer and Gardner’s suggestion that the type may represent an obelisk within a stadium. An unpublished (?) coin of Caesarea Germanica tends to confirm this explanation, for it shews an obelisk underneath a large circular enclosure containing seated spectators. The proportions of the two parts of the type are of course very different on the two coins; but this is a matter in which the die-engravers of the time shewed deplorable laxity. The present volume (in which the plates are noticeably better than in its predecessor), contains the coins of the whole of North-Western and Central Greece, Peloponnesus, the Islands, and Asia Minor with Cyprus. The next and concluding volume should be of the highest interest, for it will include the splendid series of Seleucid coins, for which Hunter’s Cabinet has always been famous; and there is every hope that Mr. Macdonald’s researches will set at rest some of the vexed questions which make that series only less bewildering than the Parthians and Ptolemies. We have spoken of the third volume as the concluding one; but it is with the pious hope that someone will be found to emulate Mr. Stevenson’s noble example, and that Mr. Macdonald may find time—the inclination we know he already possesses—to do for the magnificent Roman series what he has done for the Greek.

G. F. HILL.

MONTHLY RECORD.

ITALY.

Twini.—On the site of the Roman city, during a reconstruction of the present quarter, a well or pit came to light, which had been filled up with rubbish of various kinds (fragments of marble, stucco, glass, pottery, and tiles), and animals’ bones, all being of the Roman period and apparently of one date. Into

this well had been thrown the head of a bronze statue, the rest of which was not found, also a marble torso of Cupid bending his bow. The head, which had been gilded, represents a young man, and from the likeness of the features to the coins of Augustus and the Prima Porta statue of that Emperor, it probably may be identified as his portrait.¹

Chiusi.—Two remarkable Etruscan busts in bronze have come to light, and are now in the Museum at Florence. One is male, with pronounced features and a beard indicated by incisions as on black-figured vases; the hair is long and covered with a sort of cap, and the chest is covered with scales, which may indicate a fish-body, such as Triton is represented with, or on the other hand a cuirass or aegis. On the top of the head is a ring which has been attached to some iron object. The bust is hollow and the inner surface has been strengthened with lead; it has been mounted on wood and seems to have been used for carrying about in processions. The other is similar in type but inferior in style; it represents a goddess with necklaces and hair falling in plaits on the shoulders; presumably a feminine counterpart of the other, in which Sig. Milani sees a marine Zeus. But it is more probably a Triton type. The date of the busts is about 600 B.C.²

Rome.—Some light has been thrown on the history of the temple of Castor and Pollux by the clearing away of the rubbish at the back. Some large blocks of marble were found, which serve to explain the problem of its early destruction, all bearing traces of damage of different nature and period. It seems probable that the temple fell in an earthquake in the year 502, and its remains were subsequently further damaged when the marble attracted notice for building purposes.

Under the platform of the temple of Venus and Rome the pavement of the older Via Sacra has been discovered. In regard to this a question has arisen whether the arch of Titus, which is thirty-five feet to the west, was erected by Domitian on the older route and removed by Hadrian when he altered its course for his new temple of Venus and Rome, or whether the route had already been altered by Nero. Further researches, which are still in progress, may give additional information.³

Pompeii.—In September 1901, a marble bas-relief was found representing a sacrifice of a ram to Aphrodite, probably from a fourth-century original. She is seated on a rock with lotos-sceptre and approached by six persons, of whom two are children, and the foremost leads the ram. Among other finds were a *giallo antico* head of a Maenad from a terminal figure, wearing an ivy-wreath, and numerous terra-cottas, one representing a draped woman of considerable merit.⁴ During October a long list of finds were

made, but nothing was discovered worthy of special mention; they include forty-five gold Imperial coins from Augustus to Domitian, over 1,000 bronze coins of the same period, and 795 silver coins, both Republican and Imperial, but mostly in bad condition.⁴

Sorrento.—An interesting inscription has been found which runs as follows: IMP · TITVS · CAESA[R] · DIVI · VESPASIANI · F · VESPASI[ANVS] · AVG · PONT · MAX · TR · POT · [IX · IMP · XV] · COS · IIX · CENSOR · P · P · HOROLOG[IVM · CVM · SVIS] · ORNAMENTIS · TERRAE · MOTI · [EVS CONLAPSYM · REST. The restorations are all certain. The earthquakes alluded to were either those which so seriously damaged Pompeii in the reign of Nero or else those which, as the younger Pliny tells us, accompanied the eruption of Vesuvius in A.D. 79. The date of the inscription is A.D. 80. Other restorations undertaken by Titus at this time and in this district are referred to in *C.I.L.* x. 1481 (= Kaibel, *Inscr. Gr. Sic. u. Ital.* 729); and in *C.I.L.* x. 1617 there is another allusion to a *horologium*.⁵

SICILY.

Syracuse.—Two marble statues have been found in the city, one of Hades or Pluto with Cerberus at his side; the type is also known for Sarapis, but in this case the Chthonian head-dress is absent. The other is of Hygieia, with a serpent twisted round her right arm; the head is wanting. Both are of the Hellenistic age.⁶

Centorbi.—A singular discovery has recently been made of a long leaden coffin containing the skeleton of a boy who has evidently suffered from the disease known as rachitis. He wears a bronze armet, and in the mouth was a coin of Hiero II. as *ναῦλον* or Charon's fare. Above the skull was a terra-cotta medallion with a bust of Artemis, the head projecting in the round, a type not uncommon in Sicilian terra-cottas (cf. D 3 in Brit. Mus.). She was often regarded as the protectress of boys, as in the case of Sparta, where Artemis Korythallia was worshipped.²

GREECE.

Tegea.—The French School has discovered, on the site of the temple of Athena Alea, fragments of the pediment-sculptures representing the Calydonian boar-hunt (Paus. viii. 45, 6); they include the torso of Atalanta, a head of Herakles, and part of a hound; also the head of Hygieia from the statue in the temple (*ibid.* 47, 1), and small early bronzes of the types found at Olympia and the Argive Heraion. Excavations will be continued in the stadium and in the Temple of Athena Polias.⁶

H. B. WALTERS.

¹ *Notizie degli Scavi*, Sept. 1901.

² *Notizie degli Scavi*, July 1901.

³ *Athenaeum*, 5 April 1902.

⁴ *Notizie degli Scavi*, Oct. 1901.

⁵ *Notizie degli Scavi*, Aug. 1901.

⁶ *Athenaeum*, 25 Jan. 1902.

SUMMARIES OF PERIODICALS.

American Journal of Philology. Vol. xxii, 3. Whole No. 87. 1901.

A further collection of Latin Proverbs, M. C. Sutphen. On the association of Numerals, H. Oertel. *The Bodleian fragments of Juvenal*, H. L. Wilson. On the form of Horace's Lesser Asclepiads, L. J. Richardson. *The unreal conditional sentence in Plautus*, H. C. Nutting. *A note on the Achaemenian Inscription*, T. Michelson. *Notes on the Septuagint text of II. Sam.*, J. W. Rice. There are reviews of Schulze's *Römische Elegiker* (K. F. Smith), Seaton's Oxford text of *Apollonius Rhodius* (E. Fitch) and Henry's *Lexique Etymologique des termes les plus usuels du Breton Moderne* (O. B. Schlutter).

Mnemosyne. Vol. 30, 2. 1902.

Ad Thucydidem, H. v. Herwerden. Notes on books v-viii with reference to Hude's edition. *De Hegione in Terentii Adelphis*, G. E. W. v. Hille. Terence, by keeping untouched the customs regarding the condition of heiresses and at the same time making Hegio the proximus cognatus of Simulus, has spoilt the Greek original. *Ad Eur. Hipp.* 43-46, M. L. Earle. Takes away the comma at end of l. 45. *Observationes criticae ad Dionysii Halicarnassensis Antiquitates Romanas*, S. A. Naber. *Ad Plutarchum*, J. J. H. On Lyc. 11. *Homericæ*, H. v. Herwerden. Critical notes on the Iliad with reference to van Leeuwen and da Costa's second ed. *Ad Plutarchum*, J. J. H. On Lyc. 21. *Observationes criticae ad iure Romano*, J. C. Naber. 'Ad noxales actiones.' *Ad Plutarchum*, J. J. H. On Fab. Max. 13. *Homericæ*, J. v. Leeuwen. On the preface of Aristonicius περί σημειῶν with reference to Sijthoff's publication of Cod. Venetus A in prototype. *Tasilea*, J. J. Hartman. Various notes. *Ad Plutarchum*, J. J. H. On Num. 3. *Ad Aristophanis Plutum*, J. v. Leeuwen. Critical notes.

Archiv für lateinische Lexikographie und Grammatik. Vol. xii, 3. 1901.

Analogiebildungen auf -ellus, -ella, -ellum, E. Wölfflin. *Zu Caelius Aurelianus Acularum passionum libri III.*, G. Helmreich. Critical notes. *Animaguitardare*, E. Nestle. = μακροθυμείν e.g. Eccli. 29, 11. *Lucania*, E. Wölfflin. Maintains the text *Lucani* in Cic. Tusc. i § 89. *Lucania* perhaps does not occur before Horace (*Sat.* ii. 1. 38). *Epitome*, E. Wölfflin. On the meaning of this word and its distinction from *Periocha*. *Plinius und Cluvius Rufus*, E. Wölfflin. Rejects Cluvius Rufus as a supposed common source of Tacitus and Plutarch. *Titulus Mummiatus*, E. Wölfflin. Restores the metre of this inscr. by the omission of the word *imperator*. *Zur Geschichte der Pronomina demonstrativa III*, Meader-Wölfflin. On *iste* and *ipse*. *Zur lateinischen Wortbildung*, A. Zimmermann. On *opto*=*propter*, *Albarus leucos*, *Stolus*, *Indolis* *ἐπίτροπος*, *Commorans*, *Tellor*=*homo*, *Necessis*. *Agnellus*, *agellus*, *salsamentarius*, E. Wölfflin. *Die Bildungen auf -enus*, R. Planta. *Moderne Lexikographie*, E. Wölfflin. It is not the amount of knowledge that is of importance so much as the standpoint. We must look not at single authors but

at Latinity as a whole. *Similitudinariae, infrugifer, anzio*, J. E. B. Mayor. References given for these words. *Zur Mulomedicina Chironis I*, E. Lommatsch. *Bruta, Oruia, Glos, giutti, gluma*, G. Gundermann. *De Interjektion en. Enim, nempe*, J. M. Stowasser. *Das Suffix-aster. Propitius, Kompar. propior, E. Wölfflin. Salus, K. Brugmann. Ipse etiam. Domo. Latro, F. Vogel. Bubia. Carrus, Sternbild des Bären, Ov. Densianu.*

Part 4.

Zur Latinität der Epitome Caesarum, E. Wölfflin. As Aurelius Victor wrote his *Caesares* in 360 A.D. the composition of this epitome is at least a generation later. *Materiæ gerere. Agricola*=*agricolas*, E. Wölfflin. *Über das Alter der Martial-Lemmata in den Handschriften der Familie B*, G. Landgraf. These MSS. go back to a recension by Torquatus Gennadius in 401 A.D. The Lemmata in the MSS. are either by G. himself or by some assistant of his.

Ferens, H. Möller. *Die Hegeciypus-Frage*, G. Landgraf. From a comparison of language maintains the old opinion that Ambrosius is the author of the Latin translation of Josephus going under the name of Hegeciypus. *Zur Geschichte der Pronomina demonstrativa IV.*, E. Wölfflin. *Oracula. Amasus*, P. Wesner. *Os umerosque deo similis*, E. Wölfflin. *Studien zum poetischen Plural bei den Römern*, P. Maas. (1) Generally, (2) Giving a notion of mass, (3) Parts of the body. *Zur Mulomedicina Chironis II.*, E. Lommatsch. *Über, ubera*, E. Wölfflin. *Fovea*=*fovea*, J. Cornu. *Die Epitome des Julius Exuperantius*, C. Weyman and G. Landgraf. The text with notes. Composed fourth or fifth century A.D. *Ab und Caitlo*, E. Lattes. From an Etruscan inscription. *Abaso*, of M. Stowasser. *Abaso* is a miswriting for *agaso*. *Dextrator, δεξιολάβος*, E. Nestle. *Biduom und Triduom*, F. Sommer. In Plautus the *i* in these words is long, which has not yet been explained. *Zur Bildung der lateinischen Personennamen*. A. Zimmermann.

Wochenschrift für Klassische Philologie. 1902.

26 March. E. L. Hicks and G. F. Hill, *A manual of Greek historical inscriptions*. New ed. (W. Laufeld), very favourable. G. Showermann, *The Great Mother of the Gods* (H. Stending). 'A very useful work, rich in material.' R. Kobert, *Welche dem Menschen gefährlichen Spinnen kannten die Alten?* (Fuchs). K. Breysig, *Kulturgeschichte der Neuzeit, II. Altertum und Mittelalter als Vorstufen der Neuzeit, I. Hälfte* (F. Cauer). 'Everywhere notions take the place of living reality.'

2 April. *The Oxyrhynchus Papyri II.* ed. by B. P. Grenfell and A. S. Hunt (O. Schulthess), very favourable. Tacitus, *Germania*, von H. Schweizer-Sidler. 6. A. von E. Schwyzer (U. Zernial), very favourable. K. Krumbacher, *Romanos und Kyriakos* (G. Wartenberg), favourable. H. Müller, *Fort mit den Schulprogrammen!* (O. Weissnefels).

9 April. Th. Zielinski, *Die Behandlung gleichzeitiger Ereignisse im antiken Epos*. I. (Hoerenz), favourable. L. Mittelis, *Aus den griechischen Papyrurkunden* (O. Schulthess), very favourable. M. C. P. Schmidt, *Realistische Chrestomatie aus der Lit-*

teratur des Klassischen Altertums. III. (F. Harder), very favourable.

16 April. *Paulys Realencyklopädie der Klassischen Altertumswissenschaft*, herausg. von G. Wissowa. 8. Halbband (F. Harder) Σ. 'Αρβανιτοπούλου Ζητήματα τοῦ Ἀττικοῦ δικαίου. II. (O. Schulthess), favourable.

J. de Heyden-Zielewicz, *Prolegomena in Pseudocelli de universi natura libellum* (K. Praechter), unfavourable.

23 April. G. Rizzo, *Le tavole finanziarie di Taormina* (O. Schulthess), favourable. Σ. Σταυρίδης. Περὶ τῆς νοθείας τοῦ Θουκυλίδου (Widmann).

ADDENDUM (p. 194).—Mr. Kenyon, comparing a papyrus, in a hand very similar to that of the Alcaeus fragment, published by Comparetti in the Gomperz Festschrift, which has on its verso a document of the third century and so can hardly itself be older than the second century, is of opinion that Dr. Schubart's date is too early.

The editor takes this opportunity of asking the readers of the *C.R.* to correct the following misprints in names of modern Greek writers in the March issue which escaped detection owing to the disadvantages under which the proof was corrected.

Page 98, col. 2 near the top. For 'Polemas' read 'Palamas,' for 'Mashoras' read 'Markoras,' and for 'Karkobitsas' read 'Karkavit-as.'

The Classical Review

JUNE 1902.

DOMINE SALVUM FAC REGEM.

OUR readers will doubtless agree that the auspicious celebration which falls within the present month should not pass without some commemoration from the *Classical Review*, and we trust also that they will agree that it would be hard for it to offer a more appropriate tribute to the coronation of our gracious Sovereign, KING EDWARD VII. than the expression of these hopes and prayers which our National Anthem so fitly embodies, through the medium of ancient metres of the two classical tongues. So far as we are aware, no attempt of the kind has hitherto been made in either classical Latin or Greek, though their elder sister Sanskrit was employed, in the Jubilee year 1887, in a version by the late Professor Max Müller, which was presently followed by another in the same language from the pen of a native gentleman of India.

The text of the National Anthem cannot be regarded as definitely established. In fact not only its authorship but its variants offer scope for the exercise of the historical and literary criticism which it is one of the functions of this journal to encourage. The materials may be found in Dr. W. H. Cummings' *God Save the King* published in the present year by Messrs. Novello and Co., an interesting little book which we recommend to our readers. The subjoined English text which, as will be seen, differs in several lines from the current version, has been constructed by Mr. Walter Headlam from Dr. Cummings' materials: and will probably be deemed to have in rhyme and perhaps in some other respects an advantage over the more familiar form. The version which Dr. Cummings himself recommends for adoption in the new reign and century differs from it only in having in the second stanza 'On him our hopes are fixed,' an unimportant, and in the third stanza 'With heart and voice to sing,' a more material variation.

Of the two renderings here published it will be seen that the Greek adopts the metre of the famous scion upon Harmodius and Aristogiton, the Latin that of the hymn to Diana, Catullus xxxiv.

We append from Dr. Cummings' book the words of a Latin chorus which appears to have been used together with the English version at a performance given on November 28, 1743, the birthday of the Princess Augusta, wife of Frederick Prince of Wales, the book of words being still extant.

I.

O Deus Optime
Salvum nunc facito
Regem nostrum;
Sit laeta victoria
Comes et gloria,
Salvum jam facito,
Tu dominum.

II.

Exurgat Dominus;
Rebelles dissipet,
Et reprimat;
Dolos Confundito;
Fraudes depellito;
In te sit sita Spes!
O! Salva Nos.

GOD SAVE THE KING.

Anglice, Graece, Latine.

God save our Lord the King,
 Long live our noble King,
 God save the King.
 Send him victorious,
 Happy and glorious,
 Long to reign over us,
 God save the King.

O Lord our God, arise,
 Scatter his enemies,
 And make them fall :
 Confound their Politicks,
 Frustrate their knavish tricks,
 On him our hopes we fix ;
 God save us all.

Thy choicest gifts in store
 On him be pleased to pour ;
 Long may he reign.
 May he defend our laws
 And ever give us cause
 To cry with loud applause
 God save the King !

τρίτην Διὸς Ὠότηρος εὐκταίαν λίβα.

ᾠ Ζεῦ, τῆσδ' ἐπίδοις ὕνακτα χάρυς
 εὐαίωνα τε καὶ μεγιστόνικον,
 θεότιμον ἴσχοντα κράτος
 τῶνδε φίλων πολιτῶν πολλὴν ἐς χρόνον.

ἐχθροῖν ἐς γοῖν βάλλε φίλ' ἀναστὰς
 αὐταῖς ταῖς κακομηχανόισι πείραις,
 ἐπὶ τοῦδε δ' ὁρμοῦσαν ὁρῶν
 ἡμετέραν ἔτ' ὀρθὴν πόλιν ἀμφέπειν.

ἐσθλῶν τῶν παρὰ σοὶ τὰ λῶστα δοίης
 πρόφρων τῶδ', ἵν' ἔχοι νιν ἄδ' ἐσαιεῖ
 πατρίους φυλάσσοντα νόμους
 εὐλογία δικάως ἀπὸ καρδίας.

W. HEADLAM.

Di rex te bone sospitent ;
 di te, ciuibus o tuis
 lumen grande, superstitem,
 rex, diu bene seruent.
 di martem tibi prosperum ac
 laetum dent decus, et tuo
 praesis ut populo diu
 di bonum bene seruent.

hostiles tibi Iuppiter
 praesens dissipet impetus
 et graui faciat cadant
 ingentique ruina.
 pessum eat dolus impius,
 pessum fraus mala, dique te
 (spes in te sita publicast)
 nobis, nos tibi seruent.

hinc large tibi defluat
 quicquid muneris optimist :
 hinc regnum tibi posterum
 prorogetur in aeuom.
 tu leges patriae pie
 uindicans face ut omnium
 clarus usque sonet fauor :
 di rex te bone seruent.

J. P. POSTGATE.

TRANSPPOSITION OF WORDS IN MSS.

No question in textual criticism has had more downright partisans on either side than this of words transposed. It would be easy to quote opinions from many critics, that to change the traditional order of the words is an arbitrary and absurd expedient; but that is not my game, and if I quote the view of any critic who has set his face against it, my object will not be to triumph over him.

There is only one way of acquiring a sure hand in textual criticism, and that is to observe what the transcribers actually do—and what they don't do: a certain knowledge of palaeography is necessary, of course, and easy to acquire; but palaeography is only the first foundation for emending texts; sound judgment in that region cannot be attained except by constantly observing various readings. How many critics at the present day would claim that various readings have been their constant observation? Now that interest in Classical authors has generally been so much widened, editors ought to combine as many virtues as Du Maurier's policeman; and it is not surprising they should often be impatient of this grovelling pursuit; but those who are bold enough to steer by their own stars are apt to fall into one of two extremes; they either launch out wildly and re-write their author altogether, or they hug the shore and treat their text as though it had been handed down by an apostolical succession of inspired transcribers: which they do depends upon their temperament, but the apologists for Inspiration are prepared to defend you any *Mumpsimus*, in defiance of such human arguments as metre and the usage of the language.¹ My reasoning is not with them, but with those who can accept the great principle so often insisted on by Cobet: 'est in codicibus Graecis et, ut suspicor, in Latinis quoque quaedam peccandi veluti constantia solentque τὰ αὐτὰ

περὶ τὰ αὐτὰ ἀμαρτάνειν, et quo quis plura de genere hoc aut ipse repererit aut ab alio reperta in promptu habeat, eo ad verum inveniendum accedit paratior.'²

It will be conceded that those critics who have pronounced that transposition is among the safest and most probable of all expedients have not been those whose actual familiarity with texts has been the least. Porson, who was keenly interested in the matter and refers to it often in his Correspondence, says in his preface to Euripides p. 7: 'Hoc semel observandum est, nihil tam frequenter in libroris cadere, quam verborum ordinem immutare. Hunc errorem illi quidem, ubi animadvertunt, aliquando literis numerabilibus indicant: sed has notas ii, qui postea codicem exscribunt, dum ad finem operis properant, saepe negligunt. Tutissima proinde corrigendi ratio est vocabulorum, si opus est, transpositio.' Cobet, *Coll. Crit.* p. 188 'Non est aliud vitiorum genus in poetarum locis frequentius quam ut verba suo loco mota et disiecta sint, neque ulla emendandi ratio est certior et evidentior quam transpositio. Insigne huius rei exemplum praebet locus incerti Tragicæ apud Nauckium pag. [861] fragm. [110]. Clemens Alexandrinus haec servavit: μέλλον εἶναι τὸν ἀποσφάττειν ὁ Αἴας κέκραγεν' 'οὐδὲν οὖν ἦν πρᾶγμα ἐλευθέρου ψυχῇ δάκνον οὕτως ὡς ἀνδρὸς ἀτιμία.' Poetae manus superest in Chrysippi libello περὶ ἀποφατικῶν:

οὐκ ἦν ἄρ' οὐδὲν πῆμ' ἐλευθέρου δάκνον
ψυχὴν ὁμοίως ἀνδρὸς ὡς ἀτιμία.'

Their practical experience showed them that the thing did happen frequently; but the reason why it happened has never, apparently, been stated or perceived: therefore it is not altogether unreasonable that editors should be reluctant to admit it at the present day.³ Prof. Bury, for example, on Pind. I. iii. 67 καὶ δεύτερον ἀμαρτέων ἀέθλων τέρμα | γίνεται hesitates to adopt Schmid's correction ἐτείον τέρμ' ἀέθλων, complaining of 'the critical difficulty that the order of words in the MSS. is not accounted for.' The reason that accounts for it is in truth so simple that I hope such doubts as these will be at once resolved. The error which the copyist commits in such a case does not consist in

¹ 'Facile est et haec et alia omnia utcumque interpretari, si quod voles fingere licebit et Graecitatis rationem et usum contemnere, sed, ut lenissime dicam, quid prodest locum difficiliorem sic interpretari, ut statim appareat meliorem interpretationem aut emendationem esse quaerendam? Quis non saepe vidit interpretationes mirificas, quorum auctoribus praeter sanam mentem et Graeci sermonis interiorem intelligentiam nihil prorsus deficit? Ne dicam de Aeschylī locis, in quibus illo modo interpretandis multi iudicio suo vim auferunt, proferam unum Aristophanis locum . . .' Cobet *Novae Lectiones* p. VII (1858)

² *V. L.* p. 475.

³ Mr. Gilbert Murray, I am glad to see, does not reject the principle in his Euripides, *Andr.* 239, *Hipp.* 733.

writing the words in any order at haphazard, but in arranging them according to the order they would have in prose; according to their grammatical construction. Sometimes this is done deliberately; more often it is merely the result of inadvertence. Words in verse especially are apt to be displaced out of their most natural order; the copyist's eye instinctively goes ranging for the construction of the sentence, and his next step, unconscious or deliberate, is to write the words in that construction. That is the case in the two passages just quoted, and it will be found to be the case almost invariably when the order is disturbed. Having observed this practice of theirs and tested it and made use of it for many years, I have been in the habit of denoting it by the letters *s.o.* meaning 'simple order,' *simplex ordo*; there ought to be some intelligible and convenient term for general currency, and if mine will not serve, will some one invent a better for the purpose?

The following list could be increased indefinitely, but should be enough to prove its point:

Aesch. *Ag.* 1048 cod. f. καὶ κακῶν φρενῶν
= κλύει

β' α'

Soph. *Phil.* 859 *v.l.* ἀλεῖς ἐσθλὸς ἔπνος
" *Ant.* 998 τέχνης τῆς ἐμῆς σημεῖα κλύων
" *El.* 809 τῆς ἐμῆς φρενὸς οἶχη
" *Phil.* 156 μὴ με λάθῃ προσπεισών: for
προσπεισών με λάθῃ Hermann
" *Ant.* 1128 ἐνθα Κωρύκται Νύμφαι
στείχουσι: for στείχουσι νύμφαι
Blaydes
" " 1304 ἀλλ' οὐτ' ἐμοὶ καλὸν τοῦτ'
ἐστὶν οὔτε σοί
" *O. C.* 1506 τύχην τις ἐσθλὴν θῆκε
τῆσδε τῆς ὁδοῦ

Aesch. *Ag.* 405 πόλει πρόστριμ' ἄφερτον
θείς: for πρόστριμμα θεὸς ἄφερτον
Wilamowitz-Moellendorf
" " 1143 ἰὼ λεγείας ἀηδόσος μόρον:
for μόρον ἀηδόσος Hermann
" *Pers.* 168 ταῦτά μοι διπλῇ μέριμν'
ἄφραστοί ἐστιν ἐν φρεσίν: διπλῇ
should come last, Porson
" *Theb.* 1056 μονόκλαστον θρῆνον ἔχων
ἀδελφῆς: *v.l.* for ἔχων θρῆνον

Ar. *Nub.* 599 πάγχρυσον οἶκον ἔχεις: *v.l.*
for ἔχεις οἶκον

Eur. *Bacch.* 1367 ἀγέρατον ὄνομ' ἔχων ἐν
Θήβαις

" *Alc.* 81 βασιλείαν πενθεὶν χρὴ ἢ ῥῶσ'
ἔτι φῶς τὸδε λύσσει Πελοῖον
παῖς

Elegant anapaestic verses, are they not? What they gain in clearness hardly compensates for what they lose in metre.

Aesch. *Eum.* 578 *v.l.* τί τοῦδε σοὶ πράγματος μέτεστι λέγε

Eur. *Ion.* 552 ἐκ τίνος δέ σοι μητρὸς πέφυκα;
ΞΟ. οὐκ ἔχω φράσαι'

" *Hipp.* 625 ὁ δ' αὖ λαβὼν εἰς δόμους
ἀτηρὸν φυτόν

" *I.A.* 1341 τί δὲ φεύγεις, τέκνον; for τι
δὲ, τέκνον, φεύγεις;

" *Or.* 485 πρὸς τόνδ' ἀγὼν τις σοφίας
ἦκει πέρι;

" " 491 πληγείς τῆς ἐμῆς θυγατρὸς
ὑπὲρ κάρᾳ (κάρᾳ θυγατρὸς τῆς ἐμῆς
πληγείς ὅπο Hermann)

" " 499 αὐτὸς κακίων ἐγένετο μητέρα
κτανὼν

" *Hee.* 1012 τάλαιναι τάλαιναι κόραι
Φρυγῶν dochmīac

" *El.* 324 οὐπόποτ' οὐ χῶας οὐδὲ κλῶνα
μυρσίνης | ἔλαβε: for οὐπω χῶας
ποτ' (Porson) or χῶας ποτ' ἔλαβεν
οὐδὲ κλῶνα μυρσίνης | οὐπω,

" *fragm.* 1025 θεοῦ γὰρ χωρὶς οὐδεὶς
εὐτυχεῖ βροτῶν *v.l.* for θεοῦ γὰρ
οὐδεὶς χωρὶς

" *fragm.* 1129 *v.l.* θεὸν δ' εἰπέ μοι ποῖον
νομιστέον;

" *fragm.* 943 τετραμόρφοις
ῥαῖρας ζευγνύς ἁρμονία πολὺν
καρπον ὀχημα:

read ῥαῖρας ἁρμονία ζευγνύς or ἁ. ζ.
ῥαῖρας

Rhesus 51 μήποτέ τινα μέμψιν εἰς ἐμ'
εἴπῃς: for μήποτέ τιν' ἐς ἐμὲ μέμψιν
εἴπῃς

Ar. *Ran.* 1474 *v.l.* αἰσχιστον ἔργον μ' εἰργασ-
μένος προσβλέπεις

" *Plut.* 715 *v.l.* ὁπὰς γὰρ οὐκ ὀλίγας εἶχε
μὰ τὸν Δία

" *Acharn.* 207 *v.l.* εἰ τις οἶδ' ὅποι γῆς
τέτραπται ὁ τὰς σπονδὰς φέρων

" *Eg.* 797 *v.l.* ἴνα γ' Ἑλλήνων πάντων
ἄρξῃ ἔστι γὰρ . . .

Ath. 451d: Achaëus Nauck p. 582: τὸν
Σαρπιατήν γραπτὸν κύρβιν ἐν διπλῷ
ἐτάλω

" 338b: Mnesimachus II p. 442
Kock: οὐκ ἀλλὰ καὶ τῆς νυκτὸς Δωριῶν
ἔνδον ἐστίν: for ἐστὶ Δωριῶν ἔνδον
Porson

" 426a: Clearchus II p. 409 K. προ-
πίομαι | συγγενέσι πίστωμα φιλίας-
πίων ἔρω | τὰ λοιπά

" 563a: Theophilus II p. 477 K. ἦν
ιδεῖν ἰδιὸν ἐστὶν ἢ τὸ θεωρικόν: for ἦν
ἔστ' ἰδεῖν ἡδὶον ἢ τὸ θεωρικόν Canter.

Ath. 104e: Ar. *fr.* I p. 473 K. ἰχθύς τις ἐώνηται ἢ σηπίδιον: given correctly in 324b.

„ 29c: Archestratus δοκῆσει | οὐκ οἶνω σοι ἔχουν ὅμοιον γέρας: for σοι ὅμοιον ἔχουν γέρας Meineke

Simonid. 5. 10 θεὸς ἂν μόνος τοῦτ' ἔχοι γέρας: *vv.* ἴ. ἔχοι τοῦτο (or τοῦτο τὸ γέρας)

Anacreon 2. 5 ἐψηλὼν ὀρέων κορυφὰς: for κορυφὰς ὀρέων Barnes.

A.P. xii. 48 αἰθαλέοιο πυρὸς ῥιπήσι τρυφηλαὶ σάρκες | ληφθεῖσαι: probably for σάρκες ἵπ' αἰθαλέοιο . . .

Soph. *fr.* 234 τέμνεται βλαστομένη | ὀπώρα καλῶς: for καλῶς ὀπώρα Barnes.

„ 122 νόμος γάρ ἐστι τοῖς βαρβάροις θηπολεῖν βρότειον ἀρχῆθεν γέρος τῷ Κρόνῳ

„ 770 *v.l.* πικρὰν χολὴν κλύζουσι φαρμάκῳ πικρῷ

Eur. *fr.* 1119 ὀχληρὸς δὲ ξένος ὄψιος μολὼν Chares p. 826 Nauck ὅστις δὲ μὴ γαστρὸς κρατεῖν ἐπίσταται *v.l.* for γαστρὸς μὴ

Trag. *fr.* adesp. 548 σὺ δ' ὧς τεκοῦσα μὴ τὴν σὴν λιβάσι κατὰσπενδε παρηίδα: read λιβάσι μὴ παρηίδα | τὴν σὴν κατὰσπενδε

Paroemiogr. II p. 274 ὅμοιον τῷ 'πουλύποδος πολυχρόου νόον ἴσχε.'

No one surely now when he finds in Eur. *Bacch.* 652 λευκῆς χιόνος ἀνείσαν εἰαγεῖς βολαὶ need have any scruple in accepting L. Dindorf's correction λευκῆς ἀνείσαν χιόνος (as *Hel.* 3 λευκῆς τακείσης χιόνος). In *O.T.* 719 ἔρριψεν ἄλλων χερσὶν εἰς ἄβατον ὅρος it is a doubtful question; but it will be seen that what Musgrave conjectured, ἄβατον εἰς ὅρος, might very easily have been altered.

INTERROGATIVES AND RELATIVES:

Eur. *Andr.* 862 ἀτὰρ δὴ τίς ὦν πυνθάνη τάδε; for πυνθάνη τίς ὦν τάδε; see Wecklein for the MSS.

„ *I.A.* 1366 ἐμὲ δὲ τί χρὴ δρᾶν τότε; for δρᾶν τί χρὴ Kirchhoff

Eubulus II p. 207 Koch ἰχθὺν δὲ ποῦ (or δὲ ποῦ) "Ὀμηρος ἐσθίωντ' εἴρηκε; other MSS., finding this hiatus, insert γε, their common expedient for avoiding it, ἰχθὺν δὲ ποῦ γ' "Ὀμηρος ἐσθίωντ' εἴρηκε; but even so it drags a little at the end! ἰχθὺν δ' "Ὀμηρος ἐσθίωντ' εἴρηκε ποῦ; Grotius.

Alexandr. III p. 372 Kock τί χρὴ τοῦτο; or τί τούτων χρὴ; for τούτῳ τί χρὴ; Hermann

Aesch. *Suyp.* 814 τίν' ἀμφ' αὐτᾶς ἔτι πόρον for ἀμφυγῆς τίν' ἔτι πόρον

Aesch. *Theb.* 98 πότε, εἰ μὴ νῦν, (the usual form) for εἰ μὴ νῦν, πότε Lowinski

Aristophon (Ath. 161e) II 279 K. πρὸς τῶν θεῶν, οἰόμεθα τοὺς πάλαι ποτὲ . . . ; but an unmetrical *v.l.* τί ποτ' οἰόμεθα τοὺς πάλαι . . .

There is an interesting case in a fragment quoted by Plut. *Mor.* 1098 B (Nauck *adesp.* 418, Kock III 604), which begins τί κάθη καὶ πίνωμεν. Meineke V 121 corrected this to κλῖθῃ καὶ πίνωμεν, observing that Euripides used the same words in the *Cyclus*, *fr.* 691; so in the *Cyclops* 539 he has κλῖθῃ, to drink. We see now what the process of corruption was: ΚΛΙΘΗΤΙ to ΚΑΘΗΤΙ (as κλῖθῳ to καὶ θῳ in *Antig.* 1342), taken to mean κάθη τί; and altered to τί κάθη;

Eur. *Hipp.* 558 οἶον ἂ Κῦπρις ἔρπει: for ἂ Κῦπρις οἶον ἔρπει Mouk.

Timotheus ὅτε κᾶρυξ εἶπεν: for κᾶρυξ ὅτ' εἶπεν Bergk III p. 623.

Soph. *Phil.* 861 ἀλλ' ὥς τις 'Αἰδᾶ πάρα κείμενος: for ἀλλὰ τις ὥς Wunder.—so in *fr.* 336 κυλισθεῖς ὥς τις ὄνος ἰσόσπριος may easily be for ὄνος ἰσόσπριός τις ὥς: if it were not a satyric fragment, one might feel sure.

Eur. *Suyp.* 496 οὓς ὕβρις ἀπόλεσεν: for ὕβρις οὓς Barnes, which throws the emphasis on ὕβρις, 'whose destruction was due to their insolence.'

„ *El.* 1156 μέλεον ἂ πόσιν | χρόνιον ἰκόμενον εἰς οἶκους: for μ. εἰς οἶκους χ. ἰ. ἂ πόσιν Weil.

„ *H.F.* 799 ὃς γὰς ἐξέβα θαλάμους: for γὰς ὃς Musgrave, and I independently. It is not indeed required by metre; but when there is a choice between these two, the ear has no doubt which it prefers. In Lyric, relatives are habitually postponed, and are especially avoided at the beginning of a line: if you open with a stronger word, it seems to give a firmer outline, and enables the singers to attack more briskly. Thus in Bacchylides viii. 56 where I, like others, had conjectured ἂ Διὸς πλαθεῖσα λέχει τέκεν ἦρω I feel that Prof. Herwerden's Ζηνὸς ἂ πλαθεῖσα . . . is an infinite improvement.—In *Trach.* 834 rhythm seems to me to call for θάνατος ὃν ἐτέκετ', ἔτρεφε δ' αἰόλος δράκων instead of ὃν τέκετο θάνατος.

In Eur. *fr.* 136. 3, 4 (Ath. 561b) ἢ τοῖς ἐρώσω, ὃν σὺ δημιουργὸς εἰ μοχθοῦσι μόχθους, εὐτυχῶς συνεκπίνει it was uncritical of Nauck

to prefer the order Stob. *Flor.* 64. 6 quotes the verses in, ἢ τοῖς ἔρῳσαν εὐμενῆς παρίστατο μοχθοῦσι μόχθους ὧν σὺ δημιουργὸς εἶ. The inferior version puts the relative clause in its more natural place, as in Menand. *fr.* 355 (see Kock)

οὕτως ἀσυλλόγιστον ἢ τύχη ποιεῖ
τὸ συμφέρον τί ποτ' ἐστὶν ἀνθρώπου βίω·
οὐ χρήται νόμοις καθ' οὓς κρίνει τὰ πράγματα

which you restore by writing καθ' οὓς κρίνει τὰ πράγματα· οὐ χρήται νόμοις 'she follows no law that he can judge things by. Cf. Dio Chrys. II 370 *fin.*

The tendency is one; but the same passage may allow it to operate in different ways. What I mean will be made clear by an example. In Hegesipp. 1. 22 (Ath. 290 b) we get ὑπὸ τῆς ὁσμῆς γὰρ οὐδὲ εἰς δυνήσεται for ὑπὸ τῆς γὰρ ὁσμῆς (Pierson), which is an order of words used even by Euripides and frequently in Comedy, as *Plut.* 1034 ὑπὸ τοῦ γὰρ ἄλγους, *Lys.* 593, *Ecl.* 625, *Plat. Com.* 2, Menand. *Γεωργ.* ἀπὸ τοῦ γὰρ ἔλκουσ; and in *A.P.* xi. 108. 2, an iambic epigram by the Emperor (or as the scholiast calls him 'the Satan') Julian, we have ἐν τῇ κλίνῃ δὲ τῶν ποδῶν ἰσονομίων. Satan or not, Julian knew how to scan κλίνῃ, and wrote of course ἐν τῇ δὲ κλίνῃ. Now in these cases the tendency has operated by joining article and substantive together; but it might have operated by making the connecting particle the second word in the sentence, as in *Ecl.* 625 ἐπὶ δὲ τοὺς καλοὺς *v.l.* for ἐπὶ τοὺς δὲ καλοὺς; then we should have had ὑπὸ γὰρ τῆς ὁσμῆς and ἐν δὲ τῇ κλίνῃ. That would have been the commoner result, for with *particles* it is their usual way to bring them up to the beginning of the sentence: in the case of δέ and γάρ and γέ⁴ you may see it everywhere; τε affords them few opportunities (Simonides 4. 9 Bergk); μέν is well illustrated by Cobet *N.L.* 351 from prose; *v.l.* of Eur. *fr.* 387 is καίτοι μὲν φθόνον μῦθον ἄξιον φράσω, and in Simonides 147 ἦρχεν Ἀδείμαντος μέν... it was only to be expected there would be a *v.l.* ἦρχε μὲν Ἀδείμαντος. So mechanically do their rudimentary intelligences work that they will do this to the utter obliteration of the sense: thus in Alexis II 348 K. (Ath. 124 a) the proper reading is τακτῆς τροφῆς δὲ τῆς καθ' ἡμέραν πάλιν | γλιχόμεθα· τὴν μὲν μάζαν ἵνα λευκὴ παρῇ, | ζυμὸν δὲ ταύτῃ μέλανα

μηχανόμεθα. But the MSS. must bring their μέν up to the beginning of the line, and so they give us γλιχόμεθα μὲν τὴν μάζαν ἵνα λευκὴ παρῇ. It would be hard to beat the following variant in Polyb. v. 91 στρατηγού-τος ἄγῃ μὲν τὰ τῶν αἰτωλῶν, ἀράτου δὲ παρελ-φότος τὴν τῶν ἀχαιῶν στρατηγίαν, where the true reading is of course στρατηγούτος Ἀγίτα μὲν τῶν Ἀιτωλῶν: yet it is only typical of their proceedings; ΑΓΗΤΑ was taken to be ἄγῃ τὰ, and μὲν was thereupon transposed. A MS. gives Eur. *fr.* 387 thus, καίτοι μὲν φθόνον μῦθον ἄξιον φράσω, instead of καίτοι φθόνον μὲν μῦθον..., and in exactly the same way the MS. presents us in Aesch. *Eum.* 851 with καίτοι μὲν σὺ κάρτ' ἐμοῦ σοφωτέρα: read

ὀργὰς ξυνοίσω σοί, γεραιτέρα γὰρ εἶ.
καίτοι σὺ μὲν <που> κάρτ' ἐμοῦ σοφωτέρα,
φρονεῖν δὲ κάμοι Ζεὺς ἔδωκεν οὐ κακῶς.

'At the same time, though no doubt you are much wiser than I, yet I am no fool either.' Soph. *Phil.* 1025 καίτοι σὺ μὲν..., ἐμέ δε... Turnebus saw what the nature of the sentence called for when he thought of καίτοι σὺ μὲν κάρτ' εἰ γ' ἐμοῦ σοφωτέρα.

They do the same with ἄρα: *O.C.* 584 σαί τ' εἶσ' ἄρ' ἀπόγονοί τε καὶ (Jebb) becomes σαί τ' ἄρ' εἶσ' or εἰσιν ἀπόγονοι. Aesch. *Ag.* 1251 ἢ κάρτ' ἄρ' ἂν παρεσκόπεις χρησμών ἐμῶν may well have been ἢ κάρτα χρησμών ἄρα παρεσκόπεις ἐμῶν. Cobet would write ἦν ἄρ' in Eur. *fr.* 810 μέγιστον ἄρ' ἦν ἡ φύσις,... and 845 ἢ δεινὸν ἄρ' ἦν..., and so Kaibel in Antiphanes II 60 K. (Ath. 449 b) ὁ Φίλιππος ἄρ' ἦν εὐτυχῆς τις νῆ Διᾷ. In Antiphanes II 124 K. (Ath. 66 d) ἂν μὲν ἄρα πέτερι τις φέρῃ πριάμενος I have suggested ἂν μὲν πριάμενος ἄρα...

In Antiphanes 227. 9 (Ath. 60 c) τίς γὰρ οἶδ' ἡμῶν τὸ μέλλον ὅτι παθεῖν | πέπωθ' ἐκάστω τῶν φίλων; probably the right correction is τίς οἶδεν ἡμῶν γὰρ τὸ μέλλον,... Meineke suggested τίς γὰρ κάτοιδ' ἡμῶν τὸ μέλλον, but no one ever said κατειδέναι τὸ μέλλον.—In Pind. *N.* x. 75 θέρμα δὲ τέγγων δάκρυα στοναχαῖς I should restore the metre simply by the transposition of the particle, θερμὰ τέγγων δάκρυα δὲ στοναχαῖς.—In Pind. *O.* x. 15 τράπε δὲ Κυκνεῖα μάχα τὸν ὑπέρβιον Hermann's Aeolic form Κύνκεια may be right, but the alternative τράπε Κύνκεια δὲ μάχα does not seem to have been thought of.

The copyists expect such particles to follow the first word of the sentence: hence they are liable to mistake the punctuation, and may be led to deprave the text still further. Thus in Pind. *P.* vi. 37 they punctuated χερμαίπετρες δ' ἄρ' ἔπος οὐκ ἀτέρψεν αὐτοῦ·

⁴ There is sometimes an intermediate stage when the particle appears in *both* places, as *O.T.* 976 πῶς γ' ἂν τὸ γ' ἄκον πράγμ' . . . Phoen. 726 *v.l.* εἴπερ γ' σφαλεῖς γε δεῦρο σωθήσῃ πάλιν. Lycophr. 1412 οὐ μὰν γ' ὑπελξεῖ γ' . . . Dio Chrys. II. p. 384 Reiske ἐπεὶ γε τοῖς γε τοιούτους.

μένων δ' ὁ θεῖος ἀνὴρ...which a scholiast paraphrases τὸν λόγον ἐαυτοῦ ἔρριψεν: but it should be οὐκ ἀπέριψεν, αὐτοῦ μένων δ'...See also Eur. *Andr.* 143. The right reading (Heath) in Eur. *H.F.* 1113 is ἀρκεῖ σιωπῇ γὰρ μαθεῖν ὁ βούλομαι; but γὰρ was assumed to be the second word; a stop accordingly was placed after ἀρκεῖ, and then to get a sense the δ was changed to οὐ: so that we find ἀρκεῖ σιωπῇ (or σιωπῇ) γὰρ μαθεῖν οὐ βούλομαι.—Again in *Agam.* 231 the original text has been restored by Spanheim:

τὸ παντότολμον φρονεῖν μετέγνων
βροτοὺς θρασύνει γὰρ αἰσχρόμητις...

The copyist however assumed that γὰρ must be the second word, and therefore punctuated after βροτοῖς, the explanation offered in the schol. being ὅθεν ἔγνω πάντας τοὺς ἀνθρώπους πολμῶν. It was probably another groping at a sense that produced the reading of cod. M, βροτοῖς θρασύνει γὰρ...

In Ath. 572 b a fragment (21) of Alexis is still corrupted from this cause. It should be

καὶ σὺ ἵν' οὐχ ὥς λέγεις
'πόρνης', 'ἑταίρας' δ' εἰς ἔρωτα τυγχάνεις
ἐλληλυθὺς ἄρ' ὥς ἀληθῶς ἔστι γοῖν
ἀπλῇ τις. B. ἀστεία μὲν οὖν, νῆ τὸν Δία.

'So you now have fallen in love not with a πόρνη as you say, but with an ἑταῖρα in the true sense apparently: at any rate she is a simple girl'. That it should be so will be clear from the fragment (212) of Antiphanes quoted by Ath. immediately before,

ἑταίρας εἰς ἔρωτ' ἀφίκετο
ἀστής,⁵ ἐρήμον δ' ἐπιτροπῶν καὶ συγγενῶν,
ῥηθὺς τι χρυσοῦν πρὸς ἀρετὴν κεκτημένης,
ὄντως ἑταίρας,

for ἑταίρας ὥς ἀληθῶς is exactly the same thing. The copyist, however, never dreamt that ἄρα could be placed so late, and therefore punctuated ἐλληλυθὺς ἄρ' ὥς ἀληθῶς ἔστι γοῖν ἀπλῇ τις; which is not exactly the Attic use of γοῖν!

Let us look now at Aesch. *Pers.* 500:

θεοὺς δέ τις
τὸ πρὶν νομίζων οὐδαμοῦ τότ' εἵχeto
λιταῖσι γαῖαν οἰρανὸν τε προσκινῶν.
ἐπεὶ δὲ πολλὰ θεοκλυτὰν ἐπαύσατο
στρατός, περὰ κρυσταλλοπήγῃ διὰ πόρον.

The last line is quite unrhythmical, and I have no doubt Porson was right in putting

⁵ ἀστής here might suggest that in Alexis B's exclamation ἀστεία μὲν οὖν is an answer to ἀστή τις: but with ἀστή should we have had τις?

κρυσταλλοπήγῃ διὰ πόρον at the beginning of it. Perhaps it will be allowed that he was right when it is perceived that, as we find it, the words are in their most prosaic order. The transcriber has brought στρατός from the *apodosis* and subjoined it to ἐπαύσατο. He may have meant to make it clear that the subject of ἐπαύσατο was not the τις of the preceding sentence, for this example has the air of a deliberate alteration. The material for learning what transcribers do consists in the various readings of their MSS.; but to find out what their mental habits were you must study *scholia*; there you can see the ways their intelligences worked, the things they consider puzzling, and the way they deal with them. I am not speaking of the visual errors, but of such explanatory alterations as this one of transposition. Scholia in such cases give expression to the mental process of text-makers, and the mental process is liable to consist in corruption of the text itself. Now the order of the words is the very thing which they most often think requires elucidation; there is no form of note in scholia so common as τὸ ἐξῆς οὕτως 'the consecution is as follows'; and that too in cases where the merest child, you would have imagined, would not need to be informed. But this passage of the *Persae* is just one where it would be natural to find a note, τὸ ἐξῆς, ἐπεὶ δὲ πολλὰ θεοκλυτὰν ἐπαύσατο ὁ στρατός, περὰ κρυσταλλοπήγῃ διὰ πόρον.

There is a good example of this kind in Pind. *P.* iii. 9 seqq., which I will not quote, because it can easily be studied in Bergk's edition: but no illustration could be better than this from the end of the first ode of Bacchylides, which I will give as Mr. Housman and I concurred in changing it:

ὄντινα κούφονται θυμὸν δονέοντι μέμιναι,
ὅσσον ἂν ζῶῃ λάχε τόνδε χρόνον τιμὰν, ἀρετὰ δ'
ἐπ' μυχῷ

such a man 'hath honour during the time only that he lives upon the earth; whereas...' Since τόνδε χρόνον is not governed by λάχε, the order is a little complicated; perfectly intelligible to us, of course, but just a case for a scholiast to note τὸ ἐξῆς οὕτως ὅσσον ἂν ζῶῃ χρόνον, τόνδ' ἔλαχεν τιμάν.⁷ That is the order in our text.

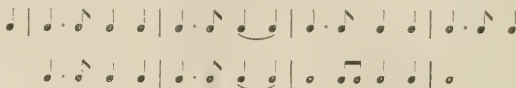
⁶ He need not alter the sentence more than is necessary for explanation, and since the stress is not on χρόνον but on ζῶῃ, ὅσσον ἂν ζῶῃ χρόνον is the proper order, as in Eur. *Alc.* 367 ὄντιν' ἂν παρῇ χρόνον 'as long as it is present,' Plat. *Theaet.* 172 ὅσον ἂν δοκῇ χρόνον 'for so long as it remains approved.' Dio Chrys. II 249 ὅσον ἐκείνοι χρόνον...

⁷ So Prof. Jebb rightly reads: the MS. now has

The metre of the line is dactylo-epitrite, of which the basis is $\text{—} \text{—} \text{—} | \text{—} \text{—} \text{—} \text{—} \text{—} | \text{—}$ as the 1st line of the 4th Pythian *σάμερον μὲν χρή σε παρ' ἀνδρὶ φίλῳ*. It is a strongly-marked rhythm in 4 time



and you could continue the same movement, bar after bar indefinitely; but no variation is possible that will not fall within the limits of the bars. Lines just one syllable shorter than ours are the 2nd and 5th of Pind. *N. x*, and *P.V. 545* *μηδ' ἐλινύσαιμι θεοὺς ὅσαις θοίναις ποτινισσομένα*: those exactly the same length are the 3rd of Pind. *O. viii*, Simonid. *fr. 57. 1* and *P.V. 914*. Prof. Blass, however, has not thought our transposition in Bacchylides even worth recording, for he maintains that the line is metrical as given in the MS. On dumb paper, indeed, his theory looks difficult of refutation; but with Greek as with any other language the only arbiter of metre is the



and this

would be the scansion of *ῥῶσον ἂν ζῶη χρόνον τόνδ' ἔλαχεν τιμάν*, by which you would get half a bar too much.

Since transpositions have been taken to be purely accidental, any change so large as this has usually been considered most improbable. If nothing but a transposition will amend the metre, critics will admit it so long as it is small enough to slip in without any question being asked. Thus in Bacchyl. *xiv. 47* a transposition is readily adopted, *Μοῦσα, τίς πρῶτος λόγων ἄρχεν δικάων*; where the MS. gives *τίς πρῶτος ἄρχεν λόγων δικάων*. This is obviously right; but not because it is only a very little one: the condition of probability is not size at all; it is that, while unmetrical, the words are in their simpler order. As a corollary of this, when metre is restored by transposition, the words ought no longer to be in the normal order of construction; and conversely, if unmetrical words are at the same time in unusual order, then transposition is not a likely remedy.

Critics have often violated this condition. For example, in Eur. *Hel. 1481* *ὄμβρον λιποῦσαι χεμέριον* Hermann wrote *ὄμβρον*

τιμαν with a stop before and after it, as though *τί μάν*; were meant; but this may be left out of the argument.

ear. Among the other examples of the line are Simonid. *57. 1*

τίς κεν αἰνήσειε νόῳ πίσυνος Δίνδου ναέταν Κλεόβουλον;

where *θυμῷ* according to Prof. Blass would do as well *νόῳ*; and *P.V. 914*

πρῶτος ἐν γνῶμαι τὸδ' ἐβάστασε καὶ γλώσσῃ διεμυθολόγησεν

where *τὸδ' εὖ βάστασε* upon the same view would be merely a legitimate variety. I have profound respect for Prof. Blass, but on this point I am very sure I shall die a disbeliever. There is no such line in Greek, and how there could be I am unable to conceive. As soon in the 4th Pythian for *σάμερον μὲν χρή σε παρ' ἀνδρὶ φίλῳ* might we substitute *παρ' φωτί*. We must be prepared of course in this rhythm for an occasional syncopation⁸ $\text{—} \text{—} \text{—} | \text{—} \text{—} \text{—} | \text{—}$ = $\text{—} \text{—} \text{—} | \text{—} \text{—} \text{—} | \text{—}$ as at the syllable *φεν* in Bacchyl. *i. (38)* *θνατοῖσιν ἅλλ' αἰεὶ τὰ φεύγοντα δίζηται κιχείν*. The scansion of that is

χεμέριον λιποῦσαι: now the first thing that ought to have been assumed is that if *ὄμβρον χεμέριον* had been adjoined in the original they would not have been severed by the copyist; that they are separated now is a sign that they were always separated; and I shall show presently that the words are in the right order as they stand.—In *Trachin. 878* we find *XO. τίνι τρόπῳ θανεῖν σφε φής*; | *TP. σχετλιώτατά πρὸς γε πράξιν*. *XO. εἰπὲ τῷ μῶρῳ*: since *γε* is not subjoined here to the first word in the sentence, that is an indication that it is still in its right place; if you keep it there and read with Hermann *σχετλιώ τὰ πρὸς γε πράξιν*, you restore what is good in rhythm and construction; but if with Dr. J. H. Schmidt you write *σχετλιώτατά γε πρὸς πράξιν*, you must suppose the copyist to have placed *γε* later, when, as we have seen, their tendency is just the contrary—and I may add, you will get the sort of rhythm you might find in Comedy but certainly you will not find in Tragedy. In Aesch. *Cho. 835* *φονίαν ἄταν τιθεῖς τὸν αἵτιον δ' ἐξαπολλῆς μόνον*, whatever the true text may be, the order has not been disturbed; it is quite uncritical to conjecture *ἐξαπολλῆς*

⁸ Bacchyl. *i. (15)*, *ix. 38, x. 5, 40*, Pind. *O. xii. 19*, *P. i. 2, 4, 6, iii. 6, iv. 7, N. i. 7, 18, v. 1, x. 6, 18, xi. 5, 12, I. i. 6, v. 6, vi. 25, fr. 133. 5* (ed. Bergk).

τὸν αἴτιον μόρον. What many critics consider easy transpositions often seem to me extremely hard; I do not say that purely accidental transpositions never did take place, but comparatively they are very rare. In Aesch. *Theb.* 862 the MSS. give πατρώους δόμους ἐλόντες μελῶδι σὺν αἰχμᾷ against metre: many think it easy to transpose with Blomfield to δόμους πατρώους ἐλόντες: but there was nothing whatever to induce a copyist to alter that; the right plan is to separate the words that in grammar belong to one another and write with Weil δόμους ἐλόντες πατρώους.—Again in *Theb.* 710 τελέσαι τὰς περιθύμους κατὰρας βλαψίφρονος Οἰδιπόδα it is quite possible that the last syllable of βλαψίφρονος is lengthened by the stress of metre⁹; but if the line has been disordered it is not I think to be set right by the expedient of Triclinius, Οἰδιπόδα βλαψίφρονος. When we observe that the words as handed down to us are in their simplest order, we are entitled to suspect that they have been radically altered from a more dispersed arrangement, for example κατὰρας Οἰδιπόδα τὰς περιθύμους τελέσαι βλαψίφρονος.

Disturbances as large as this have taken place, I am persuaded, many times in Lyric verse; especially in Tragedy, which has been more subjected to editing and explanation. Before offering some restorations on this principle, I must premise that when the annotators give τὸ ἐξῆς 'the order of the words', they commonly replace at the same time one or more of the original words by an explanatory synonym; and this is apt to get into the text along with the re-arrangement. It did so in Pind. *N.* x. 4

μακρὰ μὲν τὰ Περσέος ἀμφὶ Μεδοίσας Γοργόνας,

5 πολλὰ δ' Αἰγύπτῳ παλάμαις κατένασθεν ἄστητα ταῖς Ἐπάφου.

The metre is the simple dactylo-epitrite, which does not admit Prof. Bury's alteration. It will be seen that the order of words in *v.* 5 has the freedom lyric verse permitted; παλάμαις is out of its position. In the MSS. accordingly we have πολλὰ δ' Αἰγυπτῷ κατώκισθεν ἄστητα ταῖς Ἐπάφου παλάμαις. I have no doubt that Bergk was right in restoring it as given above,¹⁰ replacing κατώκισθεν by

⁹ See Bergk Pindar p. 161. νασίωτιν ἐκίνησεν in Bacchyl. ix. 10 might be defended on this ground; but it would be easy to read κεκίνηκεν. In Pind. *P.* v. 42 καθέσαντι, μονόδροπον φυτόν is so hard to alter that I think it must be genuine, like δὲρῦ·σῶει in Bacchyl. xvi. 90. Εἰς lengthened vowels when it chose before consonants that could be held, like λ μ ν ρ σ.

¹⁰ Some may think it an argument in its favour

κατένασθεν, for οἰκίζεν and κατοικίζεν were (as his note shows) the regular explanatory synonyms. It has supplanted κατένασθεν again in *fr.* 119, another piece of simple Dorian rhythm:

ἐν δὲ Ῥόδῳ κατένασθεν
ἐνθένδ' ἀφορμαθέντες ὑψηλὰν πόλιν ἀμφινέμον-
ται

and so on, where κατένασθεν for κατώκισθεν is due again to Bergk.

In *Nem.* iv. 89 τὸν Εὐφάνης ἐθέλων γεραίος προπάτωρ ὁ σὸς αἰέσεται παῖ we see now how easy it is to adopt Tycho Mommsen's transposition αἰέσεται, παῖ, ὁ σὸς.

O. xiv. 20 μελαντεῖχέα νῦν ἔθι
Φερσεφόνας δόμον, Ἄχου,

cures the metre: the MSS. have μ. νῦν δόμον φ. ἐλθ' or ἐλθέ or ἔθι. ἐλθέ is the regular synonym the commentators used for ἔθι and the like.

An epigram of Bacchylides or Simonides *A.P.* xiii. 28, which I give according to my view:

Πολλάκι δὴ φυλῆς Ἀκαμαντίδος ἐν χοροῖσιν
ῥωραι
ἀνωλόλυσαν κισσοφόροις ἐπὶ διθυράμβοις
αἱ Διονυσιαίδες, μίτραισι δὲ καὶ ῥόδων ᾠτοῖς
σοφῶν ἀοιδῶν ἐσκίασαν λιπαρὰν ἔθειραν
θῆκαν δὲ τρίποδα σφίσι μάρτυρα Βακχίων
ἄεθλων
οἱ τόνδε, κείνους Ἀντιγένης ἐδίδαξεν ἄνδρας,
κτε.

'*Saepe et alias victoriam reportavit Acamantis tribus; qui vero hoc victoriae signum posuerunt, eos Antigene docuit*' etc. The MS. gives οἱ τόνδε τρίποδα σφίσι μάρτυρα Βακχίων ἄεθλων ἔθηκαν· κείνους δ' Ἀντιγένης ἐδίδαξεν ἄνδρας, neither sense nor metre: the transposition given above (or this, οἱ τόνδε τρίποδα σχίστι μάρτυρα Βακχίων ἄεθλων θῆκαν δὲ, κείνους) restores both and gives a point to κείνους. Otherwise the critics (see Bergk III p. 497, Dübner *Anth. Pal.* II p. 465) are obliged to suppose that a couplet has been lost after *v.* 4, and even so are naturally dissatisfied with κείνους ἄνδρας.

Aesch. *Agam.* 99

παῖων τε γενοῦ τῆσδε μερίμνησ,
ἢ νῦν τότε μὲν κακόφρων τελέθει,
τότε δ' ἐκ θυσιῶν ἀγανά φαίνεις
ἐπὶ ἀμύνει φροντῖδ' ἀπληστον
τὴν θυμοφθόρον λύπησ φρένα.

that παλάμαις occurs in the same place of the corresponding line 65.

On the last line there is a schol. ἥτις ἐστὶ θυμοβόρος λύπη τῆς φρενός. But I believe that the line was a scholium itself, explaining φροντίδ' ἀπληστον as 'the dispiriting mind of grief': how otherwise can you account for τὴν? If this be so, we are left with an unmetrical conclusion, which may easily be restored to metre thus:

τότε δ' ἐκ θυσιῶν φροντίδ' ἀπληστον
φαίνουσ' ἀγάν' Ἑλπίς ἀμύνει.

The words were transposed in order to bring ἐκ θυσιῶν—ἀγανά φαίνουσ' together. In reading φαίνουσ' I follow Triclinius and cod. Flor.: ἀγανά φαίνονσα is like Theocr. ii. 10 ἀλλὰ Ἐλάνα, φαίνει καλόν: so now the reason is apparent why we find ἀγανά, not ἀγανῇ: it was not feminine but neuter plural.

Eur. *Cycl.* 76: read

ξανθὴν χαίταν <ἀνα>σείεις
ἐγὼ δ' ὁ σὸς πρόπολος
79 σὺν τᾷδε δοῦλος ἀλαίνων
80 τράγον χλαῖνα μέλεα
81 θηγεῖω τῷ μονοδέρκῃ
σᾶς χωρὶς φιλίας

The order in which these last 4 lines should come can hardly be determined, but I am certain that 79 and 81 are now put together as they were originally and that Κύκλωπι is to be ejected as a gloss. The MS. is θηγεῖω Κύκλωπι τῷ μονοδέρκῃ δοῦλος ἀλαίνων σὺν τᾷδε τράγον χλαῖνα μέλεα.—This is the simplest form of a delightful metre I hope soon to illustrate: the grammarians call it ἐπιωνικόν, and I call it 'The Poacher', because it goes to the tune of that excellent song 'As me and my companions Were setting of a snare'. In Greek it is much used by Pindar (as *Nem.* iv) and by Euripides, e.g. by the Chorus¹¹ in the *Phaethon* fr. 773. 23 μέλπει δ' ἐν δένδρεσι λεπτὰν | ἀγδὼν ἁρμονίαν: but through lapsing easily into glyconic it has almost eluded recognition; see how even the latest editions present the following passage, which I give in a corrected form: Eur. *Hel.* 1479

δὲ ἀέρος εἶπε ποτανοὶ
γενοίμεθα Δίβρες <ὥς> Badham
οἰωνοὶ στοιχάδες ὕμβρον
λιποῦσαι χιμέριον
νίσσονται πρεσβυτάτα (πρεσβυτάτου Paley)
σίριγγι πειθόμεναι

MISS. and editors give us

οἰωνοὶ στολάδες
ὕμβρον λιποῦσαι χιμέριον

¹¹ Who must, from their office, be the ὦραι.

with a variant στοιχάδες, and Aldus too has στοιλάδες: but metre requires στοιχάδες, which will explain itself to any one who knows the ancient commonplaces about cranes. So familiar were their *serried ranks* that an army ranged for battle is compared to them by Nonn. *D.* xiv. 329 seqq. and Stat. *Theb.* v. 7-17.—The antistrophe requires a slight transplacement:

1496 μολοῖτε ποθ' ἵππιον οἶμα
δὲ αἰθέρος¹² ἴεμενοι,
λαμπρῶν ἄστρον ὑπ' ἀέλλαισι
ι, παῖδες Τυνδαρίδα,
οἱ ναίει' οὐράνιοι,
σωτήρες τὰς Ἑλένας

The MS. merely has the vocative transposed, παῖδες Τυνδαρίδα, λαμπρῶν ἄστρον ὑπ' ἀέλλαισιν οἱ ναίει' οὐράνιοι.—The metre of 1496 is the *enhoplion*, which was specially appropriate to the Dioscuri; it lapses presently into the *epionicum*. The *enhoplion* can end with a short syllable as in οἶμα, but this is not admitted in the first half of the *epionicum*—unless Pind. *P.* x. 43 is to be considered an exception: there is one occurrence only that I know, *H.F.* 661

ἀ δυσγένεια δ' ἀπολὺν ἄν
εἶχεν ζωᾶς βιοτάν

and that of course can easily be set right by reading ἀπλάν ἄν | ζωᾶς εἶχεν βιοτάν.

Hel. 1150 seqq. is a grand example. The first 10 lines of the strophe, 1136-1145 are in metre demonstrably correct¹³, beginning thus:

ὁ τι θεὸς ἢ μὴ θεὸς ἢ τὸ μέσον
τίς φήσ' ἐρευνήσας βροτῶν
μακρότατον πέρας εὐρεῖν,
ὅς τ' αὖ θεῶν ἐσορᾷ

Now I will restore the antistrophe to metre too:

¹² Perhaps this should change places with μολοῖτε ποθ' for the sake of 'responson' to δὲ ἀέρος in 1479.

¹³ But they have been misunderstood; the meaning is 'who, after making the furthest enquiry in the world, can profess to have discovered what is God. . . , when he sees . . . ' τίς φησὶ (Musgrave restored τίς for τι) is common in this use; *Trag. fr. adesp.* 351, Euphron (Ath. 343 b) III p. 321 Kock, *Vesp.* 1497, Soph. *Aj.* 1413, *Rhes.* 149-154, *I.T.* 1047 τί φατέ; τίς ὁμῶν φησὶν ἢ τίς οὐ θέλει <ν>, φθέγγασθε, ταῦτα; ('who volunteers?') as Musgrave had corrected it already. *P.V.* 519 τίς φησὶεν ἄν ἐξευρεῖν; *A.P.* vii. 79 Ἡράκλειτος ἐγὼ σοφὰ μῶνος ἀνευρεῖν φημι, Dio Chrys. II. 282 R. δὲ μὲν γὰρ φησιν . . . Ἡράκλειτος δὲ ἐτι γενναύτερον αὐτὸς ἐξευρεῖν τὴν τοῦ παντὸς φύσιν ὅποια τυγχάνει οὕσα, μηδὲν διδάξαντος, καὶ γενέσθαι παρ' αὐτοῦ σοφός.

‘ ἄφρονες ὅσοι τὰς ἀρετὰς πολέμῳ
λόγχαισι τ’ ἀλκαίων δορὺς
κτᾶσθε, πόνους ἀμαθῶς θνατ.¹⁴
ὦν καταπανούμενοι.

εἰ γὰρ ἄμιλλα κρινεῖ νιν
αἵματος, οὐποτ’ ἔρις
λείψει κατ’ ἀνθρώπων πόλεις.’

1157 Πριαμίδες ᾧ γὰς ἔλιπον θαλάμους,
ἔξδν διορθῶσαι λόγους
σὺν ἔριν ὦ Ἑλένα.

“O fools all ye that seek to win your honours in the field of battle, by the weapons of armed war; a senseless way to compose the troubles of mankind! For if they are to be decided by bloody combat, strife will never cease among the towns of men”—that same through which the daughters of Priam have been torn from the bowers in their land, when thy quarrel, Helen, might have been arranged by word of mouth.’

See now what the MSS. present us with: ἄφρονες ὅσοι τὰς ἀρετὰς πολέμῳ κτᾶσθε δορὺς τ’ ἀλκαίων λόγχαισι καταπανούμενοι πόνους θνατῶν ἀπαθῶς. Is it not evident that that is a simplification of the order? As I have restored them, the words are of course displaced from their most natural position; if it were not so, there would have been no occasion for this metre-murdering arrangement.—The only other alteration is Musgrave’s ἀμαθῶς for ἀπαθῶς: μαθεῖν παθεῖν, μαθήματα παθήματα they commonly confuse, and give us δυσπαθῆ for δυσμαθῆ in *Ag.* 1254.—I have taken this passage as a quotation of some word of God introduced by 1149, which now appears as τὸ τῶν θεῶν ἔπος ἀλαθὲς ἦν. It seems to me we want τοῦτο or τὸδε ἔπος¹⁵: and this would be rhythmical and give the sense that I require, θεῶν δὲ τὸδ’ ἔπος ἀλαθὲς ἦν. ‘but this utterance of God I have found true:—’ Then follows the quotation, lapsing into their own remarks again by means of the relative in 1157, as the speech of Orestes does in *Eum.* 763.—Πριαμίδες ᾧ is the best I can make of αἱ Πριαμίδος γὰς in 1157, combining Rauchenstein’s Πριαμίδος with Musgrave’s Πριαμίδος ᾧ: the transposition of the relative for the sake of rhythm I had also made myself.

EL.443: read

Νηρῆδες δ’ Εὐβοίδας ἄκρας λιποῦσαι¹⁶
μόχθους ἀσπιστὰς ἀκμόνων

¹⁴ A common division of the *enhoplion* metre, e.g. *Ind. P.* xii. 1, 2 and 4, *Eur. Med.* 634, *Soph. Trach.* 121.

¹⁵ As νόμος ὕδρ in *Soph. Ant.* 613.

¹⁶ The metre is an extension of Glyconic, as in the

Ἡφαίστου χρυσέων ἔφερον τευχῶν
ἀνά τε Πήλιον ἀνά τε πρύμνας
*Οσσας ἱερὰς νάτας
ματεῦνσαι ἐνθα πατήρ

‘the golden harness wrought upon Hephaestus’ anvils,’ the golden armour of Achilles (*I.A.* 1069 χρυσέων ὅπλων Ἡφαίστου-πόνων, *Hec.* 108, *Hom.* Σ 475). The double genitive presents no difficulties to us, both rhythm and the position of the adjective connecting χρυσέων with τευχῶν: but it is exactly the kind of sentence one expects to be rearranged in copying. The rearrangement however is betrayed; for in writing

Ἡφαίστου χρυσέων ἀκμόνων
μόχθους ἀσπιστὰς ἔφερον τευχῶν

the sapient critic has made Hephaestus work on golden anvils!

EL. 1179 μισαρὰ δίγωνα σώματ’ ἐν
χθονὶ <διγόνῳ> πλαγᾷ κείμενα
χερὸς ὑπ’ ἐμᾶς, ἀποιν’ ἐμῶν πημάτων
- 1192 ἄχεα, φόνια δ’ ὤπασας
λέχε’ ἀπὸ γὰς τὰς Ἑλλαντίδος
τίνα δ’ ἑτέραν μὲν πόλιν; τίς ξένος

ἐν χθονὶ κείμενα πλαγᾷ χερὸς ὑπ’ ἐμᾶς MS.
For διγόνῳ πλαγᾷ compare δίγωνα μασθλῆς.

Tro. 563 σφαγαὶ δ’ ἀμφιβόμιοι
Φρυγῶν ἐν τε δεμνίοις
καράτομος νεανίδων
ἐρημία στέφανον ἔφερῖν

iambic dimeters: καράτομος ἐρημία νεανίδων MS.—Their husbands, that is, were murdered in their beds.

I.A. 792 διὰ σὲ τὰν δολιχαῦχενος
κύκνον—ἐτήτυμος εἰ φατίς,
Διὸς ὅτ’ ἡλλάχθη δέμας, ὥς
ὄρνιθι πταμένῳ σ’ ἔτεκεν Λήδα,
εἴτ’ ἐν δέλτοις Πιερίσιν

This is unexceptionable metre, in the same glyconic rhythm as the rest that has preceded. The way it is simplified in the MS. is

διὰ σὲ τὰν κύκνον δολιχαῦχενος γόνον,
εἰ δὴ φατίς ἐτυμὸς
ὥς ἐτυχε Λήδα
ὄρνιθ’ ἱπταμένῳ,
Διὸς ὅτ’ ἡλλάχθη δέμας, εἴτ’
ἐν δέλτοις Πιερίσιν

newly-published piece of Sappho ὡς [π]ῶ-’ ἀελίω | δύντος ἂ βροδοδάκτυλος σελάννα, *Bacchyl.* xvii., *Soph. O.C.* 669, *Eur. Hipp.* 528. For Hephaestus and the Nereids compare Nonn. *D.* 43. 399 seqq. Euripides probably had in his mind that passage of Hesiod (*fr.* 85 Goettling) about the μάχαιρα made for Peleus by Hephaestus, in which occurs the line ὡς τὴν μαστεύων οἶος κατὰ Πήλιον αἰπύ: Mr. A. B. Cook I expect would admit this among his verbal reminiscences.

Compare *Hel.* 17-21.

H.F. 134 Ἑλλάς ᾧ ξυμμάχους
οἶους ὀλέσασα τούσδ'
οἶους ἀποστερήσῃ

οἶους οἶους ὀλέσασα τούσδ' ᾧ. MS.

H.F. 749 τίς θεοὺς θνητὸς ὦν ἀνομίᾳ
χραίνων

Heimsoeth for τίς ὁ θεοὺς ἀνομίᾳ χραίνων
θνητὸς ὦν (ὁ del. Paley)

I.T. 1107 = 1121 : perhaps

ἐμὲ βήσῃ δὲ πλάταις
ρόθιοις αὐθι λιπούσ' ἀέρι δ'
= ἐς ἄμυλλαν χαρίτων
ἀβροπλούτοιο χλιδᾶς τ' εἰς ἔριν

where χλιδᾶς (the golden head-tire, *Andr.* 147 schol.) for χαίτας was proposed by Marklond.—The MS. reading is ἐμὲ δ' αὐτοῦ λιπούσα βήσῃ ρόθιοις πλάταις, and χαίτας ἀβροπλούτοιο.

In *Ion* 1079 ὀφεται ἐννύχιος ἄνπνος ὦν I think we should either read ἐννυχος or more probably ἐννύχιος ὀφεται transposed.

Andr. 889 κακὸν γ' ἔλεξας, δίσσ' ἐν' ἄνδρ' ἔχειν λέχη Grotius for ἄνδρ' ἕνα δίσσ' ἔχειν λέχη L, ἄνδρα δίσσ' E, the rest ἐν' ἄνδρα δίσσ'. In *Astydamas* p. 780 Nauck probably the right reading is μόλις δ' ἐν ἑκατὸν ἔστιν ἄνδρ' εὐρεῖν ἕνα, where the MSS. give ἕνεκα τῶν ἔστιν εὐρεῖν ἄνδρ' ἕνα with a marginal conjecture ἐν' ἄνδρα τούτων ἔστιν εὐρεῖν δυσχερές. *Eur. fr.* 411. 3 καὶ πρὸς ἄνδρ' εἰπὼν ἕνα appears in *Stobaeus* thus, κἂν πρὸς ἕνα εἰποῖς ποτε.

Med. 1244 and antistrophe : I suggest

1 μάταν μόχθος ἔρρει τέκνων
2 μάταν ἄρα γένος φίλιον ἔτεκες ὦ...
5 δειλαία τί σοι φρενῶν βαρὺς
6 χόλος προσπίτνει <τε> καὶ δυσμενῆς
7 φόνος ἀμείβεται ;

-5 σᾶς γὰρ χρυσείας ἀπὸ γονᾶς
6 ἔβλασταν' θεοῦ πίτνειν αἱμά τοι
7 φόβος ὑπ' ἀνέρων.
8 ἀλλὰ νιν, ᾧ φάος διογενές, κάτεργε κατά-
πανσον, ἐξελ' οἴκω, Ἐρινὸν φονιάν τά-
λαιαν
ὑπ' ἀλαστόρων.

θεοῦ δ' αἵματι πίτνειν MS. among other errors.

Ion fr. 18 Εὐβοῖδα μὲν γῆν λεπτὸς Εὐρίπου κλύδων Βοιωτίας ἀκτῆς ἐχώρισεν ἐκτέμνον πρὸς Κρήτα πορθμὸν is, it is true, from a satyric play ; but this sounds to me the proper order,

πρὸς Κρήτα πορθμὸν ἐκτεμὼν Βοιωτίας
ἐχώρισ' ἀκτῆς

“The narrow waters of the Euripus have parted Euboea from the Boeotian shore, so shaping it (ἐκτεμὼν) that it looks towards the Cretan sea” : i.e. the island of Euboea runs out in a S.E.S. direction,' *Jebb Bentley*, p. 213. Cf. *Lucian* iii. 637.

Soph. Ant. 836

καίτοι φθιμένη μέγ' ἀκούσαι
τοῖς ἰσοθέοις ἐγκληρα λαχεῖν.

So A.—Schaefer corrected ἐγκληρα to σύγκληρα. The sense is quite sufficient : ‘She had looked for present pity,’ says Sir Richard Jebb, ‘they comfort her with the hope of posthumous fame.’ And she exclaims οἶμοι γελῶμαι ‘It is a mockery!’ But the lines are out of metre, for they are the conclusion of a short anapaestic period. I cannot doubt myself that it is merely a simple case of transposition and that we should re-arrange the words in Hermann’s way :

καίτοι φθιμένα τοῖς ἰσοθέοις
σύγκληρα λαχεῖν μέγ' ἀκούσαι.

But L has another line, a paroemiac to complete the system, ζῶσαν καὶ ἔπειτα θανοῦσαν. Apart from its absence in A, a manuscript often right where L is wrong, consider the line upon its merits. Is it good writing after φθιμένα? Is καὶ ἔπειτα elegant? ζῶσάν τε καὶ θανοῦσαν certainly they say, as *O.C.* 390 θανόντα ζωντά τ', *El.* 985 ζῶσαν θανοῦσαν τ' *Ant.* 209 θανὼν καὶ ζῶν ὁμοίως, *Trach.* 1111 and *Trag. fr. adespr.* 852 καὶ ζῶν καὶ θανών, *Cho.* 1041 ζῶν καὶ τεθνηκώς, *Pind. I.* vii. 30 ζῶων τ' ἀπὸ καὶ θανών, *Zenodotus Trag.* (Nauck p. 831) σιγηλὸν ἔσχε ζῶν τε καὶ θανὼν βίον, *Alexis* 76. 1 καὶ ζῶντα καὶ τεθνηκότα, and where not? But if any one wished to translate into Greek verse ‘both in life and in death alike,’ would he feel that with ζῶσαν καὶ ἔπειτα θανοῦσαν he had written what was worthy of the hand of Sophocles? ἐγὼ μὲν οὐκ οἶμαι. And if you adopt it, you have still to alter 836, for surely a paroemiac could not precede at so short an interval : yet μέγ' ἀκούσαι is the proper phrase ; neither μέγα κάκοῦσαι (Seyffert) nor μέγα τάκοῦσαι (Wecklein) is in accordance with Greek usage. Surely L’s concluding line was merely invented to complete the anapaestic system after the final paroemiac had been lost by transposition.

Trach. 841 and the antistrophe I would restore as follows :

ὦν δδ' ἂ τλάμων ἄοκνος, μέγαν προσ-
ορῶσα δόμοισι βλάβαν νέων

843 τῶνδ' αἰσσοῦσαν, τὰ μὲν οὐτ' προσέβαλε
τὰ δ' ἀπ' ἀλλόθρου

- 845 ξυναλλαγαῖσι γνώμας ὀλοαῖς μολόντ'
 ἧ που ὀλοὰ στένει
 = 852 ἔρρωγεν παγὰ δακρύνων κέχνται νόσος ὦ
 ποῖποι οἷον ἀναρσίων
 854 τοῦδ' ἀγάκλειτον σθένος οὐπῶ ἐπέμολε
 πάθος οἰκτίσαι
 ἰὼ κελαινὰ λόγχα προμάχου δορός,
 ἂ τότε θοὰν νύμφαν.

In 843 the MSS. give αἰσόντων γάμων: but γάμων is not recognised by the scholia and I suspect it was merely an explanation of τῶνδε, ΤΩΝΔΑΙΣΤΟΥΚΑΝΤΩΝΓΑΜΩΝ which would very easily produce αἰσόντων γάμων. Nauck restored αἰσούσαν. The MS. version of 845 is I think a certain case of transposition; they give τὰ δ' ἀπ' ἀλλόθρον γνώμας μολόντ' ὀλεθρίαῖς ξυναλλαγαῖς—not συναλλαγαῖς, as their own tendency would be to write; if they had found συναλλαγαῖς it is improbable they would have changed it to the antique form in ξ. Here, in altering the order of the words, a synonym has been substituted for one of them, ὀλεθρίαῖς¹⁷ for ὀλοαῖς, I take it. As the counsels given her were ὀλοαῖ, so her lamentations now are ὀλοαῖ: compare Aesch. *Agam.* 711 where Troy μεταμαιθάνει ἔμνον πολέθρνον, has learnt to change her *hymeneus* to the *θρήνος*, after long experience of sufferings well-fitted for the throne indeed! τὰμπροσθ' ἧ πολέθρνον αἰὼν' ἀνατλάσα. The same word being repeated makes the point, but ὀλεθρίαῖς would hardly make it, and now the rhythm has the right caesura ξυναλλαγαῖσι=ἰὼ κελαινά: in another chorus constructed out of similar rhythms, *Aj.* 596-636, where this phrase is frequent, the caesura comes always at that point.—In 854 the MSS. give οὐπῶ ἀγάκλειτον Ἡρακλέους ἐπέμολε, where the proper name is rightly taken for a gloss: then some substantive is missing, like σῶμα (Jebb), δέμας. or σθένος, of which the last sounds the most familiar (μέγα σθένος Ἡρακλῆος Apollon. i. 531, Quint. vi. 199). ἀγάκλειτον must, I think, come where I have placed it, for ἀγάκλειτον, ἀγάκλεια is the invariable scansion. The opening of this line now, while echoing the opening of the first, suggests at the same time the Dorian dactylo-epitrite, appropriate to Herakles, e.g. Pind. *fr.* 29. 4 ἧ τὸ πάντολμον σθένος Ἡρακλέος.

Nauck's αὐτῇ (αὐτὰ) in 843 has never pleased me. For a copyist to write οὐτι for

¹⁷ ὀλεθρίος is the prose word used in explanation; as in *Phoen.* 1530 οὐλόμεν' αἰκίσματα: schol. πρὸς τὰς ὀλεθρίας πληγὰς. Therefore *Aj.* 403 ὀλέθριον αἰκίσει = εὐφρόνες Ἀργείοις may well have been οὐλόμεν' αἰκίσει.

αὐτῇ would be strange, unless it were done as a deliberate alteration of the sense; but what moves me chiefly is the metre. It does not admit, as it appears to me, this long syllable of αὐτά: while with οὐτι the line is perfectly intelligible to the ear. Therefore I believe it is a case for interpretation, and a new one may be offered:—the τὰ μὲν which she refrained from are bitterness and anger, either reproaches levelled against her husband or revenge directed against her rival. It is that which is so remarkable in this gentle and large-minded woman: she does not behave in the way that Orestes in Eur. *Andr.* 890 thinks so natural for Hermione, EP. κατ' ἐγὼν' ἡμινάμην. OP. μὴν εἰς γυναικ' ἔρραψας οἷα δὴ γυνή; EP. φόνον γ' ἐκείνη καὶ τέκνῳ νοθαγενεῖ: her only error was omitting to suspect the treachery of her adviser; ἦμαρτε χρηστὰ μομέντη. A harmless remedy was all she sought; her temper and motive have been clearly put before us by herself, 459 *sqq.*, 543-554 ending ἀλλ' οὐ γάρ, ὥσπερ εἶπον, ὀργαίνειν καλὸν γυναῖκα τοῖν ἔχουσιν ἢ δ' ἔχον, φίλαι, λυτήριον λώφημα, τῇδ' ὑμῖν φράσω: this would be natural for her husband to mention; and thus οὐτι προσέβαλε would mean 'she was far from inflicting' anything of that sort.

Antig. 966: I would read

παρὰ δὲ κυανέων πελαγέων διδύμας ἄλδς
 968 ἀκτᾶ Βοσποριά, ἢν ὁ Θρηκῶν <κλήζεται>
 970 Καλμυδησσός, Ἄρης ἀρχιπολὶς
 δυσσοῖσι Φινειδαῖς

I do not insist that πελαγέων is right (*suggesting* the κυανεαί πέτραι), though in *Aj.* 702 we have Ἰκαρίων ἐπὲρ πελαγέων: but παρὰ ἀκτᾶ Βοσποριά is, I think, the right construction. Hiatus after φ or α is admissible in Lyric as in Epic, at any rate in the case of proper names: Pind. *P.* v. 70, *N.* vi. 21, *I.* i. 16 and 61, Bergk on *O.* iii. 30.

Then I feel sure of ἢν ὁ Θρηκῶν κλήζεται Καλμυδησσός as a parenthesis: it combines κλήζεται, the excellent supplement of Prof. Jebb, with the suggestion of Gleditsch to read ἢνα in that place. This well-known use of the verb, meaning ὅπου ἐστὶν ὁ Καλμυδησσός καλούμενος, is common with a relative: with ἔθα, Hom. *A.* 757, Simonid. *Ep.* 107. 3, Pind. *N.* ix. 40, Xen. *Oec.* 4. 6 (cf. *Cyr.* vi. 2. 11), *Hell.* v. 1. 11, Apoll. Rhod. i. 238, Soph. *Trach.* 638, 659, *O.T.* 1451; with ἢνα Eur. *Or.* 323 ἢνα μεσόμφαλοι λέγονται μυχοί. In the course of shifting, the words Ἄρης ἀρχιπολὶς have been transposed; there is no reason for doubting the corresponding verse

ἀ δὲ σπέρμα μὲν ἀρχαιογόνων, unexceptionable choriambic metre like the preceding strophes. Probably the origin of all the rearrangement was the error of taking ΑΚΤΑΙ ΒΟCΠΟΡΙΑΙ to be the nominative; once it had become the nominative, what was to be made of ΠΑΡΑ? Did it mean *πάρεσι*? The MS. leaves it unaccented, which always implies doubt.

O.C. 1491 βᾶθι, βᾶθ' εἴτ' ἄκραν
ἐπιγύαλον ἐναλίωι
ποσειδανίωι θεῶι τυγχάνεις
βούθυτον ἐστίαν ἀγίζων, ἰκοῦ

Here I cannot see my way to the whole truth, but I think we can get near it. In the first place Ποσειδωνίω θεῶ for *Poseidon* seems no more possible than Ἀπολλωνίω θεῶ for *Apollo*, or Δίω θεῶ for *Zeus*; but of his precinct the adjective is of course correct, as Ποσειδάνιον ἀν τέμενος Pind. *N.* vi. 46, Ἀπολλώνια πέργαμα, Φοιβήιον δάπεδον: it must belong to γύαλον or γύαλα: the termination Ποσειδάνια¹⁸ would be more readily mistaken for -ια, and the plural is usual in poetry for sacred precincts; in Ar. *Thesm.* 110 of Apollo at Troy, in Eur. *Phoen.* 237, *Ion* 76, 223, 241, 255 of Delphi, in *Orph.* h. 40. 6, 41. 4 of Eleusis. Poseidon is ἐνάλιος θεός in 888, Eur. *Phoen.* 1163, ἐνάλιος in Pind. *P.* iv. 204. The things that remain to be solved are ἐπι and εἴτ' ἄκραν. Now 'Come, whether thou art there or there' is an established form of phrase; in appeals to deities, Aesch. *Eum.* 292, Bacchyl. xv. 5, Eur. *I.T.* 264, Ar. *Nub.* 269, Theocr. i. 123, *Orph.* h. 42. 5, 49. 5, 52. 15, Himer. *Or.* xiv. 37, Proclus *hymn.* 4. 15, Stat. *Theb.* i. 696; but we surely cannot have a 'whether' without an 'or': εἴτε must be followed by another εἴτε or by ἢ. The first εἴτε, indeed, might be omitted, but not the whole alternative itself. εἴτ' ἄκραν, then is the first of two alternatives, 'whether thou art at the city (ἄκραν πόλιν), or still sacrificing at Poseidon's altar'; it would be easy to read εἴτ' ἔτι. But we still lack a preposition to mean 'at'; with γύαλα and ἄκραν πόλιν the most natural seems ἀνά: and unless we read ἀν' ἄκρ' it must be placed with the second substantive γύαλα. The words might be metrically arranged in more than one way; all that I feel sure of is that at present they are in the 'simple order' and that part of the original was

— — — Ποσειδάνια τυγχάνεις.

¹⁸ The variants Ποσειδανρίω, Ποσειδανρίω, Ποσειδωνίω are the usual corruptions of the Doric form, as in Pindar and Bacchylides.

Ant. 850 ἰὼ δύστανος οὐτ' ἐν βροτοῖσιν
οὐτ' ἐν νεκροῖσιν
μέτοικος οὐ ζῶσιν οὐ θανούσιν.
= 869 ἰὼ δυσπότμων κασίγνητον γάμων
κυρήσας
θανὼν ἔτ' οὖσαν κατήναρ ἐς με.

Metrical considerations here persuade me that both 850 and 869 have been tampered with, and this I think was the original:

ἰὼ δύστανος οὐ βροτοῖσιν οὐτ' ἐν νεκροῖς
= ἰὼ κύρσας γάμων ἰὼ κάσις δυσπότμων

This was a proverbial phrase; as applied to those upon the sea, it was attributed to the Seven Sages; Plat. *Alcibi.* 368 β μήτε, ὡς ἀπεφρίνατο Βίας, ἐν τοῖς τεθηκόσιν ὄντα μήτε ἐν τοῖς βούσιν: Diog. Laert. i. 104 Anacharsis being asked πότερον πλείους εἰσιν οἱ ζῶντες ἢ οἱ νεκροί, ἔφη τοὺς οὖν πλείοντας ποῦ τίθης; Plaut. *Merc.* 601 nec apud mortuos nec hic es. Varro (Nonius p. 47) quid multa? factus sum vespertilio neque in muribus plane neque in volucris sum.

Exactly the same thing I suspect has taken place in Eur. *Supp.* 970, where I propose the following restoration:

968 καὶ νῦν ἅπαις ἄτεκνος
γῆράκω δυστανωτάτως
οὐτ' ἐν ζωοῖς οὐ φθιμένοις,
χωρὶς δ' εἴ τινα τῶνδ' ἔχουσα μοῖραν.
= 960 οὐδ' Ἄρτεμις λοχία
προσφθέγγεται ἅν τὰς ἀτέκνους,
πλαγκτὰ δ' ὥσεί τις νεφέλα
πνευμάτων ὑπὸ δυσχίμων ἄισσω.

Or ζωοῖς οὐτ' ἐν τοῖς φθιμένοις, where L gives οὐτ' ἐν ζωοῖς οὐτ' ἐν φθιμένοισιν (altered to τοῖς φθιμένοισιν) ἀριθμουμένη, P οὐτ' ἐν φθιμένοισιν (altered to τοῖς φθιμένοις) ἀριθμουμένη. It has generally been supposed that the scholiastic ἀριθμουμένη is substituted for some other participle; I think it is merely an insertion; the phrases quoted above will show that the participle, if any, would be οὔσα, and that may be omitted. After 961 I eject δυσταῖν δ' ὁ βίος, which is not only superfluous but as it stands I think unmetrical; and in 972 I write δ' εἴ τινα for δὴ τινα because the preceding negative calls for the antithetic particle to follow it, as in Alexis (Ath. 449d) οὐ θνητὸς οὐδ' ἀθάνατος, ἀλλ' ἔχων τινὰ σύγκρασιν, ὥστε μήτ' ἐν ἀνθρώπων μέρει μήτ' ἐν θεοῦ ζῆν, ἀλλὰ... This use of εἴ τις is not so well recognised as it should be; it means 'any that there may be' 'some or other,' and is declinable, as in the other well-known use πλούτῳ σθένοντος εἴ τινος. I believe it should be read with Elmsley in Soph. *Aj.* 179 ἢ χαλκοθώραξ εἴ

τιν' Ἐννάλιος μομφὰν ἔχων 'some complaint or other,' 'possibly,' 'perchance,' for ἡ τιν', and in Aesch. *Cho.* 752 with Buttmann *Griech. Sprachl.* I. 142 εἰ λιμὸς ἢ δῖψ' εἴ τις ἡ λιψονρία ἔχει 'or thirst, may be' (like ἦν τύχη, εἰ τύχοι, τυχόν, si forte Munro on Lucret. v. 720) for δῖψ' τις.¹⁹ Exactly similar is the use of εἰ ποθι in *Aj.* 885 εἰ ποθι πλαζόμενον λεύσσω, and of εἰ ποθεν in *Philoct.* 1204 ξίφος εἰ ποθεν ἡ γένυν ἢ βέλων τι προπέμψατε: whence it seems as if in Photius ἡ ποθεν: ἀμόθεν, οὕτως Ἀριστοφάνης (fr. 785 Kock) might be for εἰ ποθεν. It should be considered whether *Trö.* 705 ἴν' εἰ ποτε ἐκ σοῦ²⁰ γεγόμενοι παῖδες Ἴλιον πάλιν κατοικίσειαν may not be explained in the same way.

Philoct. 1153 might have been

ἀλλ' ἀνέδην—ὅδε χωρὶς ἐρύκεται
ἐτ' οὐ φοβητὸς ὑμῖν—
ἐρπετε

or ἔθ' ὑμῖν²¹ οὐ φοβητὸς, since ἐτ' οὐ for οὐκέτι is admitted elsewhere; cp. 1217, *O.T.* 24, *Trach.* 161, Callim. *h. Del.* 44, *Apoll. Rhod.* ii. 28:—supposing that οὐκέτι φοβητὸς ὑμῖν cannot stand for an equivalent of 831 ἔχεις τὸν Ἡράκλειον: there are certainly cases where it could. I find it hard to believe ἐρύκεται corrupt: and in Prof. Jebb's ingenious reading ὁ δὲ χώρος ἀρ' οὐκέτι φοβητὸς, οὐκέτ' ὑμῖν would not δὲ ἀρα mean 'whereas in fact,' 'whereas the truth is'? Porson conjectured ὅδε χώλος ἐρύκεται, I would read χωρὶς ἐρύκεται (*Theocr.* vii. 127 τὰ μὴ καλὰ²² νοσφὶν ἐρύκοι) 'this man here (with a gesture to them) is restrained apart, no longer to be feared by you,' that is 'I cannot reach or hurt you any more'.

An elegant example from Comedy to finish up with; Eubulus 119 in *Ath.* 8b upon a parasite:

Ὅ δὲ φασὶ ποτε κληθέντ' ἐπὶ δέλπνον πρὸς
τινος
εἰπόντος αὐτῷ τῶν φίλων ὀπηνίκα ἂν
ἔκκοι ποδῶν μετροῖντι τὸ στοιχεῖον ἡ
ἔκει, ἔωθεν αὐτὸν εὐθὺς ἡλίον
μετρέειν ἀνέχοντος, μακροτέρας δ' οὐσῆς ἔτι
πλεῖν ἢ δυοῖν ποδοῖν παρῆναι τῆς σκίας.
11 ἔπειτα μικρὸν ὀψιαιτερον φάνα
δὶ ἀσχολίαν ἦκει, παρόνθ' ἂμ' ἡμέρα.

¹⁹ In Aesch. *Ag.* 1461 read εἰ τις ἦν ποτ' for ἦ τις ἦν τότ'. In *Ag.* 55 εἰ τις Ἀπόλλων would be easier to support than the MS. ἡ τις.

²⁰ v. l. εἰ οὐ: these are confounded in *Cho.* 990.

²¹ ἦμιν or ἡμῖν is required by metre in *El.* 495 (where I see now that in *L.* ἡμῖν has been made from ἦμιν), and ὑμῖν or ὑμῖν in *Trach.* 640.

²² In *Eumen.* 1008 τὸ μὲν ἀτηρὸν χάρας κατέχειν the choice lies between χάραξ (Paley) and χωρὶς (Linwood).

vv. 5 and 6 I give in Porson's reading: 11 and 12 are my theme, now in the correct arrangement: 'he came while the shadow was still more than a couple of feet too long, and then remarked that he had arrived a little late because he was so busy,—when he he had come with daylight!' The MSS. give

ἔπειτα φάνα μικρὸν ὀψιαιτερον
δὶ ἀσχολίαν παρόνθ' ἦκειν ἂμ' ἡμέρα.

where Hermann corrected the last line: the corruptor of it did not even see the point. At the last moment I find the transposition here suggested by W. Dindorf in the *Thesaurus s.v. φημί* p. 741 D: syllaba priore vitiose producta (ut in codicibus interdum φάνα scriptum) in *fr.* Eubuli, quod vel inserto δέ, ἔπειτα δὲ φάνα, vel φάνα post ὀψιαιτερον transposito corrigi potest'. Yes, φάνα interdum in codicibus of course, as ἐμπιμπράνα, δεικνύνα, καθιστάνα, τεθνάνα, φθάσαι, ἐρύσαι, διαδικάσαι, ἰχθῶσι, φυγάσαι, λιβάσαι, ἀνδράσαι etc. In *Theognis* 181 τεθνάμεναι, φίλε Κύρνε, inferior MSS. have τεθνάναι or τεθνάναι: but the only place where that now remains in any classical text is Aesch. *Ag.* 544 χαίρω τεθνάναι δ' οὐκ ἀντερῶ θεοῖς. May I ask those who still suppose it to be genuine not only to read Hermann's note (p. 412) upon the form τεθνάναι but also to enquire into the uses of ἀντιλέγειν and ἀντιλογεῖν in classical Greek?

I have not investigated Prose; but it needs only a glance at the readings of the Orators to show that variations of order are extremely common; and they cannot be without a motive. Here is an absurd one in Lucian *de dea Syria* 21, iii. p. 468 καὶ λέγουσιν οἱ ἐν τῇ ἱρῇ πόλει τὴν Ἥρην τουτέων αἰτήν θέλουσαν γενέσθαι Κομβάβον ἐσθλὸν μὲν ἔοντα λαθεῖν μηδαμά, Στρατονίκην δὲ τίσασθαι: read αἰτήν γενέσθαι, θέλουσαν and make sense.

It follows from the nature of the language that the same condition must produce the same result in Latin. I remember some years ago Prof. Mayor pointing out to me in his edition of Juvenecus a number of variants which by altering the order of the words made havoc of the metre; when I observed that there too the reason was the same. But I have only one small emendation to propose at present. It is in a fragment of Varro, 148 Buecheler (p. 177 in his edition of Petronius), twice quoted by Nonius; on p. 549 thus, *nam ut arguatis et lutea quae non sunt et quae sunt lutea esse videntur, sic insanis sani et furiosi videntur esse insani*: on p. 35 without *esse* before

videntur and with *arquat* *et uterque* instead of *et lutea*. Buecheler prints this as prose, omitting the *et* after *arquat*. But I believe *et* to be genuine, only it is misplaced now because *lutea* has been transposed. The second clause, beginning with *sic*, is perfect trochaic metre as it stands, the same as used by Varro in fragments 54, 55, 56,

and 75,²³ and a simple transposition will restore the whole ;

nām ut arquat *ēt quae non sunt lūtea et quae sūnt videntur,*
sic insani sāni et furiosi videntur esse insani. W. HEADLAM.

²³ And 228 ? *phrēgio qui pulvinar poterat pingere, soliar delingebat.*

UNCONSCIOUS ITERATIONS.

(WITH SPECIAL REFERENCE TO CLASSICAL LITERATURE.)

(Continued from p. 158.)

II.

B. I come now to the second of the two principles enunciated in my previous paper : *an expression once used haunts the memory and tends to be used again*. We might *prima facie* suppose that the expressions thus repeated would be those of a surprising or forcible character. And such is occasionally the case. Tennyson, for instance, uses the striking adjective 'Æonian' (= αἰώνιος) twice in his *In Memoriam* :

xxxv. 10 'The sound of streams that swift
or slow

Draw down Æonian hills, and sow
The dust of continents to be.'

xcv. 41 'Æonian music measuring out
The steps of Time—the shocks of
Chance.'

And in the classical poets we find a few examples of the same sort: e.g.

Soph. *Ant.* 804 τὸν παγκοίτην ὄθ' ὁρῶ
θάλαμον

τήνδ' Ἀντιγόνην ἀνύτουσαν.

ib. 808 ἀλλὰ μ' ὁ παγκοίτας¹
"Αἶδας ζῶσαν ἄγει κ.τ.λ.

Eur. *Tro.* 1136 φόβον τ' Ἀχαιῶν, χαλκόνω-
τον ἀσπίδα

1193 ἐν ᾗ ταφήσει χαλκόνωτον
ἵταν.

But in writers of merit the repetition of an unusual word is rare; and a moment's reflection will show why. A bold and vigorous phrase no doubt impresses the mind more than a weak or trivial one and has so far a better chance of persisting. But its very boldness and vigour raise it to the level of conscious thought; it is too intense to remain subconscious. Hence it attracts the attention of the author who excises it at once as

¹ Blydes' conjecture *πάγκοις* is quite arbitrary.

an expression that has been used already. On the other hand the ghost of the commonplace phrase may glide in unnoticed and intrude upon the company of neighbouring sentences.

(a) In comparatively careless writing this kind of iteration is very common. Almost any newspaper would furnish one or more examples: e.g. a critique² on a recent French play says—

'Not only has the work been **well** staged with suitable scenery, but M. Francis Thomé has written appropriate incidental music, which was **well** rendered by the **well-known** orchestra which M. Edouard Colonne directs. The cast, which included the names of such **well-known** Odéon *artistes* as MM.' etc.—

and that though the preceding paragraph had mentioned 'the Piren**well**, so **well known** in mythology'! A classical instance is Aristotle's use of παιδαριώδης. In *pol.* 2. 9. 1270 b 26, speaking of the ephorality at Sparta, he says: ἀλλ' αἰρετὴν ἔδει τὴν ἀρχὴν εἶναι ταύτην ἐξ ἀπάντων μὲν, μὴ τὸν τρόπον δὲ τοῦτον ὃν νῦν· παιδαριώδης γάρ ἐστι λίαν. A few lines later, in 1271 a 9, he refers thus to the Spartan gerontes: ἐτι δὲ καὶ τὴν αἰρεσιν ἣν ποιοῦνται τῶν γερόντων, κατὰ τε τὴν κρίσιν ἐστὶ παιδαριώδης, καὶ τὸ αὐτὸν αἰτεῖσθαι τὸν ἀξιοθυσμόμενον τῆς ἀρχῆς οὐκ ὀρθῶς ἔχει. But in the minutely finished master-pieces of an Isocrates repetitions of this sort are more unexpected. In the *Panegyricus* we have 24 ἔχοντες...έχοντες; 81 ἀξιούντες...ἀξιούντες. Dr. Sandys, commenting on the latter passage, cites *Phil.* 132 προσαγορευομένων...προσαγορευομένων: he also quotes with approval Pascal's dictum (*Pensées* i. 10)—

² *The Standard*, Jan. 31, 1902.

'Quand dans un discours on trouve des mots répétés, et qu'essayant de les corriger, on les trouve si propres qu'on gâterait le discours, il les faut laisser.' It may be doubted, however, whether the Greek rhetorician, to whom style was of paramount importance, would have agreed with the French moralist in thus sacrificing it to substance; his ingenuity would probably have discovered some method of preserving both matter and manner. We shall hardly be mistaken if we regard these Isocratean examples as cases of subconscious persistence. So too with other orators, e.g. Dem. 45. 4 χρόνου δὲ γιγνομένου, καὶ τῆς μὲν γραφῆς ἐκκρουμένης, δικῶν δὲ οὐκ οὐσῶν, γίγνονται παῖδες ἐκ τούτου τῇ μητρὶ. καὶ μετὰ ταῦτα (εἰρήσεται γὰρ ἅπαντα πρὸς ἡμᾶς ἡ ἀλήθεια, ὧ ἄνδρες δικασταί) πολλοὶ μὲν καὶ φιλόανθρωποι λόγοι παρὰ τῆς μητρὸς ἐγίγνοντο κ.τ.λ. or 46. 2-3 διατιθεμένῳ...διέθετο...διαθέμενον.

No less frequent are these insignificant, and yet deeply significant, echoes in Greek drama. Professor Jebb in his notes on Sophocles has more than one collection of them (*Ant.* 76, *O.C.* 554, *alibi*). Care must of course be exercised in drawing up such lists to exclude from them all words repeated with a conscious purpose, e.g. for the sake of emphasis as in—

Soph. *O.C.* 562 :

ὅς οἱδ' αὖτὸς ὡς ἐπαιδευθὴν ξένος,
ὥσπερ σύ, χῶς εἰς πλείστ' ἀνὴρ ἐπὶ ξένης
ἤθλησα κινδυνεύματ' ἐν τῷμ' κάρῃ·
ὥστε ξένον γ' ἂν οὐδέν' ὄνθ', ὥσπερ σὺ νῦν,
ὑπεκτραποίμην μὴ οὐ συνεκσώζωειν—

Eur. *Alc.* 701 :

ΦΕ. κατ' ὀνειδίζεις φίλοις
τοῖς μὴ θέλουσι δρᾶν τάδ' αὐτὸς ὦν
κακός :
σίγα· νόμιζε δ', εἰ σὺ τὴν σαυτοῦ φιλεῖς
ψυχὴν, φιλεῖν ἅπαντας· εἰ δ' ἡμᾶς κακῶς
εῖρεῖς, ἀκούσει πολλὰ καὶ ψευδῇ κακά.

1606 κτύπησε μὲν Ζεὺς χθόνιος, αἱ δὲ παρθένοι
ρίγησαν ὡς ἤκουσαν· ἐς δὲ γούνατα
πατρὸς πεσοῦσαι κλαῖον, οὐδ' ἀνίσταν
στένων ἀραγμοὺς οὐδὲ παμμήκεις γό-
ους.
ὁ δ' ὡς ἀκούει φθόγγον ἐξαίφνης
πικρὸν,
πτύξας ἐπ' αὐταῖς χεῖρας εἶπεν· κ.τ.λ.

The words κλαῖον...γόους reappear as ἔκλαιον...γῶων; the words φθόγγον ἐξαίφνης, as φθέγμα...ἐξαίφνης with a further reverberation in yet another ἐξαίφνης. Dindorf's conjecture εἰθέως ignores the possibility of a
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XO. πλεῖω λέλεκται νῦν τε καὶ τὰ πρὶν κακά·
παῦσαι δέ, πρέσβυ, παῖδα σὺν κακορρο-
θῶν.—

or by way of a refrain as in Soph. *Ant.* 614, 625, where a strophe and an antistrophe end with the same phrase ἐκτὸς ἄτας. On the other hand, a typical example of subconscious iteration is Soph. *O.C.* 1451 ματὰν γὰρ οὐδὲν ἄξίωμα δαιμόνων ἔχω φράσαι followed by 1459 πάτερ, τί δ' ἐστὶ τ' ἄξίωμ' ἐφ' ᾧ καλεῖς; The former passage occurs in the middle of a choric strophe; the latter is an iambic line addressed by Antigone to Oedipus. The connection lay in the mind of Sophocles, who wrote the passage continuously, not in any dramatic exigency or propriety; and, in the absence of a dramatic motive, the iteration was presumably unintentional. Similarly, in an unbroken piece of lyrics—

Soph. *Ant.* :

955 ζεύχθη δ' ὀξύχολος παῖς ὁ Δρύαντος,
Ἰδῶν ὡν βασιλεὺς, κερτομίοις ὄργ-
αῖς,
ἐκ Διονύσου πετρώδει κατάφαρκτος ἐν
δεσμῷ.
οὕτω τὰς μανίας δεινὸν ἀποστάζει
ἀνθρῶπ' τε μένος. κείνος ἐπέγνων μανίας
ψαύων τὸν θεὸν ἐν κερτομίοις γλώσσ-
αῖς.—

or iambs—

id. *ibid.* :

73 φίλη μετ' αὐτοῦ κείσομαι, φίλου μετα,
ὅσα πανουργήσας· ἐπεὶ πλείων χρόνος
ὄν θεῖ μ' ἀρέσκειν τοῖς κάτω τῶν ἐνθάδε.
ἐκεῖ γὰρ αἰεὶ κείσομαι· σοὶ δ' εἰ δοκεῖ,
κ.τ.λ.

Persistence on a more extensive scale is shown by a passage of the *Oedipus Coloneus* :—

1620 τοιαῦτ' ἐπ' ἀλλήλοισιν ἀμφικείμενοι
λύγδον ἔκλαιον πάντες. ὡς δὲ πρὸς
τέλος
γόων ἀφίκοντ' οὐδ' ἔτ' ὠρώρει βοή,
ἦν μὲν σιωπῇ, φθέγμα δ' ἐξαίφνης
τινὸς
θῶξεν αὐτόν, ὥστε πάντας ὀρθίας
στήσαι φόβῳ δέισαντας ἐξαίφνης
τρίχας.

verbal echo. And yet the passage is full of echoes : besides those that I have printed in spaced type 1607 ὡς ἤκουσαν = 1610 ὡς ἀκούει, cp. *ibid.* 551 πολλῶν ἀκούων ἐν τε τῷ παρὸς χρόνῳ = 554 ἐν ταῖς δ' ἀκούων μᾶλλον

ἐξεπίσταται. Professor Jebb's lists are confined to Sophocles; but the same thing is found elsewhere. Take, for example, a few extracts from Aeschylus' *Eumenides*. In 566 ff.—

κῆρυσσε, κῆρυξ, καὶ στρατὸν κατειργαθοῦ,
εἴτ' οὖν < > διάτορος Τυρσηνικῇ
σάλπιγγ' βροτείου πνεύματος πληροῦ μέν η
ὑπέρτονον γήρυμα φαίνεται στρατῷ.
πληροῦ μένου γὰρ τοῦδε βουλευτηρίου
κ.τ.λ.—

στρατὸν is maintained by στρατῷ, πληρουμένη by πληρουμένου. In 661 and 666 there is another pair of echoes—

661 ἔωσεν ἔρνος, οἷσι μὴ βλάβη θεός.
666 ἀλλ' οἶον ἔρνος οὔτις ἂν τέκοι θεός.

Athena's speech in 681 ff. abounds in similar repetitions: thus 683 τὸ λοιπὸν=708 τὸ λοιπόν, 684 τοῦτο βουλευτήριον=704 τοῦτο βουλευτήριον, 685 πάγον δ' Ἀρείον=690 πάγος τ' Ἀρείος, 690 f. σέβας | ἀστών=697 ἀστοῖς...σέβας=700 σέβας+708 ἀστοῖσιν. Five lines from the middle of the speech are particularly noticeable:—

697 ἀστοῖς περιστέλλουσι βουλευώ σέβειν,
καὶ μὴ τὸ δεινὸν πᾶν πόλεως ἔξω
βαλεῖν.
τίς γάρ, δεδοικὼς μηδέν, ἐνδικὸς
βροτῶν;
τοιόνδε τοι ταρβύντες ἐνδικὸς σέβας,
ἔρμα τε χώρας καὶ πόλεως σωτήριον
κ.τ.λ.

If search were made in the plays of Euripides, doubtless similar iterations would be forthcoming, e.g.

Eur. *Tro.* :

769 ἀλλ' ἄγετε, φέρετε, ῥίπτειτ', εἰ ῥίπτειν
δοκεῖ
δαίνυσθε τοῦδε σάρκας. ἔκ τε γὰρ θεῶν
διολλύμεσθα, παιδί τ' οὐ δυνάμεθ' ἂν
θάνατον ἀρῆσαι. κρύπτειτ' ἄθλιον δέμας
καὶ ῥίπτειτ' ἐς ναῦν.

I shall have occasion to quote other examples later.

Again I have not been at pains to collect Latin parallels: but cp.—

Verg. *aen.* 7. :

632 tegmina tuta cavant capitum flectunt-
que etc.

742 tegmina quis capitum raptus de subere
cortex.

or Lucan 6 :

750 protinus astrictus caluit cruor.

761 ora astricta sonant.

798 constrictae plausere manus.—

or *Pervig. Ven.* :

4 et nemus comam resoluit de maritis
imbribus.

11 fecit undantem Dionen de maritis¹ im-
bribus.

26 unico marita uoto non rubebit soluere.

61 in sinum maritus imber fluxit almae
coniugis.

Some of the repetitions cited by A. Lünburg de *Ovidio sui imitatore*, Jena 1888, and regarded by him as due to a peculiar 'cupiditas sui imitandi' on Ovid's part can be explained as echoes of this kind, though the majority of them should be referred to recurrence of ideas (*A* : see *C.R.* xvi. 146 ff.) rather than to persistence of expression (*B*).

(b) It sometimes happens that the word thus repeated reappears with an altered force. The image of the original expression hovers awhile on the borderland of consciousness and assumes a different aspect in the dim half-light. If it is susceptible of another usage, that usage is apt to find its way into the context. A newspaper report² of a recent Oxford-and-Cambridge football match contained the following sentence:—'It was, perhaps, as appropriate as could be that the challenge cup newly presented by Mr. Crabbie senior to be held by the University winning each year should on the first occasion of its being contested have been secured for the side of which his son is captain by the individual efforts of one of the best three-quarter backs who has represented the Senior University during the past decade, in the person of Mr. J. E. Crabbie.' The word 'senior' accidentally used before the word 'University' in the earlier part of the sentence turns up again with an analogous, but not identical, meaning in the later expression 'Senior University': perhaps too the combination 'presented...Crabbie' is repeated in the words 'represented...Crabbie'.³ Similar instances are fairly common in classical literature. In *Od.* 18.

¹ Bücheler accepts Rivinus' *cj. marinis*.

² *The Standard*, Dec. 12, 1901.

³ I do not of course deny that a word may be used twice with a different meaning, even in a short passage, and yet involve no such subconscious (still less any conscious) persistence. The *St. James's Gazette*, March 13, 1902, says of the vest of King Charles I.—'After the execution it came into the hands of Dr. Hobbs, the King's physician, who attended him on the scaffold, and from him it passed into the possession of Susannah Hobbs, who married Temple Stanger, of Rawlings, Oxfordshire. In the autumn of 1893 this "sky-blue vest" was bought by the late Mr. Brocklehurst for 200 guineas. Now it is offered for sale by order of his executors.'

89 the poet says of Odysseus and Iros—τὼ δ' ἄμφω χεῖρας ἀνέσχον, i.e. 'they both put up their hands' (in the pugilistic sense of the term). A few lines later, in describing the boxing-match, he says—95 δὴ τὸτ' ἀνασχομένῳ ὁ μὲν ἤλασε κ.τ.λ., where obviously ἀνασχομένῳ is repeated in the same sense. But five lines after that the suitors, vastly amused at the overthrow of Iros, 100 χεῖρας ἀνασχόμενοι γέλω ἔκθανον. What have we here but a word-image playing tricks with the meaning? Again, in *Od.* 21. 46 κορώνης denotes the hook or handle on the outside of a door and *ib.* 51 σανίδος probably means a shelf or dais of some sort: but *ib.* 137 f. σανίδεσσιν is a pair of folding-doors and κορώνη a curved bow-tip. That the latter passage shadows the former appears also from 44 ἔεσσαν = 137 ἔξεσσης and 46 αὐτίκ' = 138 αὐτοῦ. This may be capped by a couple of lines from Parmenides. The philosopher tells us how he was borne along in his chariot to the portals of the Goddess, and employs curiously similar expressions to describe the chariot and the portals: *fr.* 1 Diels, 6 ἄξων δ' ἐν χροῖσιν <ῖει> σύριγγος αὐτὴν = 19 ἄξωνας ἐν σύριγξιν ἀμοιβὰδ' ἐλίζεσαι. Here the shift of meaning affects two words and we pass from 'the axle in the nave sounded like a pipe' (of the chariot) to 'turning their two pins of bronze in the sockets' (of the portals). The phrase once used seems to have tacitly invited the writer to explore its possibilities. More often the distortion of the image is confined to a single word. The rare verb σφαραγεῖντο, for example, has two distinct shades of meaning in *Od.* 9. 390 σφαραγεῖντο δέ οἱ πνρὶ ρίξαι and *ib.* 440 οἷθ' αὖ γὰρ σφαραγεῖντο. In Aesch. *Eum.* 465–467 the word ἐπαίτιος is found twice in the same metrical position, first in the sense of 'responsible for,' then in the slightly different sense of 'the guilty parties':

καὶ τῶνδε κούῃ Λοξίας ἐπαίτιος,
ἀλγῇ προφώνων ἀντίκεντρα καρδίῃ,
εἰ μή τι τῶνδ' ἔρξαιμι τοὺς ἐπαίτιους.

Note also that τῶνδε in 465 is constructed with ἐπαίτιος, but in 467 is not. In Soph. *Trach.* 88–90 two iambic lines begin with τῶν δ'...: but τῶν in the first means 'as it was'; in the second, 'now.' Professor Jebb *ad loc.* cites Soph. *El.* 1334 f., where τῶν δ' = 'as it was' is again followed by τῶν = 'now.' In Eur. *Tro.* 777–780 there is a recurrence of the verb μεθῆμι, again with a slight change of meaning:

ἄγε, παῖ, φίλιον πρόσπνυγμα μεθεῖς
μητρὸς μογερᾷς βαῖνε πατρώων
πύργων ἐπ' ἄκρας στεφάνας, ὅθι σοὶ
πνεῦμα μεθεῖναι ψήφος ἐκράνθη.

Contrast Aristophanes' intentional repetition (perhaps a caricature of this or some similar Euripidean passage):

Ran. 130 HP. ἀναβὰς ἐπὶ τὸν πύργον τὸν ὑψηλὸν

ΔΙ. τί δρῶ;
HP. ἀφιεμένην τὴν λαμπάδ' ἐντεῦθεν
θεῶ,
κάπειτ' ἐπειδὰν φῶσιν οἱ θεῶ-
μενοι
εἶναι, τόθ' εἶναι καὶ σὺ
σαντόν.

ΔΙ. ποῖ;
HP. κάτω.

In Eur. *Tro.* 1078 οὐράνιον, 'in heaven,' describes the throne of Zeus; in 1088 οὐράνια, 'high-towering,' is applied to Cyclopean masonry. An interesting example occurs in Dem. *Aristocrat.* 100 ff., where Demosthenes first characterises a certain plea as εὐήθη μὲν, οἶμαι, μᾶλλον δ' ἀναϊδῆ λόγον, and then, a few lines further on, observes: οὐ μὴν ἀλλ' ἔχει τιν' ὁμῶς ἢ ἀναϊδεῖ αὐτὴ λόγον. τοῦτω τοίνυν οὐδ' οὗτος ἐνέσται πρὸς ὑμᾶς ὁ λόγος. The word λόγος in its original combination with ἀναϊδῆ means 'argument' in its subsequent combination with ἀναϊδεῖα 'reasonableness.' In the next clause it harks back again to the meaning 'argument': and two lines later the orator actually uses the same word in yet another sense—ἴνα δ' ὡς διὰ βραχυτάτου λόγου δῆλον ὁ βούλομαι ποιήσω, κ.τ.λ. Isocrates *paneg.* 55–63 has ἀνελεῖσθαι, ἀνελόμενοι, ἀνελόντας in three distinct senses:

55 καὶ τοὺς ὑπὸ τῇ Καδμείᾳ τελευτή-
σαντας αὐτὸς μὲν οὐ δυνάμενος ἀνε-
λέσθαι (= to recover the bodies), τὴν
δὲ πόλιν ἀξίων βοηθεῖν ταῖς κοιναῖς
τύχαις καὶ μὴ περιορᾶν τοὺς ἐν τοῖς πολέ-
μοις ἀποθνήσκοντας ἀτάφους γιγνομένους
μηδὲ παλαιὸν ἔξος καὶ πάτριον νόμον
καταλούμενος, κ.τ.λ.

58 ἀνελόμενοι (= having undertaken)
γὰρ πόλεμον ὑπὲρ μὲν τῶν τελευτή-
σάντων πρὸς Θηβαίους, ὑπὲρ δὲ τῶν
παίδων τῶν Ἡρακλέους πρὸς τὴν Εὐρυσ-
θέως δύναμιν, τοὺς μὲν ἐπιστρατεύσαντες
ἠνάγκασαν ἀποδοῦναι ὅψαι τοὺς νεκροὺς
τοῖς προσήκουσι, κ.τ.λ.

63 εἰ δὲ δεῖ τὰς χάριτας καὶ τὰς ἐπιεικέας
ἀνελόντας (= omitting) ἐπὶ τὴν
ὑπόθεσιν πάλιν ἐπανελεῖν καὶ τὸν ἀκρι-

βέστατον τῶν λόγων εἰπεῖν, οὐ δὴ πον
πάτριόν ἐστιν, κ.τ.λ.

All three passages occur on an open page of the Teubner text and tend to support my point, *viz.* that the form of a phrase may persist though its meaning changes.

A well-marked group of cases is that in which a word used literally reappears as a metaphor. For instance, in Aesch. *septem* 353 ff. the very rare verb *λίπτομαι* means first 'I am hungry,' and then, 'I am eager for':—

- 353 καὶ κενὸς κενὸν καλεῖ,
 ζύννομον θέλων ἔχειν,
 οὔτε μείον οὔτ' ἴσον λελεμμένοι.
380 Τυδεὺς δὲ μαργῶν καὶ μάχης λελεμμένος
 μυσημβριναῖς κλαγγαῖσιν ὡς δράκων βοᾷ.

This is hardly to be explained as a fortuitous recurrence; for, apart from these two passages, the verb is not found again till post-classical times. In Eur. *Tro.* 809 f.—

- 1300 πτέρυγι δὲ καπνὸς ὥς τις οὐ-
 ρανία πεσοῦσα δορὶ καταφθίνει
 γὰ.

It will probably be granted that the second of these two extracts contains a reminiscence of the first. But the noteworthy point is that *πτέρνυ...καπνὸς* means one thing, *καπνῷ πτέρνυ* quite another. The first passage is usually rendered: 'and even as a puff of smoke before a *fan* (*lit.* a wing), so does the land vanish before the spear, having fallen from heaven (*lit.* heaven-high, cp. 519 οὐράνια βρέμοντα).'¹ The second passage certainly means: 'and the dust, like smoke, with its *wing* spread aloft' etc. In short, *πτέρνυ* is first literal and then metaphorical.

It is tempting to stretch this principle further and to make it cover one of the peculiarities of the Platonic style. Here and there Plato puts side by side a technical and a non-technical usage of such words as *εἶδος*, *οὐτα*, *φύσις*. For example, in *Tim.* 35A, where he is describing the constituent elements of soul, he tells us that it is compounded of Same (*ταυτόν*) and of Other (*θάτερον*) through the mediation of Essence

¹ With Nauck's reading *οὐρανία* we must translate: 'and even as a puff of smoke beneath the wings of the wind, so does' etc. But is *πτέρνυ...οὐρανία* a possible expression for 'the wings of the wind'? I doubt it.

Σιμόντι δ' ἐπ' εὐρείτα πλάταν
ἔσχασε ποντοπόρον καὶ ναῦδ' ἀν' ἡψατο
 πρυμνᾶν,—

the verb *ἀνάπτομαι* is used literally of Heracles who, when he reached Troy, 'bound the hawsers from the sterns of his ships.' But later in the same chorus, where Eros is invoked,—

- 843 ὥς τότε μὲν μεγάλως
 Τροίαν ἐπύργωσας, θεοῖσιν
 κῆδος ἀναψάμενος—

the same word has a metaphorical meaning: 'in that thou didst *bind* her to the gods with thy bond' (a reference to the fate of Gany- medes, son of Laomedon). It is not impossible that the expression *Τροίαν ἐπύργωσας* represents a similar *thought-shadow*. The 'building of Troy's towers' is a mere metaphor in 844, but in 812 the poet has alluded to the building of the literal towers of Troy (*κανόνων...τυκίσματα Φοίβου*). I may be allowed to quote one more example from the same play:

- 1318 τὸν φόνιον ἔχετε φλόγα δορός τε
 λόγχαν.
 τάχ' ἐς φίλαν γαῦν πεσεῖσθ' ἀνών-
 μοι.
 κόνης δ' ἴσα καπνῷ πτέρνυ πρὸς
 αἰθέρα
 κ.τ.λ.

(*οὐσία*). Yet, in the act of enumerating these three terms with their highly specialised meanings, he does not scruple to use one of them—*οὐσία*—in the much more general sense of 'substance':—*τῆς ἀμερίστου καὶ αἰ κατὰ ταῦτα ἐχούσης οὐσίας καὶ τῆς αὐτῆς περὶ τὰ σώματα γιγνομένης μεριστῆς τρίτου ἐξ ἀμφοῖν ἐν μέσῳ ξυνεκράσατο οὐσίας εἶδος, τῆς τε ταυτοῦ φύσεως καὶ τῆς θατέρου, κ.τ.λ.* The juxtaposition is over-bold²; and, if we could assume that it was due to an unconscious iteration,³ we should acquit Plato of a wilful stylistic perversity. Nevertheless, the hypothesis that a technical term was suggested by the casual use of a non-technical word is clearly untenable; and, if we suppose that the process was the converse of this and that the non-technical word was the iteration of the technical term, we have to make the further supposition that Plato wrote his sentence backwards. In view of the story told by Dion. Hal. *de comp. verb.* 25 and Diog. Laert. 3. 37 about the opening words of the *Republic*, this last guess is not im-

² In fact Dr. Jackson suggested that for the first *οὐσίας* we should read *φύσεως*.

³ Plato's proneness to iteration has been illustrated by Schanz *Nov. comm. Plat.* p. 10 f.

possible. Still, it is mere guesswork, and a better explanation is ready to hand. Plato, as I have shown elsewhere,¹ constantly used non-technical terms with technical precision: and here we find him using technicalities in a non-technical way. May not this feature of his Dialogues have been a deliberate attempt to portray the laxity of ordinary conversation? Even in the lectures of Aristotle, the great terminologist, we may note an occasional lapse: thus in *pol.* 2. 6. 1264 b24, 27, 28 the word πολιτεία is used in its common acceptance twice and once in the sense of 'Plato's Republic.' So, *ib.* 2. 8. 1268a 23 μὴ μετέχοντας δὲ τῆς πολιτείας πῶς οἷόν τε φιλικῶς ἔχειν πρὸς τὴν πολιτείαν; as contrasted with *ib.* 2. 8. 1268a 27 εἰ δὲ τοῦτ' ἔσται, τί δὲ τοὺς ἄλλους μετέχειν τῆς πολιτείας καὶ κυρίους εἶναι τῆς τῶν ἀρχόντων καταστάσεως; The first μετέχειν τῆς πολιτείας means 'to have a share in the government'; the second, 'to be members of the state'—a very different conception. A sentence from the *metaphysics* is worth quoting in this connexion: *met.* 1. 3. 983 b 27 εἰσὶ δὲ τινες οἱ καὶ τοὺς παμπάλαιους καὶ πολὺν πρὸ τῆς ἡν γενέσεως (generation) καὶ πρώτους θεολογήσαντας οὕτως οἰόνται περὶ τῆς φύσεως ὑπολαβεῖν Ὀκεανόν τε γὰρ καὶ Τηθὺν ἐποίησαν τῆς γενέσεως (the world of becoming) πατέρας κ.τ.λ.

As before, I add a few Latin examples. In the first satire of Persius two lines end with the name 'Atti'; but the one (1. 50) refers to Attius Labeo the epic writer, the other (1. 76) to Attius the dramatist. Two more lines of the same poem end with 'Attis' (1. 93, 105). In the third satire the word 'canicula' occurs twice, meaning 'the dog-star' in 3. 5, but 'the worst throw with the knuckle-bones' in 3. 49. The second satire has the verb 'inpello' thrice, each time with a different force: 2. 13 inpello, 'I press hard upon, I tread on the heels of,' 2. 21 inpellere, 'to move, to make an impression on,' 2. 59 inpulit, 'it has driven out.'

(c) A third variety of subconscious persistence is that in which part only of the original expression reappears. The *Standard* for Apr. 28, 1902, observes:—

'The Opposition have decided on this course of action, and they must be prepared for the consequences. An example of their temper is to be found in the Resolutions prepared for the Annual Conference of the National Liberal Federation at Bristol next month.'

Similarly Propertius 2. 1. 40 f. 'angusto

pectore...versu' is followed almost immediately (*ib.* 45) by 'angusto versantes proelia lecto. More often the after-image is less extensive. In Professor Burnet's *Early Greek Philosophy* p. 112 we read: 'Xenophanes...was not, strictly speaking, a philosopher, but simply a satirist who had sat, more or less, at the feet of Anaximander.' The thirty-first stanza of the *Rubáiyát* of Omar Khayyám, as originally translated by FitzGerald, ran—

'Up from Earth's Centre through the Seventh Gate

I rose, and on the Throne of Saturn sate,

And many Knots unravel'd by the Road;
But not the Knot of Human Death and Fate.'

The last line was subsequently amended: 'But not the Master-knot of Human Fate.' This lessens the second, but leaves the first echo untouched. In writers of less pretention and in ordinary conversation partial persistence is constantly occurring. I read the other day in an undergraduate's essay the following sentence:—'The wife of Pericles is an historical nonentity; it is *Aspasia* with whom his aspirations and ideals are connected.' I suspect that the word 'aspirations,' not in itself a very natural word to use, was suggested by the mention of 'Aspasia.' Classical examples are frequent. In *Od.* 20. 56 f. we find εὔτε τὸν ἕπνος ἔμαρπτε, λύων μελεδήματα θυμοῦ, | λυσιμελής. According to Mr. Monro *ad loc.*, the poet 'probably meant no more than to play on the likeness between μελέδημα 'care' and μέλος 'limb.' I doubt if he meant so much. Rather the use of the phrase λύων μελεδήματα conjured up the ghost of itself—λυσιμελής—without conscious recognition on the part of the poet. Just so Meleager in one of his most beautiful epigrams (*Anth. Pal.* 7. 476) writes Ἠλιοδόρην, | δωροῦμαι. In the same subconscious vein Homer writes *Od.* 21. 44 f. καὶ ἐπὶ στάθμην ἔθνευ, | ἐν δὲ σταθμοῖς ἄρσε. Similarly Dem. *Aristocrat.* 40 says τοῦτων μὲν δὴ τὸν εἰργασμένον εἰργει, and Soph. *O.C.* 1113 makes Oedipus describe his daughters as ἐμφύντε τῷ φύσαντι. Cicero writes 'moles molestiarum' (*de or.* 1. 2), 'plenior ore' (*de off.* 1. 61), 'acer acerbus' (*Brut.* 221), and even—in a letter—'res mihi invisae visae sunt, Brute' (*ap. Quint.* 9. 4. 41), not to mention his notorious lines—'O fortunatam natam me consule Romam!'—and 'cedant arma togae, concedat laurea laudi.'²

² See further the references collected by Professor J. E. B. Mayor on *Juv.* 10. 122.

¹ *Metaphysical Basis of Plato's Ethics*, p. 55.

Lucretius echoes the end of one hexameter by the beginning of the next¹ in l. 311 f.

quin etiam multis solis redeuntibus annis
annulus in digito subter tenuatur habendo.

He also puts in juxtaposition 'officium . . . officero' (l. 336 f.), 'funditus . . . fundamenti' (l. 572 f.), 'fera ferri' (2. 103), 'apparet aperte' (2. 141), 'manibus manifeste' (4. 504), 'domi domitos' (5. 1334), and the like. Even Virgil has *Aen.* 6. 204 'discolor unde auri per ramos aura refulsit.' I have noted a whole series of similar assonances in an iambic poem of Appuleius (Baehrens *P.L.M.* iv. 104, no. 114), e.g.

malas adoret ore et ingenuas genas
et popularum nitidas geminas gemmulas.—
or again—
sinuare ad Veneris cursum femina feminae.

Many of these echoes, e.g. the combination 'femina feminae,' may be conscious rather than subconscious. It is quite possible for an expression to be started as a subconscious word-image but retained by a conscious appreciation of its jingle or a conscious recognition of its fitness. The former needs no illustration: Gorgias among the prose-writers and Plautus among the poets will supply plenty of examples.² The latter deserves a moment's notice. The *St. James's Gazette* for Dec. 3, 1901, in an article on 'The Fastest Craft Afloat,' remarked:

'The owner has not seen fit to take the public into his confidence regarding the price paid for his pretty plaything, but the materials which have gone into the fashioning of the vessel prove that she must have cost a pretty penny,' etc.

It is probable that the first expression 'pretty plaything,' dimly present to the writer's mind as 'pretty p . . .,' actually suggested to him the second expression 'pretty penny.' He did not discard the suggested phrase, because, when he came to think of it, he realised that it was possessed of a certain humour, which suited his mood at the moment. Similarly in Eur. *Tro.* 761 ff. Antigone apostrophises Helen as follows:

¹ This form of repetition is often conscious and deliberate, e.g. Lucr. 5. 293 f., 950 f. See Munro on 2. 955.

² On the other hand writers of more taste avoided such combinations. *Frag.* 12 of Isocrates' *techné* prohibits the ending of one word and the beginning of another with the same syllable (*εἰροῦσα σαφή κ.τ.λ.*). Yet Isocrates himself was occasionally guilty of transgressing the rule: see Blass *Att. Ber.* 2 ii. 144 f.

ὦ Τυνδάρειον ἔρνος, οὐπὸτ' εἰ Διός,
πολλῶν δὲ πατέρων φημί σ' ἐκπεφυκέναι,
'Αλάστωρος μὲν πρῶτον, ἔλτα δὲ Φθόον οὐ,
Φθόον οὐ τε Θανάτου θ', ὅσα τε γῇ τρέφει κακά.

The word Φθόνου, suggested by Φθόνου, is allowed to stand as being after all a jingle appropriate to the situation.

This last example reminds us that iteration of the partial sort need not be confined to the beginning or end of a word. Sometimes the whole skeleton of the phrase, or at least the major portion of it, persists and is clothed upon with fresh meaning. In Soph. *Ant.* 163 ὠρθῶσαν πάντων means '(the gods) have once more steadied (the fortunes of our state).' The expression reappears almost intact *ibid.* 167, where we read ὠρθον πόλιν, '(Oedipus) was ruler of our state'—a somewhat different conception. In Eur. *Hec.* 538 ff. Neoptolemos prays to his dead father—

πρηνεμενῆς δ' ἡμῖν γενοῦ,
λῦσαί τε πρύμνας καὶ χαλινωτήρια
νεῶν δὸς ἡμῖν, πρηνεμενοῦς τ' ἀπ' Ἰλίου
νόστου τυχόντας πάντας ἐς πάτρην μολεῖν.

Mr. Hadley *ad loc.* regards πρηνεμενῆς . . . πρύμνας as an intentional paronomasia comparable with *ibid.* 442 f. Ἐλένην . . . εἶλε, 649 τὸν εὔροον Εὐρώταν. But those are cases of proper names whose supposed significance is brought out in accordance with the saying *nomen omen*. This is rather to be ranked with such an unpurposed assonance as Eur. *Tro.* 1232 f.

τ' ελαμῶσιν ἔλκη τὰ μὲν ἐγὼ σ' ἰάσομαι,
τ' λήμωιν ἱατρὸς ὄνομ' ἔχουσα . . .
or Eur. *Bach.* 699 f.

σκύμνους λύκων
ἀγρίους ἔχουσιν λευκὸν ἐδίδοσαν γάλα.
or *Od.* 19. 115

τὰ μὲν ἄλλα μετέλλα.
or *ib.* 21, 123

οὐπὼ ποτ' ὀπῶπει.

It may happen that different types of repetition occur in succession. An example of *B(a)* followed by *B(c)* is found in Eur. *Tro.* 923 ff. This instance is deserving of special attention; for it exhibits the gradual dying away of the subconscious echo. As the distance between the original phrase and the repetition of it increases, the exactitude of that repetition decreases:—

923 ἐνθ' ἐνδε τὰπῶλοιπ' ἄκουσον ὥς ἔχει
931 κάλλει· τὸν ἐνθ' ἐνδ' ὥς ἔχει σκέψαι
λόγον
951 ἐνθ' ἐνδ' ἔχοις ἂν εἰς ἔμ' εἰπρεπῇ
λόγον,

and perhaps we should add 1176 f.

ἐν θ ἐν ἐκγελᾷ
ὁστῶεν βαγνέτων φόνος, ἴν' αἰσχροὶ μὴ λ' ἐγω.

The ἐνθῆνδε . . . ὡς ἔχει of 923 is faithfully repeated in 931¹; but in 951, though the sound is kept up, ἐνθεν δ' is a relative adverb of place = ὅθεν δέ, as also in 1176, where the echo can be heard but faintly, if at all. A similar sequence of echoes, involving B(a) + B(c) occurs in *Od.* 19. 331 ff.—

331 ζῶψ, ἀτὰρ τεθνεῶτί γ' ἐφ' ἐψιόωνται
ἅπαντες

370 οὔτω πον καὶ κείνῳ ἐφ' ἐψιόωντο γυναικες

372 ὡς σθέναι αἱ κύνες αἶδε καθεψιόωνται
ἅπασαι.

The astonishing frequency of iterations that must be referred to class B should make us very diffident of conjectural emendations in which a repeated phrase is altered merely on the ground of the repetition. Where there are other reasons, e.g. defective sense, for questioning the traditional text, well and good. In *Aesch. Suppl.* 493 ff., for example, few would be content to read with cod. M.—

ὡς ἂν τῶν πολιτισσούχων θεῶν
βωμοὺς προνάους καὶ †πολιτισσούχων † ἔδρας
εὔρωμεν.

But in *Carm. Epigr.* i. 33 no. 63—

hospes resiste et tumultum hunc excelsum
aspice, e,
quo continentur ossa paruae aetatulæ.
sepulta heic sita sum, uerna quoius aetatulæ.
grauitatem officio et lanificio praestitei.
queror fortunæ cassum tam iniquom et
grauem.—

it would be most unwise to tamper with 'aetatulæ' on the ground that we have just had 'aetatulæ': 'grauitatem' followed by 'grauem' sufficiently shows that the writer of the epitaph was liable to subconscious iteration. Bücheler's sober: 'optes aetulus fuit' is the most that can be said against it. Less cautious is Professor J. E. B. Mayor in his critical edition of *The Latin Heptateuch* (1889). He constantly alters the text for such reasons as these: 'The repetition of *dignetur* in 546 and 548 betrays corruption'

¹ So Dindorf with the MSS. Prof. Tyrrell *ad loc.* would read τὸν ἐνθεν δ' . . . λόγον, 'the rest of the argument,' ἐνθεν being a demonstrative adverb of time. For our purpose the reading is immaterial: in either case line 951 is not so faithful an echo of 923 as is 931.

(p. 31), 'The *longae* of 833 and *longis* of 835 betray corruption' (p. 43), 'So well-equipped a poet would not have *posceret* and *poscentibus* in adjacent lines, rather *SoLVentibus* or *pENDentibus*' (p. 60), 'The repetition of *cura* (1008, 1010) is very suspicious' (p. 186), 'So careful a writer would scarcely use *poscere* and *poscit* so close [3, 4]. Probably (esp. as *post* is in line 2) the scribe has anticipated. Read *sibi poNere regem*' (p. 193), '350-1 the repetition of *territa* denotes a corruption' (p. 246). Even where other arguments are adduced against the genuineness of a word, we might sometimes defend it as a case of subconscious iteration. Thus on *Gen.* 424 ff.—

quinque fugam capiunt linquentes bella
tyranni
praecipitique fuga frondosis montibus ab-
dunt,
quod potuit superesse neci.—

Professor Mayor comments: 'I do not ask you to rival the simpering prudery with which Gibbon avoids repeating even proper names in a short context. But are you content with these two flights in two lines? Does not the second line require hurried work to hide what escaped slaughter? In a word, read: *praecipitique OPERa frondosis montibus abdunt, q.p.s.n.*' Taught by a long series of similar iterations in poets of greater calibre, we shall not hesitate to accept the repeated *fuga*.

What is the extreme limit within which a word-image may persist and beyond which we should rather trace the effects of a recurrent thought? It is difficult, perhaps in our present state of knowledge impossible, to say. In other words, the dividing line between the examples that I have classed under the headings A and B, though it corresponds to a real distinction, is hard to draw. Thus Ἕλληνες are contrasted with βάρβαροι in *Eur. Tro.* 759 ὦ βάρβαρ' ἐξευρόντες Ἕλληνες κακὰ and 766 πολλοῖσι κῆρα βαρβάρους Ἕλλησί τε presumably by the persistence of the word-image. But in 1019 ff., where the same contrast is expressed, is it to be accounted for in the same way or not? Similarly, *Tro.* 648 ἔχονσα . . . ἐξήγκουν ἐμοί = 668 εἶχον . . . ἀρκοῦντά μοι and *Bucch.* 111 στικτῶν τ' ἐνδύτῃ νεβρίδων = 137 f. νεβρίδος ἔχων | ἱερὸν ἐνδύτῳ are probably within the range of word-persistence. But what of *Tro.* 44 γαμῆ . . . σκότιον . . . λέχος = 251 λέκτρων σκότια νυμφευτήρια? And what inference should be drawn from the distribution of the passages in which,

say, the word ἀνυχία occurs?¹ It is found six times only in classical literature: viz. in Aesch. *sept.* 259, 383, Eur. *Alc.* 642, 696, 717, 956. The passages can hardly be altogether independent of each other:² but some of them are separated by such intervals that we are driven to ask—Can a word cast its shadow so far? This is one out of many points on which the grammarian of the future may reasonably expect help from the experimental psychologist. Meantime we must leave the matter undecided: ἐνταῦθα κείσθω διηρημένον.

Before leaving the subject of unconscious iteration I should like to raise three questions in connexion with it. (1) The first is: does not the principle of word-persistence go far towards explaining the *conscious* iterations mentioned at the beginning of my article? What, for example, are alliteration and rime but the partial persistence of a word once used? Whether we reserve the name alliteration, as we probably ought to do,³ for the assonance of accented syllables only, or extend it to include all initial assonance, as is still done by some authorities, in either case word-persistence may be regarded as the genus of which alliteration is a species. Rime, too, which permeates Greek and Latin literature to a degree that is often forgotten,⁴ is obviously a second species of the same genus. And so with many other types of conscious iteration. Taking a broad view of the matter we may assert that an expression once used tends to perpetuate itself in whole or in part, and that this perpetuation is in the first instance subconscious. As soon as a speaker or writer begins to pick and choose his words with a view to simulating it, there we get conscious or rhetorical iteration. Hence it is frequently impossible to tell whether in any given case an iteration was subconscious and unintentional or conscious and deliberate. But Art copies Nature, and the tricks of rhetoric certainly rest on some such psychological foundation.

¹ Other examples are Aeschylus' use of the word εἶθενειν and of the phrase πολιισσοῦχοι θεοί. The former is found in *Eum.* 895, 908, 944, only. The latter, in *suppl.* 493, *sept.* 69, 185, 271, *Ag.* 338.

² Note that in Aesch. *sept.* 192 ἔνυχον κάκην has been used; and that Eur. *Alc.* 696 f. ἀνυχίας... ὦ κάκισθ' = *ibid.* 717 ὦ κάκιστ', ἀνυχίας.

³ B. Gerathewohl 'Grundzüge für lateinische Alliterationsforschung' (Verhandl. d. Vers. deutsch. Philol. u. Schulm. in München 1891) pp. 235-243, Paul *Grundriss d. german. Philologie* i.² p. 357, Kap. 5 § 23, etc.

⁴ See O. Dingeldein *der Reim bei den Griechen u. Römern* Leipzig 1892, F. Dörr *der Reim bei den Griechen* Leipzig 1857, E. Wölfflin *der Reim im Lat.* in *Archiv f. lat. Lexikogr.* i. 350 ff., iii. 443 ff., ix. 567 ff.

(2) Secondly, have we not here one clue to the formation of mannerisms? It will probably be admitted that personal peculiarities of style originate in some physical idiosyncrasy, and that their subsequent growth is gradual and subject to the ordinary laws of habitual action. My point is that the original idiosyncrasy often consists in a proneness to subconscious iteration.⁵ It would, I believe, be possible in the case of some mannerisms to trace all the stages of their development from simple iteration of the sort described above through continuous and progressive usage to the fully matured idiom of λέξις or ἀρμονία. At least, we can often catch a mannerism in the making, a tendency to repeat a word or phrase which, unless checked by conscious effort, will soon pass into a stylistic habit. In *Soph. O.T.* 399 ff. Oedipus says to Teiresias—

ὃν δὴ σὺ περὶς ἐκβαλεῖν, δοκῶν θρόνοις
παραστατήσῃ τοῖς Κρεοντείσις πέλας.

κλάων δοκεῖς μοι καὶ σὺ χῶ συνθεῖς
τάδε

ἀγρηλατήσῃν· εἰ δὲ μὴ 'δ'όκεις γέρων
εἶναι, παθὼν ἔγνωσ' ἂν ὅτι περ φρονεῖς.

XO. ἥμιν μὲν εἰκάζουσι καὶ τὰ τοῦδ' ἔπη
ὀργῇ λελέχθαι καὶ τὰ σ', Οἰδέπους, δοκεῖ.

Let us be honest: this sort of thing, even in Sophocles, is bad writing.⁶ Again, Euripides does his best to spoil the beginning of Talthybius' famous description of the death of Polyxena by an equally undesirable iteration of the word χεῖρ: *Hec.* 523 ff.—

λαβὼν δ' 'Αχιλλέως παῖς Πολυξένην χερὸς
ἔστησ' ἐπ' ἄκρου χῶματος, πέλας δ' ἐγώ·
λεκτοί τ' 'Αχαιῶν ἐκκριτοὶ νεανίαι,
σκήπτρα μύσχου σῆς καθέζοντες χερσὶν,
ἔσποντο· πλήρης δ' ἐν χερσὶν λαβὼν δέπας
πάγχρυσον αἶρει χερσὶ παῖς 'Αχιλλέως
κ.τ.λ.

Elsewhere within fourteen lines (*Tro.* 903-916) Euripides has successively λόγῳ, λόγους, λόγους, λόγος, λέγειν, λόγων, λέγειν, λόγων—six of these words standing at the end of

⁵ On the frequency with which Isaeus reiterates his thoughts without change of wording see Blass *Att. Ber.* ii. 524 ff., 530, 540, iii. 222. In his case it is difficult to decide how far 'diese auffälligen Wiederholungen' were due to nature and how far to art. Rhetorical ἐπιμονή is, if I am right, only an artificial cultivation of natural insistence.

⁶ Beaton's *Indices* are by no means complete: but he quotes 105 examples of δοκέω from Sophocles as against 55 from Aeschylus and 121 from Euripides. The proportion, if we take into account the number of extant plays, suggests that δοκέω was a favourite word with Sophocles.

their respective lines!¹ In sections 19–33 of the *Panegyricus* Isocrates uses the verb *προσηκειν* seven times. Between lines 670 and 783 of book iii Lucretius ends eight hexameters with various parts of the passive of ‘insinuate.’ A characteristic of Cicero’s versification is his proneness to fill the fifth foot of the hexameter with a trisyllabic word derived from a stem in -min-. In the 480 lines of the *Aratea* I have counted no less than 70 examples, of which 34 are ‘lumine,’ 9 ‘lumina’ and 2 ‘luminis’; 10 are cases of ‘nomen,’ 6 of ‘tegmen,’ 5 of ‘flamen’; while ‘culmine,’ ‘flumine,’ ‘numine,’ ‘semina’ occur once each. In vv. 175–182 five lines out of eight have a fifth foot of this type.² Fragment 3 of Cicero’s *de consulatu meo* contains in all 78 lines: 10 of them are of the same sort; we even find four in a row—

40 concidit elapsaeque vetustae momine
leges,
et divom simulacra peremit fulminis
ardor.
hic silvestris erat Romani nominis
altrix
Marta, quae parvos Mavortis semine
natos
etc.

After this one is not surprised to note 3 out of 11 hexameters ending with the word ‘viator’ in Bücheler *carm. epigr.* i. 208 no. 443,³ or two out of three pentameters ending with ‘-nus amicitiae’ (pignus a., munus a.) *ib.* ii. 505 no. 1102, or ‘amicus’ four times repeated in the nine lines of no. 470 (*ib.* i. 221).

on p. 250	3 times
251	2
252	4
253	1
254	3
255	2
256	3
257	1

on p. 258	2 times
259	4
260	5
261	2
262	0
263	1
264	1
265	0

on p. 266	0 times
267	1
268	0
269	1

One is reminded of *Od.* 19. 176 ff., where within 5 lines are found *μεγαλήτορες, μέγλη, μέγλον, μεγαθύμον*, or of *Lucr.* 2. 1–5 with their ‘magno,’ ‘magnum,’ ‘magna.’

(3) In conclusion we may ask whether the principles of subconscious iteration throw any light on the so-called ‘responsions’ of the Pindaric odes. Professor Mezger observed ‘that Pindar disclosed the fundamental

¹ See further C. Rieck *de proprietatibus quibusdam sermonis Euripidei* Halle 1877 p. 23 ff.

² In vv. 433–438 four lines out of six have ‘corpo-’ or ‘corpora’ in the fifth foot.

³ Two consecutive hexameters end with ‘viator’ in *Hor. sat.* 1. 5. 16 f.

A modern parallel to such temporary or incipient mannerisms may be found in Matthew Arnold’s beautiful poem *The Future*. It consists of 87 short lines; and at the very outset the poet fires an inadvertent shot, an unimportant and unnoticed phrase, which ricochets down the entire stream of his poem:—

3 On the breast of the river of Time
22 Had left ere he woke on its breast
32 The tribes who then roam’d on her
breast
35 Now reads in her bosom as clear
38 Who guards in her breast
55 And we on its breast, our minds
66 That never will those on its breast
82 Peace to the soul of the man on its
breast—

In reading Swinburne’s *Atalanta in Calydon* I was struck by the frequency with which he there employs words denoting separation (‘divide,’ ‘sunder,’ ‘sever’). These words do not occur sporadically: for pages together (*e.g.* pp. 41–62) they are entirely absent; and then they come in groups, derivatives of the same root being for the most part found near each other. I marked in the course of a not very attentive perusal 23 forms from the word ‘divide,’ 8 from ‘sunder,’ 4 from ‘sever.’ We are here surely in the presence of a usage only one step removed from a complete mannerism. Similarly in the last of the *Jowett Lectures* for 1901 the word ‘great’ is for a while manneristic: it appears—

ideas of his poems by repeating in each case one or more important words in the corresponding verse and foot of the strophe.⁴ His hypothesis, as is well known, was warmly accepted and developed by Professor J. B. Bury, who regards these ‘intentional signals’ as having had a twofold purpose. ‘Some responsions,’ he says,⁵ ‘could hardly escape the notice of the most casual listener, and these were assuredly intended to be noticed. But in regard to the great number,

⁴ F. Mezger *Pindars Siegeslieder*, Vorwort p. vi.

⁵ J. B. Bury *The Isthmian Odes of Pindar*, Preface p. vii. f.

it must be said that they are invisible signals...which do not, and are not meant to, contribute to the artistic effect of the poem.' They constitute a 'secret writing,' 'κρυπταὶ κλαῖδες to the arguments of his hymns,' and were 'intended to assist the study of the odes,' 'as a technical help to chorodidaskaloi and choregoi.' Professors Mezger and Bury deserve our gratitude for the pains they have taken to discover and point out these verbal echoes. Sometimes, as they would be the first to admit, they may have pushed their hypothesis too far: but in the main they have certainly noted an extraordinary number of lexical and metrical coincidences for which some explanation must be provided. My own doubt is not as to the reality of the echoes but as to their intentional character. Were they in truth conscious 'word-signals'? Were they not rather unconscious iterations like those that I have already discussed?

If it be urged that the Pindaric responsions often (though by no means always, on Prof. Bury's showing) occur in the same part of the verse as the original word, I answer that this was the case also with unconscious iterations: e.g. in Soph. *O.C.* 1610, 1623 and 1625, *ἐξαίφνης* occupied the same metrical position, as did *ἀκούων* *ibid.* 551, 554, and *κείσομαι* in *Ant.* 73, 76. Indeed, the fact that the poet has come again to a certain part of the line probably in itself predisposes him to repeat the phrase that fitted it before.¹

If, again, it be argued that Pindar's responsions are restricted to his fundamental ideas (*Grundgedanken*), one might reply that an essential thought naturally tends to persist in the mind longer than a non-essential and, provided that its expression is not too striking, will be more readily repeated. But as a matter of fact Pindar's responsions are not so restricted. A careful reading of the examples printed by Professor Bury in heavy type will convince most critics that they include many points that may indeed be regarded as details contributing to the general idea (after all, what details do not?), but can only be called *Grundgedanken* by a great stretch of meaning.

Discounting, then, the external correspondence of metre and the internal importance of meaning, I am disposed to conclude that these responsions are unconscious iterations of the usual types. And the more so, as they occur not only between different portions of the same poem, but also between

different poems (see Professor Bury's *Introd.* to *Isthm.* ii. ²), and even between different Pindaric *εἶδη*—e.g.

frag. 131 Chr. (α θρήνος)

ὀλβία δ' ἅπαντες αἴσα λυσίπονον μετανίσ-
σονται τελευτάν.

καὶ σῶμα μὲν πάντων ἔπεται θανάτῳ πε-
ρισθενεῖ,

ζῶν δ' ἔτι λείπεται αἰῶνος εἰδωλον· κ.τ.λ.

Pyth. 4. 66 ff.

πεύθομαι δ' αὐτὰν κατακλυσθεῖσαν ἐκ δούρατος

ἐναλίαν βᾶμεν σὺν ἄλμα

ἐσπέρας, ὕγρῳ πελάγει σπομέναν. ἢ
μὲν νιν ἔτρυνον θαμὰ

λυσίπονοῖς θεραπεύοντεςσιν φυλάξει· κ.τ.λ.

Professor Mezger believed that no parallel to the Pindaric responsions could be adduced from other poets: in a significant sentence he says—

'Von einem zufälligen Zusammentreffen lässt sich hier nicht wohl reden, so lange nicht bei andern, etwa modernen, Dichtern ähnliche Wiederholungen nachgewiesen sind.'

Personally I incline to think that there are many poets, some modern, some ancient, who—if their works were studied with this end in view—would be proved to abound in responsions of the Pindaric sort.³ Did Professor Mezger ever look for them in Theocritus? I will give but one example, *Idyl* ii. :—

4 ὅς μοι δωδεκαταῖος ἀφ' ὧ
τᾶλας οὐδέ ποθ' ἵκει,

157 νῦν δέ τε δωδεκαταῖος ἀφ' ὧ τέ
νιν οὐδέ ποτεῖδον.

6 οὐδὲ βῆρας ἄρα ξεν ἀνάρσιος. ἢ ῥά
οἱ ἄλλ᾽ α

10 νῦν δέ νιν ἐκ θυνῶν καταδήσομαι.
ἀλλά, Σελάνα,

158 ἢ ῥ' οὐκ ἄλλο τι τερπνὸν ἔχει, ἀμῶν
δὲ λέλασται;

νῦν μὲν τοῖς φίλτροις καταδή-
σομαι· αἱ δ' ἔτι κῆμὲ

λυπηῖ, τὰν Ἀἰδαο πύλαν, καὶ Μοῖρας,
ἀραξεῖ.

² This ode contains reminiscences of *Pyth.* vi. Prof. Bury p. 32 enumerates them and admits: 'It was indeed natural that echoes of the old song should haunt the dimmer corridors of the new song.'

³ To test my feeling in the matter I took an elegy of Propertius (1.3) with the following result: 2 languida = 38 languidus, 2 desertis = 43 deserta, 3 somno = 25 somno = 41 somnum, 4 duris = 14 durus, 5 fessa = 42 fessa, 8 manibus = 16 manu = 24 manibus, 10 nocte = 37 noctis = 39 noctis, 12 molliter...toro = 34 molli...toro, 13 inberet = 40 inbes, 15 leviter = 43 leviter, 19 fixus = 34 fixa, 19 ocellis = 33 ocellos, 23 lapsos = 45 lapsam, 32 moraturis = 44 moras.

¹ See Faust *progr. progymn.* Altkirch. 1881, p. 8, F. Schröder *de iteratis apud tragicos Græcos*, p. 6. n. 1.

- 8 βασιεύμαι ποτὶ τὰν Τιμαγῆτοιο
παλαίστραν
97 τήρησον ποτὶ τὰν Τιμαγῆτοιο
παλαίστραν·
9 αὔριον, ὥς νιν ἴδω καὶ μέμψομαι
οὐά με ποιῇ.
58 σαύραν τοι τρίψασα κακὸν ποτὸν αὔρι-
ον οἰσῶ.
141 κοῦτε τι τήνος ἐμὶν ἐπεμέμψατο
μέσφα τό γ' ἔχθες,
29 ὥς τάκοιβ' ὑπ' ἔρωτος ὁ Μύνδιος
αὐτίκα Δελφίς.
96 πᾶσαν ἔχει με τάλαιναν ὁ Μύνδιος·
ἀλλὰ μολοῖσα
44 εἴτε γυνὰ τήνῃ παρακέκλιται εἴτε
καὶ ἀνὴρ,
τόσσον ἔχου λάθας, ὅσσον ποκὰ
Θησεία φαντί
150 κεῖτε μιν αὐτε γυναικὸς ἔχει
πόθος εἴτε καὶ ἀνδρὸς
οὐκ ἔφατ' ἀτρεκές ἴδμεν, ἀτὰρ τόσον·
αἰὲν Ἔρωτος
50 ὥς καὶ Δέλφιν ἴδοιμι, καὶ ἐς τόδε
δῶμα περάσαι
103 εἰς ἐμὰ δώματα Δέλφιν. ἐγὼ
δέ νιν ὥς ἐνόησα
58 σαύραν τοι τρίψασα κακὸν ποτὸν
αὔριον οἰσῶ.

- 161 τοῖά οἱ ἐν κίστῃ κακὰ φάρμακα φαρμὶ
φυλάσσειν,
72 τὰν πομπὰν θάσασθαι· ἐγὼ δέ οἱ ἅ
μεγάλοις
138 ἀνέρος. ὥς ὁ μὲν εἶπεν· ἐγὼ δέ οἱ ἅ
ταχυπειθής
102 ὥς ἐφάμαν. ἅ δ' ἦνθε καὶ ἄγαγε τὸν
λιπαρόχρων
165 χαῖρε Σελαναία λιπαρόχροε, χαίρετε
δ' ἄλλοι

Are there not responsions galore within the limits of this idyll, to say nothing of the echoes of other idylls that it contains! *e.g.*

1. 1 ἀδύ τι τὸ ψιθύρισμα
= 2. 141 ἐψιθυρίσδομες ἀδύ.

And yet will anyone be bold enough to maintain that Theocritus intended them as a *memoria technica* for the benefit of those who should attempt to learn the poem by heart? The idea is preposterous. The fact is that throughout the whole course of ancient and modern literature the principles of unconscious iteration have been at work, and that in the odes of Pindar as in the idylls of Theocritus we must recognise the results of their operation.

ARTHUR BERNARD COOK.

THE DATE OF PINDAR'S TENTH NEMEAN.

NOTHING but the singular beauty of the tenth *Nemean* could pardon me for raising so dull a question as that of its date. But when I find the latest student of the subject, and he a most sympathetic reader of Pindar, M. Gaspard, in his very valuable *Chronologie Pindarique*, suggesting the year 500 B.C. as the date of the poem, I am disposed to raise a protest. In B.C. 500 Pindar was at most in his twentieth year; and I find it *a priori* improbable, that a Theban youth of that age, who had as yet published nothing except perhaps *Isthmian* vii, a poem in honour of a countryman of his own, should have been selected as their laureate by citizens of distant Argos. Further *Nem.* x is marked by all the features of Pindar's ripest powers. In splendour of phrase, in rapidity and vigour of narrative, in dramatic vividness of representation it challenges comparison with the fourth Pythian itself, while the sublimity and pathos of its myth are, I think, unrivalled in the literature of Greece. M. Gaspard is

fully alive to these excellences, but he holds that they 'sont de celles qui tiennent au génie même de Pindare, et à ses qualités innées: elles dérivent de la nature bien plus que de l'art, et il n'y a pas lieu de s'étonner si on les retrouve même dans une œuvre de première jeunesse.' This is perhaps a question of individual opinion; but we happen to possess specimens of Pindar's youthful manner, certainly in *Pyth.* x, which dates from 504 B.C., and almost certainly in *Isthm.* vii, which, as M. Gaspard has himself shown, is probably Pindar's earliest work; and I am surprised if any one can compare these two poems with *Nem.* x and not admit a marked advance in the latter both in literary art and intellectual power. M. Gaspard finds evidence of youth in the style of our poem, 'haché en phrases courtes qu'elle a en commun avec les autres poèmes de la jeunesse.' But the sentences are not shorter than those of other poems, *e.g.* *P.* ix 67 f. *N.* xi 43 f., which belong to Pindar's latest years. In my judgment this peculiar

feature tells rather the other way. The situation in the myth of *Nem. x.*—the devotion of a brother to a brother—suggests that of one of the more successful of Tennyson's later poems, the beautiful and touching *Balin and Balan* :—

But when their foreheads felt the cooling
air,

Balin first woke, and seeing that true face,
Familiar up from cradle-time, so wan,
Crawl'd slowly with low moans to where he
lay,

And on his dying brother cast himself
Dying ; and he lifted faint eyes ; he felt
One near him ; all at once they found the
world,

Staring wild-wide ; then with a child-like
wail,

And drawing down that dim, disastrous
brow

That o'er him hung, he kiss'd it, moan'd and
spake.

But I am not sure that the prodigality of the English poet does not contrast unfavourably with the reserve of the Greek.

ταχέως δ' ἐπ' ἀδελφεοῦ βίαν πάλιν χώρησεν ὁ
Τυνδαρίδας,

καὶ νιν οὕτω τεθναότ', ἄσθματι δὲ φρίσσοντα
πνοὰς ἔκικεν.

θερμὰ δὲ τέγγων δάκρυα στοναχαῖς
ὄρθιον φώνησε.

Certainly the magnificent couplet with which the poem so abruptly closes and so dramatically suggests the eager joy of Polydeuces in declaring, without a word uttered, but only by his acts, his choice of the alternatives offered him by Zeus,

ὧς ἄρ' αἰδάσαντος, οὐ γνόμα διπλόαν θέτο
βουλάν.

ἀνὰ δ' ἔλυσιν μὲν ὀφθαλμόν, ἔπειτα δὲ φωνὴν
χαλκομίτρη Καστορος

is effective beyond praise.

Further, M. Gaspard misses that connexion between the myth and the circumstances of the victory which the mature *technique* of Pindar demands. The myth, he says, forms 'un hors-d'œuvre qui, dans la texture du poème, pourrait facilement être détaché du reste, sans que la suppression s'en fit sentir. L'épénicie pourrait s'arrêter après la gnome : καὶ μὴν θεῶν πιστὸν γένος du vers 54.' But is it so? Theaëus of Argos had been successful in the 'Hecatombæa' of his native city : he now contemplates competing at Olympia (l. 29 ff.), and Pindar draws an augury of his success from the fact that his house is under the patronage of the

Tyndaridae, who will be faithful to their trust—καὶ μὴν θεῶν πιστὸν γένος. It is this very 'fidelity' of the Tyndaridae that gives point to the myth, and Pindar is careful to insist upon it in Polydeuces' outcry, l. 78 :—

οἴχεται τιμὰ φίλων τατωμένω

φωτὶ παῖρι δ' ἐν πόνῳ πιστοὶ ὁ βροτῶν,

where, as others have noted, the word *πιστοί* significantly recurs.

But it is not only in literary power and technical art that Pindar's work shows development : there is a corresponding development in his religious views. Croiset and, following him, M. Gaspard himself, have done full justice to this point. In his earliest Odes Pindar is seen still under the influence of the current Greek view of a 'jealous God'—τὸ θεῖον πᾶν ἐστὶ φθονερόν (Hdt. l. 32) : cf. *Isthm.* vii. 39 : ὁ δ' ἀθανάτων μὴ θρασυέτω φθόνος *Pylh* x. 20, φθονεραῖς ἐκ θεῶν μετατροπᾶς. This view disappears entirely from his later work, in which directly and indirectly, in season and out of season, sometimes by suppression of facts, sometimes by flat contradiction, but more often by selecting the less objectionable of two alternative versions, Pindar is never weary of his attempt to purify the legends of the gods of unseemly detail and to preach his own profound belief in the divine perfection. The point is too familiar to readers of Pindar to need illustration here, and it is only now alluded to because the treatment of the myth in *Nem. x.* affords more than one illustration of the practice. The current version of the quarrel between the Dioscuri and the Apharetidae represented it as due to the rape by Castor and Polydeuces of the brides of Idas and Lynceus. Pindar will have none of this : according to him it arose from 'some question about cattle,' ἀμφὶ βοῦσι πως χολωθείς Ἴδας (x. 61). Again, the legend made Castor and Polydeuces both sons of Zeus ; but, as Castor was slain, this must not be, and Pindar with emphasis maintains that Castor was a mortal's son (x. 80), thus tacitly contradicting, as the scholiast notes, his favourite authority Hesiod : ὁ μὲν Ἡσιόδος ἀμφοτέρους Διὸς εἶναι γενεαλογεῖ ὁ δὲ Πίνδαρος ἑτέροις τῶν ἱστορικῶν ἐξακολουθητικῶς τὸν μὲν Πολυδεύκην ἐκ Διὸς, τὸν δὲ Καστορα ἐκ Τυνδαρέω εἶναι φησιν. Hence he never speaks of the brothers as Διοσκόροισι. Consistently with this view, Pindar slips in a third alteration. In the *Odyssey* (xi. 304) it is stated that the Tyndaridae divided their time between the earth and the grave :

ἄλλοτε μὲν ζῶουσ' ἐτερήμεροι, ἄλλοτε δ' αὖτε
τεθναῖιν.

Pindar improves on this (x. 87) :

ἤμισυ μὲν κε πνέοις γαίης ὑπένερθεν ἑών,
ἤμισυ δ' οὐρανῷ ἐν χρυσέοις δόμοισιν,

where πνέοις and οὐρανῷ are characteristic innovations upon the τεχνᾶσιν and ζῶουσ' of his predecessor.

There remains, I think, another indication of the date, not hitherto noticed, of a nature more precise than are any of the arguments advanced above. Theaeus, beside his victory in his native city, had also been successful in the 'Panathenaea' at Athens, where the prize was a jar of olive-oil. (x. 33 ff.) On this passage the schol. has a curious note: οὐκ ἔστι δ' ἐξαγωγή ἐλαίου ἐξ Ἀθηνῶν, εἰ μὴ τοῖσι νικῶσι. I know no other evidence for this exception to the prohibition of the export of oil from Athens, and I suspect that the reference in Pindar's lines is somewhat different. It is well known that about B.C. 550, when the Athenians were defeated by the Argives and Aeginetans, an embargo was laid by Argos on the importation of Athenian produce, especially pottery; cf. *Hdt.* v. 88: Ἀττικὸν μῆτε τι ἄλλο προσφέρειν πρὸς τὸ ἱερὸν, μῆτε κέραμον κ.τ.λ. In a valuable paper in a previous Number of this *Review* (xii. 86) Mr. Hoppin has shown that this embargo must have lasted over seventy years, inasmuch as recent excavations at Argos have discovered scarcely any fragments of Athenian vases of the period B.C. 550-480. When the embargo was removed is unknown. Probably it was gradually relaxed or evaded; but it must have been formally rescinded in 460 B.C. when an Athenian-Argive alliance was formed. (Thuc. i. 102). Readers of Pindar must have been often struck by the curious emphasis and detail of the lines in question (x. 33 ff.). At first sight they have the air of a pointless conceit:

γαίᾳ δὲ καυθεῖσθαι πυρὶ καρπὸς ἐλαίας
ἔμολεν Ἥρας τὸν εὐάνορον λαὸν ἐν ἀγγέων ἔρκεσιν
παμποικίλοις.

'in earth burnt with fire the fruit of the olive came to the gallant host of Hera in richly-flowered enclosures of vases.' This feature will be removed, if we see in these lines a direct allusion by Pindar to the recent alliance between Argos and Athens and the consequent revival of the use of Athenian pottery at Argos. This is the alliance so often referred to in the *Oresteia* of Aeschylus, and such an allusion is entirely characteristic of Pindar, who loses no opportunity of glancing at the great political movements of his time and is indeed the most important contemporary witness for the history of his age that has survived for us. We are thus brought down to the very period which Dissen, arguing on quite different lines, long ago suggested. This was the period when Argos, after her capture of Mycenae (B.C. 464) became once more mistress of her plain and began again to resume her old place in the Peloponnese after the long depression succeeding her defeat by Cleomenes (494 B.C.). At such a time she may well have sent a citizen to compete in the games of her newly-formed ally Athens, and called upon the greatest poet in Greece to celebrate her reviving power by recalling the legends of fair women and brave men (x. 5 ff.) who had glorified her past. The poem must we know have immediately preceded an Olympian festival (x. 32): that, I suggest, was the festival of Ol. 80 = B.C. 460. The tenth Nemean thus follows next after Pyth. iv. (B.C. 462) and marks with it the zenith of Pindar's powers.

W. T. LENDRUM.

SOME SUGGESTIONS ON DIELS' *POETARUM PHILOSOPHORUM FRAGMENTA*.

Parmenides *fr.* 16, 1, 2

ὥς γὰρ ἐκάστοτ' ἔχει κρᾶσιν μελέων πολυπλάγκ-
των
τὼς νόος ἀνθρώποισι παριστᾶται τὸ γὰρ αὐτὸ
ἔστιν ὅπερ φρονέει μελέων φύσις ἀνθρώποισιν.

Diels' παριστᾶται is surely questionable for παρίσταται or παρίστηκε of MSS. There

seems to be a corruption in τὸ, for which I would suggest αὐτὸ. If αὐταυτο is possible, why should not αὐτὸ γὰρ αὐτὸ be admissible? 'is the very thing-itself.'

Empedocles *fr.* 4. 9, 10, 11

ἀλλ' ἄγ' ἄθρει πάσῃ παλάμῃ, πῇ δῆλον ἕκαστον,
μῆτε τι ὅσιν ἔχων πίστει πλέον ἢ κατ' ἀκοῇ
ἢ ἀκοῇ ἐρίδουπον ὑπὲρ τρανώματα γλώσσης.

In 10 Diels mentions a v.l. *τιν'*, which may, I think, be right. But the construction of the words *ὅψιν ἔχων πίστει* is very obscure. Nor can I see how it can find a parallel in the Homeric *σῆσιν ἔχε φρεσί*. Possibly the cases have become inverted *μήτε τιν' ὅψει ἔχων πίστιν πλέον*. If this is so, the accus. *ἀκοῇ* in 11 is constructed *κατὰ σύνεσιν* 'not trusting your sight more than if you had heard, or accepting the ears' sounding message beyond the clear indications of the tongue.'

Emped. *fr.* 17. 20, 21, 25

καὶ Φιλότης ἐν τοῖσιν, ἴση μῆκος τε πλάτος τε·
τὴν σὺ νόω δέρεαι, μὴδ' ὁμμασιν ἦσο τετηπώς·
τὴν οὐ τις ἔμετ' ὅσσοισιν ἐλισσομένην δεδάχηκε
θηγὸς ἀνὴρ.

ὅσσοισιν 'with the eyes' appears indubitably

right: is not *μετ'* simply an expansion of *τ'* trajected from its proper place after *τὴν*?

Emp. *fr.* 64

τῷ δ' ἐπὶ καὶ Πόθος εἰσι δι' ὅψιος ἄμματα
μίσγων.

So Diels partly after Karsten and Wyttenbach: but, unless I am much mistaken, the last words as given by the MSS. of Plutarch *διὰ πέψεως ἀμμίσγων* point rather to δι' ἄψιος αἱμ' ἀναμίσγων.

Timon *fr.* 62

ἔνθεν καὶ ὁ Τίμων αἰτιάται τὸν Πλάτωνα ἐπὶ τῷ
οὕτω καλλωπίζειν τὸν Σωκράτην πολλοῖς μαθή-
μασιν. ἢ γάρ, φησι, τὸν οὐκ ἐθέλοντα ἡμεῖναι
ἡθολόγον.

μαίειναι or μήνης.

ROBINSON ELLIS.

ON THE MEMORABILIA OF XENOPHON.

1. 3. 14 οὕτω δὲ καὶ ἀφροδιιάζειν τοὺς μὴ ἀσφαλῶς ἔχοντας πρὸς ἀφροδίσια ᾤετο χρῆναι πρὸς τοιαῦτα, οἷα μὴ πάνν μὲν δεομένου τοῦ σώματος οὐκ ἂν προσδέξαιτο ἢ ψυχῇ, δεομένου δὲ οὐκ ἂν πράγματα παρέχοι. Editors and critics point out the unusual construction ἀφροδιιάζειν πρὸς τι and also the very strange use of the neuter τοιαῦτα οἷα, which is not to be justified by thoughts of παιδικά. None of them that I know of has suggested that both difficulties disappear together, if we take the second πρὸς as an accidental repetition of the first, like ἐπὶ in 2. 1. 23 below, and write ἀφροδιιάζειν...χρῆναι τοιαῦτα οἷα κ.τ.λ.

1. 6. 13 *Ω' Ἀντιφῶν, παρ' ἡμῖν νομίζεται τὴν ὥραν καὶ τὴν σοφίαν ὁμοίως μὲν καλόν, ὁμοίως δὲ αἰσχροὺς διατίθεσθαι εἶναι. τὴν τε γὰρ ὥραν ἔαν μὲν κ.τ.λ.· ἔαν δὲ κ.τ.λ. καὶ τὴν σοφίαν ὡσαύτως τοὺς μὲν...πωλοῦντας κ.τ.λ.· ὅστις δὲ κ.τ.λ.

The point is not that it is equally creditable and discreditable to dispose of the two things, but that in both cases there is a creditable as well as a discreditable way of doing it, two possibilities with regard to each of them, set forth with correspondence of μέν and δέ. It follows that in the early part of the sentence we want adverbs, not adjectives: ὁμοίως μὲν καλῶς, ὁμοίως δὲ αἰσχροῦς διατίθεσθαι εἶναι, εἶναι meaning it is

possible. For the double adverb cf. Thuc. 2. 60. 6 οὐκ ἂν ὁμοίως τι οἰκείως φράζοι.

2. 1. 23 ὁρῶ σε, ὦ Ἡράκλεις, ἀποροῦντα ποίαν δδὸν ἐπὶ τὸν βίον τράπη· ἔαν οὖν ἐμὲ φίλην ποιησάμενος, [ἐπὶ] τὴν ἡδίστην τε καὶ ῥάστην δδὸν ἄξω σε.

The MSS. (including Stobaeus who has ποιησάμενος) are divided between ποιησάμενος, ποιήσῃ, ποιήσης, and ποιήσει, of which the last three are much more likely to be 'corrections' of the first than the first to be a corruption of them. Is then ποιησάμενος right? The understanding over again of ἐπὶ τὸν βίον τράπη is so awkward that I think not. It is more probable that some word like βαδίξης has dropped out. If so, it is very tempting to insert a word almost identical with the first syllables of ποιησάμενος and hence easily lost, reading ἔαν οὖν ἐμὲ φίλην <προίτης> ποιησάμενος.

ib. 26 οἱ μὲν ἐμοὶ φίλοι καλοῦσί με Εὐδαίμονιαν, οἱ δὲ μισοῦντές με ὑποκοριζόμενοι ὀνομάζουσι Κακίαν.

It is certain that ὑποκοριζόμενοι cannot be used of calling by a bad name, as it means just the opposite. There is therefore a good deal of plausibility in the proposal to put the word into the first clause instead of the second; only then, as Gilbert says, Vice videtur tanquam suam causam prodere. Was

it not a gloss written in the margin and intended to apply to the first clause (φίλοι κ.τ.λ.), then inserted by mistake in the text and inserted in the wrong place?

2. 2. 9 ὅταν ἐν ταῖς τραγωδαίαις ἀλλήλους τὰ ἔσχατα λέγωσιν.

Ἐσχατα πάσχειν, ἔσχατα κακά, etc. are recognised phrases; but ἔσχατα λέγειν seems questionable. Does it occur elsewhere? I should be inclined to read αἰσχιστα. The words are sometimes confused, and Soph. *Aj.* 1320, 1324: *Phil.* 607 with *Iliad* 3. 38: 6. 325 are enough to establish the propriety of αἰσχιστα here.

2. 6. 5 ὅστις . . ἐγκρατὴς μὲν ἐστὶ τῶν διὰ τοῦ σώματος ἡδονῶν, εὐοικος δὲ καὶ εὐσύμβολος ὢν τυγχάνει καὶ φιλόνοκος πρὸς τὸ μὴ ἐλλείπεσθαι εἰ ποῶν τοὺς εὐεργετοῦντας αὐτόν.

Of the two best MSS. one has εὐοικος, the other εἵνους. The rest are divided between εἵνους, εὐοικος, and εὐορκος. Εὐοικος is unmeaning here, and neither εἵνους nor εὐορκος accounts for the various readings. Εἰνοικός, which I suspect Xenophon wrote, will account fairly for all three, εὐορκος being an easy 'correction' of εὐοικος after the ν was lost. He has the adverb εἰνοικῶς about a dozen times, though the adjective, which is less common generally, seems not to occur in his writings. Εἰνοικός is a more proper word than εἵνους here; a man is εἰνοικός by nature, εἵνους by accident of acquaintance, etc.

ib. 38 εἰ σοὶ πείσασαι κοινῇ τὴν πόλιν ψευδόμενος, ὥς ἂν στρατηγικῶ τε καὶ δικαστικῶ καὶ πολιτικῶ, αὐτὴν ἐπιτρέψαι.

The distinction in this sort of use between ὥς and ὥς ἂν (cf. Kühner's note) is not very hard to grasp. Ἐπιτρέπω σοὶ ἑμαυτὸν ὥς σοφῶ means that I regard you as wise and put myself in your hands accordingly; ἐπιτρέπω σοὶ ἑμαυτὸν ὥς ἂν σοφῶ means that I do not, at least necessarily, regard you as wise, but that for some reason or other I put myself in your hands as though you were: 'I entrust myself to you, as I should to a wise man, or as I should if I thought you wise.' So τοῦτο ποιεῖ, ὥς σοφὸς ὢν, 'as a wise man, he acts in this way'; τοῦτο ποιεῖ ὥς ἂν σοφός, 'he acts in this way, as a wise man would do,' by no means assuming that he is wise, though possibly his wisdom might be inferred from his action. In other words ὥς ἂν cannot be used to introduce a fact or what is regarded as a fact by the person or persons immediately concerned. In late Greek this distinction is lost and ὥς ἂν used freely for ὥς, but in good Attic it is always maintained.

It would seem therefore doubtful whether the expression ascribed to Solon about the Athenians driven abroad,

γλώσσαν οὐκέτ' Ἀττικὴν
ἰέντας, ὥς ἂν πολλαχῇ πλανωμένους,

can be quite rightly preserved, for they *did* wander in many places, whereas ὥς ἂν means *as though* they wandered. In spite of Gilbert I do not think it can be said that ὥς ἂν is inappropriate here in Xenophon, as it is distinctly meant that Critobulus lacks the qualifications in question. Athens might be induced to trust herself to him *as she would* to a competent man. At the same time the hypothesis is that she thinks him competent, and for that ὥς is more proper, like ὥς ὄντι οἰκονομικῶ τε καὶ ἐπιμελεῖ in the next and precisely parallel sentence. Ἄν here has been changed to ὄντι (Weiske), but that is very improbable. Remembering however the very frequent interchange of ἂν and δῆ, I think it is an open question whether here and in 3. 6. 4: 3. 8. 1 δῆ should not be read. Certainly here and in 3. 6. 4 it would be quite in place: in 3. 8. 1 less so.

2. 9. 4 οὐ γὰρ ἦν οἶος ἀπὸ παντὸς κερδαίνειν ἀλλὰ φιλόχρηστος τε καὶ ἔφη ῥᾶστον εἶναι ἀπὸ τῶν συκοφαντῶν λαμβάνειν.

Archdemus is an able and honourable man who sees no objection to making the συκοφάνται yield up some of their ill-gotten gains. In the present case he gave one of them no peace ἕως τὸν τε Κρίτων ἀφῆκε καὶ αὐτῷ χρήματα ἔδωκε. But it is inept to say of him that he was honourable and thought it very *easy* to get money out of the συκοφάνται. The two things do not hang together. It occurred to me first that ῥᾶστον might be a mistake for χρηστοῦ, 'that it was quite the part of an honourable man,' as Euripides says (*Fragm.* 678 Nauck) ἔστι τοι καλὸν κακοῦς κολάζειν. But perhaps the more familiar interchange of ῥᾶστος and ἄριστος affords a better explanation. He used to say ἄριστον εἶναι, that it was the best thing or a very good thing to do.

There is much awkwardness about τε καὶ coupling an adjective and a verb. Perhaps Xenophon wrote something like φιλόχρηστος τε καὶ <φιλόκαλος καὶ> ἔφη.

3. 3. 7 θήγειν δὲ τὰς ψυχὰς τῶν ἵππῶν καὶ ἐξοργίζειν πρὸς τοὺς πολέμιους, ἀπερ ἄλκιμωτέρους ποιεῖ, διανέησθαι;

As some, though not the best, MSS. have εἶπερ and all MSS. are said to have ποιεῖν (ποιεῖ Stobaeus), it may be worth considering whether Xenophon wrote εἶπερ ἄλκιμωτέρους

ποιεῖν <βούλει>. Cf. 3. 6. 3 εἴπερ τιμᾶσθαι βούλει, ὠφελγέα σοι ἡ πόλις ἐστί.

3. 5. 1 Καὶ ὁ Περικλῆς, βουλοῦμην ἄν, ἔφη, ὦ Σώκρατες, ἀ λέγεις; ὅπως δὲ ταῦτα γένοιτ' ἄν, οὐ δύναμαι γνῶναι. Βούλει οὖν, ἔφη ὁ Σωκράτης, διαλογιζόμενοι περὶ αὐτῶν ἐπισκοπῶμεν ὅπου ἡδὴ τὸ δυνατόν ἐστι;

I think the editors ought to have seen before now that δυνατόν is a mistake, made in many other places too, for ἀδύνατον. Consider the context. Young Pericles would like to improve the military strength and reputation of Athens, but he is afraid it can't be done. Well, says Socrates, shall we try and find out where the difficulty, the impossibility, lies? The Athenians are as numerous as the Boeotians; they are physically as robust, morally as patriotic and public-spirited; they have at least as glorious a history to inspire them. Ah, but for some time past (says Pericles) Boeotia has been gaining courage and Athens losing it. That (Socrates rejoins) will make the Athenians all the more ready to follow anyone who shows them how to retrieve their credit and position. Socrates thus shows, point by point, that there is *nothing* to prevent Pericles from effecting what he wishes. The argument would have to take another turn altogether, if they set out to consider how the thing was possible. 'How are you to do it? They are numerous, robust,' etc.: that is nonsense. 'Why should you not do it? Where is the impossibility? They are numerous, robust,' etc.: this is sense.

Notice also the concluding words of the dialogue (28): ὅτι μὲν γὰρ ἂν τούτων καταπράξης . . . καλὸν ἔσται . . . , ἐὰν δέ τι αὐτῶν ἀδυνατήῃς, κ.τ.λ.

ib. 7 ἀλλὰ μὲν, ἔφη ὁ Περικλῆς, εἰ γε νῦν, μάλιστα πείθονται, ὅρα ἂν εἴη λέγειν, πῶς ἂν αὐτοὺς προτρεψαίμεθα κ.τ.λ.

Continuing the discussion, Pericles says, 'If what you say is true, that under present circumstances they would be more ready to follow a leader, then we might go on to ask how best to animate them with a right ambition.' It is abundantly clear that this requires not εἰ γε νῦν μάλιστα πείθονται, 'if they were now to listen' but εἰ γε νῦν μάλιστ' ἂν πείθονται, 'if it is true that they would now be likely to listen.' So in 4. 3. 8 μάλισθ' ἡμᾶς ὠφελοῖ is now always corrected to μάλιστ' ἂν ἡμᾶς, and the error is an extremely common one.

ib. 9 They must remind the Athenians how their ancestors won such eminence: εἰ

τούς γε παλαιάτους ὧν ἀκούομεν προγόνους αὐτῶν ἀναμνησκόμεν αὐτοὺς ἀκηκοότας ἀρίστους γεγρονέαι.

No one appears to have made sense of ἀκηκοότας, and it is often omitted. Even Cobet sanctions this. The course of the argument however seems to show that ἀκηκοότας is a blunder for ἀκούοντας. They got their place by hard training. Cf. 14 εἰ μὲν ἐξευρόντες τὰ τῶν προγόνων ἐπιτηδεύματα μηδὲν χεῖρον ἐκείνων ἐπιτηδεύοιεν, and 15 σωμασκήσουσιν. In Dion. Hal. 450 τοῖς ἀσκούσι τὴν πολιτικὴν φιλοσοφίαν is now read after Reiske's conjecture for τοῖς ἀκούουσι τ.π.φ. Thuc. 2. 39. 2 ἐπιπόνῳ ἀσκήσει εἰθὺς νέοι ὄντες τὸ ἀνδρείον μετέρχονται illustrates the meaning, though he and Xenophon seem to differ about the fact.

3. 11. 14 Πῶς οὖν ἂν, ἔφη (Theodote the courtesan), ἐγὼ λιμὸν ἐμποικίην τῶν παρ' ἐμοὶ δυναίμην; Εἰ νῆ Δί', ἔφη, πρῶτον μὲν τοῖς κεκορισμένοις μήτε προσφέρους μήτε ὑπομνηστικοῖς, ἕως ἂν τῆς πλησμῶνς παυσάμενοι πάλιν δέωνται, ἔπειτα τοὺς δεομένους ὑπομνηστικούς ὥς κοσμιωτάτῃ τε ὁμιλίᾳ καὶ τῷ <μὴ Cobet, Schenk1, Gilbert, Marchant> φαίνεσθαι βουλομένη χαρίζεσθαι καὶ διαφεύγουσα ἕως ἂν ὧς μάστιγα δεθῶσι.

It is odd that Cobet should have inserted μὴ in the wrong place: still odder that all the editors have followed him so obediently. His extraordinary insight might well by some accident go for once astray, but how is it none of the editors have seen that the necessary μὴ must precede not φαίνεσθαι but either βουλομένη or χαρίζεσθαι? If it precedes φαίνεσθαι, then διαφεύγουσα is negated too, 'not to appear anxious to avoid,' which makes nonsense. In strict logic and by ordinary idiom it should be βουλομένη μὴ χαρίζεσθαι. But it is also good Greek to write μὴ βουλομένη χαρίζεσθαι, in which case οὐ βούλομαι (cf. οὐ φημι, οὐ προσποιῶμαι, etc.) is like our 'I don't wish to gratify' = 'I wish not to gratify.' I should prefer however to write βουλομένη μὴ χαρίζεσθαι because the last syllable of βουλομένη will explain the loss of μὴ. Cf. on 4. 1. 3 below.

But the sentence contains another and less obvious mistake, not difficult to set right. The second ὑπομνηστικός is quite inappropriate. If Theodote bears herself modestly and seems coy and reluctant, how can this be said to 'remind' men? The point should be and evidently is that it stimulates them, as going without food provokes hunger (13). The word for this, which ὑπομνηστικός has displaced the more easily because the two words are partly

alike, is ὑποκνίζεις. Socrates has already used it in this chapter (3) in the same sort of connection, ἄπιεν ὑποκνιζόμενοι καὶ ἀπελθόντες ποθίσομεν. The first ὑποκνιζόμενοι here in 14, which seems appropriate enough, and which I do not wish to alter, remained in the copyist's mind and led him, no doubt unconsciously, to adapt ὑποκνίζεις to it.

[Dr. Postgate points out to me the parallel afforded by Prop. 4. 5. 29, if we adopt the conjecture *exstimulare* or *et stimulare*. The right reading is however very doubtful.]

4. 1. 3 Socrates draws an illustration from dogs, pointing out τῶν κινῶν τῶν εὐφνεστάτων... τὰς μὲν καλῶς ἀχθείσας ἀρίστας γίγνεσθαι πρὸς τὰς θήρας καὶ χρησιμωτάτας, ἀναγωγούς δὲ γιγνομένας ματαίους τε καὶ μανιώδεις καὶ δυσπειθεστάτας. Read <τὰς> ἀναγωγούς δέ, which seems especially needed after the partitive genitive τῶν-εὐφνεστάτων, and note that τὰς has been absorbed by the last syllable of *χρησιμωτάτας*. For the position of δέ cf. 4. 5. 11 τὰ μὲν κράτιστα... τὰ ᾧδιστα δὲ κ.τ.λ.

4. 2. 3 Παρασκευάσασθαι should be παρεσκενᾶσθαι, as in 4. 1. 5. The aorist tense is unsuitable, and the mistake one of a very common type.

4. 2. 10 γνωμονικοῦ γὰρ ἀνδρὸς καὶ τοῦτο δέ.

Strange constructions have been found for τοῦτο, and κἀν τοῦτῳ has been suggested. If Cobet is right in saying (*V.L.* pp. 155, 272) that καὶ and πρὸς get interchanged, we might very well read πρὸς τοῦτο. Note however a similar καὶ just before in καὶ ιατρῶν.

ib. 28 ἐπιθυμοῦσι τούτους ὑπὲρ αὐτῶν βουλεύεσθαι, καὶ προϊστασθαι ἐς αὐτὸν τούτους, καὶ τὰς ἐλπίδας τῶν ἀγαθῶν ἐν τοῦτοις ἔχουσι. τε is usually altered to γε after Stephanus. The construction is so awkward, especially with τούτους repeated, that some scholars have seemed to look with favour on his proposal to insert ἐθέλουσι (βούλονται?). But what has happened is that the infinitive βουλεύεσθαι has caused a finite verb to get into the infinitive too, quite a common sort of error. Xenophon wrote καὶ προϊστάνται τε... καὶ... ἔχουσι. With that τούτους is right enough.

4. 4. 17 τίνη δ' ἂν τις μᾶλλον πιστεύσειε παρακαταθέσθαι ἢ χρήματα ἢ υἱούς;... τίνη δ' ἂν μᾶλλον πολέμιοι πιστεύσειαν ἢ ἀνοχὰς ἢ σπονδὰς ἢ συνθήκας περὶ εἰρήνης;... τῷ δ' ἂν μᾶλλον

οἱ σύμμαχοι πιστεύσειαν ἢ ἡγεμονίαν ἢ φρονῶν-
χίαν ἢ πόλεις;

In the first sentence παρακαταθέσθαι is explanatory or consecutive, 'whom would a man sooner trust, so as to deposit?': in the third πιστεύσειαν ἡγεμονίαν κ.τ.λ. is quite natural, 'commit these things to his hands'. But in the second can you speak of enemies 'trusting' treaties, etc. to a man in the sense of making them with him in full trust and confidence as to his honour? The phrase can hardly be justified and perhaps an infinitive similar in construction to παρακαταθέσθαι has fallen out, e.g. πιστεύσειαν <ποιεῖσθαι> ἢ ἀνοχὰς.

4. 5. 1 αὐτὸς φανερός ἦν τοῖς συνοῦσιν ἡσκηκὼς αὐτὸν μάλιστα πάντων ἀνθρώπων. ἀσκή has two constructions: ἀσκή τινα I practise (train) a man; and ἀσκή τι I practise a thing, i.e. practise myself in a thing. ἀσκή τινα logically justifies ἀσκή ἑμαυτόν, but then this means exactly the same as ἀσκή τι, which is certainly the common expression. The only passage I find cited for the reflexive pronoun is *Cyrop.* 8. 6. 10 ἐξάγειν δ' ἐπὶ τὴν θήραν τὸν σατράπην τοὺς ἀπὸ θυρῶν καὶ ἀσκέειν αὐτὸν τε καὶ τοὺς σὺν ἑαυτῷ τὰ πολεμικά; but there it is by no means necessary. αὐτόν as subject of ἀσκέειν makes perfectly good sense. Unless therefore other examples are forthcoming, I suspect that αὐτόν in the *Memorabilia* should be αὐτήν, i.e. ἐγκράτεια in the preceding sentence; and this is otherwise better than αὐτόν, as ἡσκηκὼς αὐτόν fails to specify what he trained himself in.

4. 6. 12 ὅπου μὲν ἐκ τῶν τὰ νόμιμα ἐπιτελούντων αἱ ἀρχαὶ καθίστανται, ταύτην μὲν τὴν πολιτείαν ἀριστοκρατίαν ἐνόμιζεν εἶναι.

Is not some word like ἀριστα or μάλιστα needed with ἐπιτελούντων? Cf. *Cyrop.* 8. 1. 8 ὅταν μὲν ὁ ἐπιτοῦν βελτίων γένηται, καθάρω-
τερον τὰ νόμιμα πράττεται· ὅταν δὲ χείρων, φανώτερον.

4. 7. 2 ἕως ἱκανὸς τις γένοιτο, εἴ ποτε δεῖσσει, γῆν μέτρῳ ὀρθῶς ἢ παραλαβεῖν ἢ παραδοῖναι ἢ διανεῖναι ἢ ἔργον ἀποδείξασθαι.

Here again something seems missing. The vague ἔργον ἀποδείξασθαι can hardly stand beside the other specific expressions. Read something like ἢ ἄλλο τι ἔργον (or ἢ ἔργον ὁτιοῦν), ἀποδείξασθαι.

ib. 4 ἐκέλευε δὲ καὶ ἀστρολογίας ἐμπείρους γίγνεσθαι, καὶ ταύτης μέντοι μέχρι τοῦ νυκτός τε ὥραν καὶ μηνὸς καὶ ἐνιαυτοῦ δύνασθαι γινώσκειν ἐνεκα πορείας τε καὶ πλοῦ καὶ φυλακῆς, καὶ, ὅσα ἄλλα ἢ νυκτός ἢ μηνὸς ἢ ἐνιαυτοῦ πράττεται, πρὸς ταῦτ' ἔχειν τεκμηρίους χρῆσθαι, τὰς ὥρας τῶν εἰρημένων διαγινώσκοντας.

There is sense in talking about a thing being done *νυκτός* *by night*, literally at *some time within a night*, but there is none in talking of a thing being done *μηνός* or *ἐνιαυτού*, except when those genitives mean what they clearly do not mean here, *within a month or year*, that is at some time not more than a month or year distant, or in some given month (4. 8. 2) or year. It is plain that the sense here intended is things that have to be done at given times of the night, the month, or the year, or something like that. But no effort will get this sense out of the simple genitives *μηνός* and *ἐνιαυτού*. The insertion of *ταῖς ὥραις* has been thought of, but it is not, I think, quite what is wanted, besides being open to the objection that we already have *ὥραν* and *τὰς ὥρας* in other parts of the sentence. I should say that some expression like '*by observation of night, month, year*' is what Xenophon wrote, e.g. *ἐνιαυτού <τηρήσει>*, or, to repeat a word used in § 2 about geometry, *ἐνιαυτού <μετρήσει>*.

4. 7. 10 εἰ τις μᾶλλον ἢ κατὰ τὴν ἀνθρωπίνην σοφίαν ὠφελείσθαι βούλοιο, συνεβούλευε μαντικῆς ἐπιμελείσθαι.

Is *μᾶλλον ὠφελείσθαι* a good Greek expression? *ὠφελεῖν* is one of the class of verbs noted by Cobet *N.L.* 270, with which are coupled not adverbs but neuter adjectives. The phrases are *πλέον, πλείστα, μέγιστα, μηδέν, τοσοῦτον, ὠφελεῖν*, as any one may see, for instance, by examining *ὠφελῶ* in Ast's *Lexicon Platonicum*. That lexicon does indeed give one passage with *μάλιστα*, but there *μάλιστα* goes in sense with *ἐμοῦ*, not with the verb (*Theages* 127 D εἴπερ οἶε ὑπ' ἐμοῦ μάλιστα ἂν σοι τοῦτον ὠφελήθῃναι). Without therefore pronouncing *μᾶλλον* impossible (especially in Xenophon) we are justified in doubting it, and all the more if there is an obvious and easy remedy at hand. Probably Xenophon wrote *μάσσον*, a word which is now read for *ἐλάσσων* in *Cyrop.* 2. 4. 27 on the authority of Suidas and, again for *ἐλάσσων*, by conjecture in *Resp. Lac.* 12. 5. The superlative *μήκιστος* also occurs in him two or three times. Semi-poetical as it is, it is just such a term as Xenophon rather likes using and just such as to get corrupted to a more familiar word, like *μᾶλλον* or *ἐλαττον*, as in the above instances. In the present context it seems especially suitable to the notion belonging to *μαντική* of something which sees and reaches *further* than ordinary human wisdom. A similar word which occurs several times in the *Memorabilia* is *μείων*, used instead of the familiar *ἥττων*.

4. 8. 7 οὐ διὰ τὸ φιλεῖν ἐμέ . . . ἀλλὰ διόπερ καὶ αὐτοὶ ἂν οἴονται ἐμοὶ συνόντες βέλτιστοι γίνεσθαι.

The editors seem not to notice this very curious use of *διόπερ*, in the sense of *because*. It may of course be a mistake for *διότι*, but it would be unsafe to alter it. Is there any other example of the use? Dem. 3. 19 has been taken so, but quite needlessly. Liddell and Scott mention that *διό* is similarly used in late Greek, quoting [Aristotle] *De Plant.* 2. 4. 825 b 19. That would be easier to alter.

There are two or three topics connected with the *Memorabilia* on which I will add a word.

(1) It is surprising that the *Oeconomicus* and *Symposium* have ever been thought to be detached portions of the *Memorabilia*, a view as old as Galen. Their length is in itself sufficient to disprove the idea, for *Symp.* is a quarter and *Oecon.* about half the total length of *Mem.*, the latter work containing only short or comparatively short conversations. Their contents also unfit them to be parts of it. *Mem.* is serious all through, either defending Socrates from charges brought against him or otherwise showing how good and improving his conversation was. *Symp.* is the account of a drinking-party, introducing Socrates in his lighter moments, characteristic enough, but no part of the earnest *Mem.* Moreover in *Symp.* Socrates is only one talker of many, the most prominent no doubt, but not holding the exclusive position which he does in *Mem.* Just as in Plato's like-named dialogue Agathon, Aristophanes and the rest all have their turn, so in Xenophon. *Oecon.* of course is serious enough, but in it again Socrates is by no means predominant throughout. For two-thirds of it Ischomachus is really the protagonist. Socrates does not become a mute person as in *Sophistes* and *Politicus*, but Ischomachus does most of the talking and sometimes talks continuously for a page or pages together. There is nothing like this in *Mem.*, and it would be inconsistent with the plan of the work. The somewhat clumsy structure of *Oecon.* is indeed noticeable. Xenophon narrates a long conversation between Socrates and Critobulus. A large part of this conversation consists of a narration by Socrates of another conversation he held with Ischomachus; and of this doubly narrated conversation with Ischomachus Ischomachus' narration of a third conversation forms no small part. Plato goes a long way in

the matter of narrated dialogue, but not so far as this. Also, awkwardly enough, *Oecon.* ends at the close of Socrates' conversation with Ischomachus, and without coming back to the talk with Critobulus in the course of which that conversation was narrated.

(2) I have not studied *Mem.* minutely enough to speak with absolute confidence, but the impression left on me by two or three fairly careful readings is that the bulk of it is genuine Xenophon, and that no good case is made out for the theory of incessant and extensive interpolations. We must allow for the fact that Xenophon is only a writer of moderate merit, and that his strength never lies in clear and forcible thinking; and we may assume, what is partly the same thing, that the work was never intended to be other than loose in its structure, and that very probably bits of it were composed at different times, and added on or inserted without sufficient regard to the rest. These things being given, though the reasoning is sometimes obscure or feeble, and the composition rather a patchwork, I see no sufficient grounds for holding that Xenophon did not write most of it as it stands. Not a few of the objections have arisen from imperfections of language, which criticism gradually diminishes in number. Some few I hope are removed in the suggestions above made. Many other objections, as far as I have examined them, appear to me hyper-critical or quite unfounded. There are plenty of real blots and blemishes in the book, which the critics have pointed out along with a number of more or less imaginary ones. When the text has been thoroughly purged of corruptions—and that has not been done yet—I should say that Xenophon ought to bear most of the blame for the faults which remain.

(3). How far does the characteristic Xenophontean vocabulary appear in *Mem.*? What light, if any, does the language throw on the date of composition? I will not give details. Indeed I have not collected them with quite sufficient care. But, *particles apart*, the vocabulary pure and simple is not very markedly Xn., though much of the almost unanalysable style is. *Particles apart* I do not know that the vocabulary is much more marked than that of the first part of the *Hellenics*. There are a few cases of such familiar Xn. words as *σύν*, *ἔστε*, *ἐπεί* temporal. *ὥς* final (I have only noticed one, 1. 4. 6), *πρόσθεν*, *ἐνθα*, *ἦ*, *μέλων*, *τέκνα*, *ἔλεξεν*, *αὔξειν*, and some others, e.g. *ὄμμα*, *εὔπετῶς*, *μοχθεῖν*,

τερπνός, *εὐμένης*, *εὐφροσύνη*, *λυσιτελεῖν*, *ὥσαύτως*, *δωρεῖσθαι*, *ἀλέξεσθαι*, which belong to him; but the proportion is small. *Particles*, however, which are so conspicuously wanting in the first part of the *Hellenics*, are abundant here (as Roquette has shown) and quite Xn. in character. If therefore we are to give *Mem.* a decidedly later date, it must, I think, as far as the vocabulary goes, be on the strength of the *particles*. Again, there is not, as far as I see, any marked difference in vocabulary between different parts of the book, unless it be in the passage I am about to mention.

The well-known story in Book II. of the *Choice of Heracles* is of especial interest, and as there is a question whether and how far the language is that of Xenophon, or Prodicus, or (as I understand Gilbert, the Teubner editor, to say) some third person, I have thought it worth while to set down here the words in it that have a more or less Xn. character, referring the reader to previous articles for more information about them. The story occupies four pages in the Teubner text, and just as many in the new Oxford edition.

Mem. 2. 1. 21. *ἐπεί* of time. 22. *εὐπρεπής* good-looking, ὄμμα twice, θαμά. 23. *πρόσθεν*, *τερπνά*. 24. *τέρπομαι*, *εὐφραίνομαι*, *ἀπόνως* (X. is always keen on *φιλοπονία*). 27. *ἦτηρ*. 28. *ἰθέλω* = *βούλομαι* (*Anab.* 4. 4. 6), *αὔξω*, *σύν*. 29. *εὐφροσύνη*. 30. *τλήμων*. 31. *ἀπόνως* again. 32. *εὐμένης*. 33. *ἄμοχος*, *γεραίτεροι*, *ἀγάλλομαι*, *πεπρωμένος* (*Hell.* 6. 3. 6.), *τοκεύς*. To these we may add as in some degree of like nature (30) *καθυπνοῖν* (31), *ἀθέατος* (32), *συλλήπτρια* (32), *χωρίς ἐμοῦ* (32), *μακαριστός*, *Ἥσυχία* (21), a *solitary place*, *solitude*, is also noticeable.

The passage is highly elaborated, and that is why there are so many of these words occurring in it, quite out of proportion to the average number. We know of course nothing about the style of Prodicus, except that he was nice in his choice of words and careful, perhaps over careful, in discriminating synonyms. No doubt on such a theme he too may have used some of these words. Socrates is made to say of him (34), in words curiously like those of the *Theaetetus* 168 c about Protagoras, that he used *ἐτι μεγαλειστός* *ῥήμασιν ἢ ἐγὼ νῦν*. But the coincidence of all these Xn. expressions, taken along with many other Xn. touches in the passage, leaves no doubt in my mind that the writer was Xenophon, not Prodicus, nor another.

HERBERT RICHARDS.

ARETHAS AND THE CODEX CLARKIANUS

(PLATO, *Phaedo*, 96 a-c).

In an earlier part of this *Review* (C.R. xvi. pp. 16, 17), Dr. E. H. Gifford suggests that the oldest corrector of the Clarke Plato derived his corrections of *Phaedo* 96 a-c from the MS. of Eusebius written by Baanes for Arethas in A.D. 914, that is to say, nineteen years after the Plato had been written for the same patron by John the Calligrapher. This is supposed to confirm the belief that the diorthotes of the *Clarkianus* and the writer of its scholia was none other than Arethas himself. I have no desire to dispute this belief, which is held by many scholars of repute. The *ἐκτρισάμην Ἀρέθας Πατρὺς* of the D'Orville Euclid (which is admitted to be written by the same hand) is difficult to get over, though it is not, perhaps, inconceivable that the head of a *scriptorium* should write a *subscriptio* in his employer's name, and it is hard not to share Mr. T. W. Allen's scepticism as to the performance of such mechanical work as the numbering of sheets by Arethas himself. But, however that may be, it can be shown that Dr. Gifford's argument does not tell one way or the other.

In the first place, if we are to adopt the view that the corrections of the diorthotes are derived from Eusebius, we ought to be convinced that the readings in question do not come from any more obvious source. Now, these readings are not in any way peculiar to Eusebius; they are the readings of the great majority of Platonic MSS. In fact, it is the readings of the first hand in the *Clarkianus* (B) that are quite peculiar to that MS. and two others derived either from the same archetype or, possibly, from a copy of the *Clarkianus* itself made before diorthosis. In particular, the supposed Eusebian readings of the diorthotes (whom I shall call B²) are in every case the readings of the *Marcianus* (App. Class. 4. 1), which Schanz calls T, and also, for the most part, of Stobaeus. Unfortunately, Schanz has not edited the *Phaedo* since he discovered the importance of T, and no full collation is available. I am, therefore, obliged to show the true state of the case by the following bit of *apparatus criticus*. The readings of T are taken from a photograph in my possession. I have also re-examined the passage in the *Clarkianus* itself without finding anything new. I quote Stobaeus from Wachsmuth's edition.

Phaedo 96 a, 5 βούλομαι...6 κέβης B² T Stob. (6 ἐγὼ...κέβης Euseb.): om. B
a 8 ὑπερήφανος B T: ὑπέρφρων in marg. T:
ὑπερήφανον Euseb. Stob. a 9 εἶναι
εἰδέναι τὰς B² T Euseb.: εἶναι τὰς B: εἰδέναι
εἶναι τὰς Stob. αἰτίας B Stob.: γρ.
αἰτίας in marg. T: ἱστορίας T Theodoretus
b 1 πρῶτον τὰ B² T Euseb. Stob.:
τὰ B b 2 καὶ τὸ ψυχρόν B² T Euseb.
Stob.: καὶ ψυχρόν B b 9 κατὰ ταῦτα
B Euseb. Stob.: καὶ ταῦτα T c 2
οὐρανόν τε καὶ B² T Euseb. Stob.: οὐρανὸν
καὶ B c 6 ὥστε ἀπέμαθον καὶ ταῦτα ἂ
πρὸ τοῦ ᾧμην εἰδέναι B² T Euseb.: ὥστε ἂ
ποτ' ἔμαθον καὶ ἂ πρὸ τοῦ ᾧμην εἰδέναι B.

Now B² is older than T, so that T cannot be the source of his corrections. On the other hand, T is independent of B and B², as has been clearly proved by Schanz and others. I may add to this proof that B² also wrote the scholia in the *Clarkianus*, and that the scholia of T are quite different. It is only the later hands that write B scholia in T or T scholia in B.

In the second place, if we are to believe that the corrections of B² in *Phaedo* 96 a-c come from Eusebius, we ought to be convinced that there are no such corrections to be found in passages not quoted by Eusebius or other writers whose works we may reasonably suppose to have existed in the library of Arethas. What we do find is the very reverse. John the Calligrapher is continually making mistakes of the same type as those to be found in the passage from the *Phaedo*, and these are very often corrected by B². These corrections are not conjectural; for they are identical as a rule with the readings of T. Surely the inference is that the diorthosis of the *Clarkianus* was made from an older MS. now lost, from which T was also derived. That it was not the same as the MS. given out to be copied may perhaps be implied by the fairly common ἐν ἄλλῳ, but it is not very probable that ἐν ἄλλῳ at *Phaedo* 96 c, 7 means 'in my copy of Eusebius' and something quite different elsewhere.

Whatever view we may hold as to the identification of B² with Arethas, we may dismiss the idea that his corrections come from the codex of Eusebius written by Baanes; for he was clearly in a position to correct the mistakes of B without such help.

JOHN BURNET.

INTERROGATIVE COMMANDS.

As Professor Sonnenschein, in his paper on this subject, has referred to something which I wrote on οὐ μὴ in *C.R.* vol. x., may I be allowed to add this?

The liveliness of *Quin abi!* (imperative in form) for *Quin abis?* (imperative in meaning)—as if we began politely with an interrogative, and ended with kicking our friend downstairs—seems to me hardly to carry with it the possibility of *Nonne abi!* for *Nonne abibis?*—to say nothing of the further difficulty caused by the prohibitive ('won't you—don't!') How we should be scared if, as the right reading for οὐκ ἐμπλήσετε τὴν θάλασσαν τριήρων; οὐκ ἀναστάντες ἡδὴ πορεύσεσθε εἰς τὸν Πειραιᾶ; οὐ κατέλξετε τὰς ναῦς; some Egyptian mummy-wrapping were to offer us οὐκ ἐμπλήσατε...οὐ πορεύθητε...οὐ κατέλκυσate! And yet how is οὐ δρᾶ or οὐ μὴ δρᾶ worse than οὐ μὴ δράσης = *nonne ne feceris?*

But, again, it must be maintained that the prohibitive form is not οὐ μὴ δράσης but οὐ μὴ δράσεις. Professor Goodwin, it is true, regarding οὐ μὴ negantis and οὐ μὴ prohibentis as identical in origin, argues for occasional examples of οὐ μὴ δράσης in the prohibitive sense. Against this, I must not repeat here what I said in the paper to which Professor Sonnenschein refers. I believe the prohibitive form is always future, the question of reading being always between η and ει, except in *Nub.* 296, where ποιήσεις being written ποιήσης has led, I suppose, to the error of σκώψης for σκώψει. Professor Sonnenschein (who writes ης and η, both for future and subjunctive) seems to think that the subjunctive is the normal form, and the future exceptional. But, when he finds οὐ μὴ καταβήσει, or οὐ μὴ δυσμενὴς ἔσει φίλοις, or οὐ μὴ προσώσεις χεῖρα, or οὐκ εἰ σύ τ' οἶκος, σύ τε Κρέων κατὰ στέγας, καὶ μὴ τὸ μηδὲν ἄλγος εἰς μέγ' οἴσετε, he sticks to his theory, and says μὴ ἔσει, μὴ προσώσεις, etc., are also pro-

hibitive. This notion of a prohibitive μὴ with future indicative (Goodwin, *M.T.* § 70) is certainly untenable, and cannot be supported by φυλάξτε-καὶ-μὴ-βουλῆσεσθε ('you will take-care-and-not-wish') Dem. *Aristocr.* § 117, and the similar sentence in Lysias, *Or.* 29 § 13 (Bekker 19): with which may be compared *Gorg.* 510 d, τίνα ἂν τρόπον ἐγὼ μέγα δυναίμην καὶ μηδεὶς με ἄδικοι;

I come back to the explanation—as οὐ μενεῖς; = μένε, so οὐ μὴ μενεῖς; = μὴ μένε. This is not only an absolutely simple and satisfactory explanation in itself, but it is, I hold, necessitated by sentences like οὐ μὴ μενεῖς ἀλλ' ἄπει; and οὐκ ἄπει μηδὲ λαλήσεις; (See Professor Jebb on οὐ σίγ' ἀνέξει μηδὲ δελίαν ἄρει; *Αἰ.* 75.)

Professor Sonnenschein complains that I make no attempt to explain why the second negative in οὐ μὴ λαλήσεις; (will you not cease talking?) is μὴ and not οὐ. Is it not enough to say that the reason is the same as for μὴ in μὴ λάλει (cease talking), itself? Much trouble is caused by assuming that there is a special value in μὴ. Really, it is οὐ that has a special value, that of negative assertion. Wherever for any reason assertion is unsuitable, the negative used is μὴ. I said, on p. 244, in the paper referred to (*C.R.* vol. x.), 'μὴ is the "not" which avoids assertion...in εἰ μὴ ἔχει, or ὅ μὴ ἔχων, or μὴ ἔχειν, or μὴ δρᾶ, or μὴ δράσης, or οὐ μὴ δράσεις;' And I enlarged upon this in an examination of φυλάξτε καὶ μὴ βουλῆσεσθε, and other instructive irregularities in the use of μὴ, in *C.R.* vol. ii., p. 322. Οὐκ...οὐ μενεῖς; if we could have it, would mean 'Is it not the case that you will not remain?' (= οὐκ ἀληθές, or δηλόν, ἐστὶν ὅτι οὐ μενεῖς;) But the οὐ = *nonne* of οὐ μὴ μενεῖς; exhorts or commands us to do something, viz. to not-remain; and requires μή, just as ὅπως μὴ μενεῖς, with the same meaning, requires it.

R. WHITELAW.

CICERO ON THE EPICUREAN GODS.

GIUSSANI's prolegomena to his valuable edition of Lucretius contains a long chapter on 'The Gods of Epicurus and Isonomia.' Here Giussani propounds a theory first set forth by Lachelier¹ and Scott² and further

developed by himself. His own view is ingenious and novel and is worth examining. To understand his theory, the previous criticisms of the difficult and

Gods,' *Journal of Philology*, 1883, pp. 212-247. Mr. Scott has here worked out the theory with great learning and ingenuity.

¹ *Revue de Philologie*, 1877, p. 264.

² 'The Physical Constitution of the Epicurean

corrupt texts bearing on Epicurean theology must be taken into account. I hope ere long to discuss the subject in full elsewhere.

Epicurus must have treated the subject of the Gods at length but, evidently, in a way which too much taxed the patience of his opponents, who may have some excuse for not thoroughly grasping his point of view. Light was first thrown on the subject by Schoemann in his admirable paper 'On the Theology of Epicurus,'¹ and Mr. Mayor in his excellent commentary on Cicero's *De Natura Deorum* has grappled fairly and fully with all the difficulties of the question and has left the subject much clearer than he found it.

Lachelier's theory is based upon a passage of Cicero which is so vague in expression that the interpretation is almost hopelessly difficult. Schoemann says that Cicero himself could not have understood what he wrote here. All scholars agree that Cicero is here translating from a Greek original. It appears to me certain that he is not merely translating but also attempting to condense and give the gist of a passage which baffled his understanding or, probably, which he grudged taking the pains to understand. He begins by referring sarcastically to Epicurus's definition of the Divine nature as one too subtle for an average mind to understand and apologises for the briefness with which he is going to set it forth. Probably every clause of his Latin represents a sentence at least in the Greek. Cotta, the Academic critic, referring to the Divine images, says 'If you yourselves who defend the doctrine understand it, I should then be ashamed to say I do not understand it' (§ 109). Thus Cicero warns us broadly enough that his account of the subject must be received with caution.

The passage runs: Haec quamquam et inventa sunt acutius et dicta subtilius ab Epicuro, quam ut quivis ea possit agnoscere,² tamen fretus intelligentia vestra dissero brevius quam causa desiderat. Epicurus autem, qui res occultas et penitus abditas non modo viderit animo, sed etiam sic tractet, ut manu, docet eam esse vim et naturam deorum, ut primum non sensu, sed mente cernatur, nec soliditate quadam neque eadem ad numerum sit,³ ut ea, quae ille propter firmitatem στερέμνια appellat; sed,

¹ *De Epicuri Theologia*, Opuscula, vol. iv. pp. 336-359. Hirzel also discusses the subject with his usual acuteness, 'Untersuchungen zu Cicero's Philosophischen Schriften,' Part I. 1877.

² Not 'too hard for anyone to understand' but 'for every one, i.e. for the average person.'

³ Mayor inserts the words eadem., 'sit.'

imaginibus similitudine et transitione⁴ perceptis, cum infinita simillimarum imaginum series⁵ ex innumerabilibus individuis existat et ad nos⁶ affluat, cum⁷ maximis voluptatibus in eas imagines mentem intentam infixamque nostram intelligentiam capere, quae sit et beata natura et aeterna⁸ (De Nat. D. I. 49).

The careless scribes who altered ad nos first to ad eos and then to ad deos have called forth much wasted ingenuity.

The conclusion is forced upon me that Cicero has confused the word *σώματα* which he found in his original in the sense 'the Divine bodies' with *σώματα* in its common sense, 'atoms.' He repeats this misunderstanding later at § 105 where Cotta, the critic of the Academy, repeats his opponent's definition of the Divine being, before criticising it, in the same order as at § 49, while in his final clause mens nostra confirms us in reading ad nos.

Sic enim dicebas speciem Dei percipi cogitatione, non sensu, nec esse in ea ullam soliditatem neque eandem ad numerum permanere, eamque esse ejus visionem ut similitudine et transitione cernatur, neque deficiat unquam ex infinitis corporibus similitum accessio, ex eoque fieri ut in haec intenta mens nostra beatam illam naturam et sempiternam putet.

(Similitudine and transitione imply the word *imaginum* which must be supplied with *similium*.)

How could images be produced from 'atoms'? Images can only come from a 'thing,' here a form in human shape. Is it possible that the text at § 49 has become corrupt and that for ex innumerabilibus individuis we ought to read ex innumerabilibus corporibus divinis, the words *divinus* and *individuis* being at times confused in the MSS.? Immediately after this passage (in § 50) Cicero shews that the number of

⁴ Transitione. The context would seem to require continuatione, 'a continued series' rather than transitione. It is only the continued stream of images which can cause perception: singly, these images are imperceptible. See Lucr. iv. 87-9: 104-9: 256 ff.

⁵ The MSS. read species. I follow Briege's excellent emendation which seems almost required by affluat. See Mayor's note. If Cicero wrote species, it would only be in keeping with the vagueness of the whole passage.

⁶ The MSS. have deos: one or two eos. The correction is due to Lambinus.

⁷ Giussani changes cum to tum and makes this word the beginning of a new sentence (*Studi Lucreziani*, p. 259).

⁸ Schoemann reads quae sit et beatae naturae et aeternae: but the words as they stand give the necessary meaning: 'what that being is which is at once blessed and eternal.'

immortal beings is as countless as that of mortals. It is more probable that we have to deal at § 49 with a careless translation than with a corruption, but it seems not too bold to say that Cicero's Greek original there had 'from the countless Divine bodies.' Doubtless the never-ceasing flow of Divine images presupposes an infinity of matter, but it presupposes still more directly an infinite number of Gods.

Epicurus uses the word *στερέμνια* to denote 'solid bodies.'¹ It could not be applied, for example, to the *εἶδωλα* which are films, having comparatively no depth. Scott says 'The clause (ut ea quae ille propter firmitatem *στερέμνια* appellat) would seem to assert that the Gods are of the nature of *εἶδωλα* rather than of tangible bodies or are *surfaces* rather than *solids*. And this agrees perfectly with what we are told elsewhere about the quasi-corpus of the Gods.' He then quotes Cotta's saying that the Divine bodies have nihil conereti, nihil solidi, nihil expressi, nihil eminentis (§ 75) and says that other contemptuous references by opponents (*e.g.* I. 123 lineamentis dumtaxat extremis, non habitu solido: II. 59 monogrammos deos, 'Gods in outline': de Div. II. 40, deos perlucidos et perflabiles) all suggest beings having *shape* or *outline*, but not *bulk*.² The aim of such sarcastic references is by exaggeration to make the Gods of Epicurus a butt for ridicule: they cannot be taken literally and used for evidence. If the bodies of the Gods must not be called 'solid,' it is not because they are 'films,' but because their texture is too ethereal.

Scott explains the passage thus: 'The Gods, though material, are not firm and solid like the gross bodies of men and visible things, but of a far finer texture. They have not *numerical* or *material* but only formal identity; in other words, the matter of which they are composed, instead of remaining fixed and identically the same through a finite space of time, as is the case with visible and tangible objects, is *perpetually passing away to be replaced by fresh matter*, the *form* or arrangement of matter alone remaining unchanged. They are formed by perpetual successions of "images" or material films, of precisely similar form, which, having arisen (in some unexplained way) out of the infinite atoms dispersed through the universe, stream to a sort of focus and there, by their meeting constitute for a moment, the being of the gods: then streaming away again in all directions, they pass into the (material) mind of man.'

¹ Diog. L. x. 50.

Scott, following Hirzel, quotes from Aristotle to shew that 'nec ad numerum' represents the Greek *κατ' ἀριθμὸν* as opposed to *κατ' εἶδος*. The former phrase denotes a thing which is permanently the same in its material substance, like the pond, as opposed to that which changes in matter but remains the same in form alone (*ταὐτὸ κατ' εἶδος*) like the river. The Divine body is like the river.

The images which form the Divine bodies arise out of infinite matter 'in some unexplained way,' says Lachelier. Mr. Scott says, 'No clear explanation of the origin of the images can be given.' The images pass 'from the places where they take their rise to the point where by their meeting they constitute, for a moment, the Divine being and from that point again to the human mind.' But, before all else, it is necessary for the proof of such a theory to explain *how* the images come into being. According to Epicurus no 'image' can be produced from anything but a 'thing' or compound substance (*res*): atoms can never, even if infinite in number produce an image in human form except through the medium of a human being.

How can we reconcile such fanciful abstractions as these with the harmless Epicurean gods who enjoy all good things and constantly meditate on their own happiness? Lucretius states that 'Nature supplies all the needs of the gods' in the intermundia. Philodemus asserts that they require and use food; statements which cannot well apply to bodies which are mere superficies. How can beings whose body is merely surface without bulk continue to throw off in such constant streams those Divine images which, however rare, are still material? Why should the focuses at which the images meet have the power to generate a Divine body in human likeness from matter which, the next moment is flying from them in the shape of Divine images? What use have such phantoms as these, who have no individual existence or personality, for speech and philosophic converse, which Philodemus insists they enjoy? Again, had Scott's notion been true, is it likely that not one of the many critics who make merry over Epicurus's theology would have exploited these Deities-in-flux on the humorous side? But the whole theory insults the ingenuity of Epicurus who could easily, if put to it, have devised something far more plausible. Epicurus was the last man to have thought to satisfy the human craving for Gods who may be worshipped with mere abstractions

of this kind. Scott has said, 'All that we find in Lucretius is an unfulfilled promise to treat the subject later, as though he had postponed it from a consciousness of its difficulty.' No wonder he feels it necessary to add the comment that 'Lucretius had not as yet carefully studied or fully understood the Epicurean doctrine of the Divine Nature.'

One objection is sufficient by itself to discredit Scott and Giussani's theory: it annihilates one central doctrine of Epicureanism. To Epicurus the flow of the Divine images into our minds is proof positive that Gods exist. But if the Divine images arise 'in some unexplained way' from the atoms, why should they not flow directly into our minds? Why assume at all that they first meet together and form Divine bodies? On this theory the images cease to be a proof that Gods exist. They could only prove the existence of—images. Thus Epicurus's whole theology falls to the ground.

Brieger's wide knowledge of Epicurean doctrine enables him to criticise Giussani shrewdly here. Brieger, however, accepts his view in part. 'Giussani,' he says, 'compares the Divine body to a waterfall, the appearance of which remains the same while the water forming it changes every moment. A Being existing in this fashion is immortal, if the influx of homogeneous matter does not cease, for every interruption of that which subsists in a constant 'Becoming' is without enduring effect, 'like a shot fired into a waterfall.' That such Beings can exist is testified by Philodemus *περὶ εὐσεβείας*—Gomperz, *Hercul. Stud.* p. 110. So far Giussani is undoubtedly right.¹ The sentence of Philodemus referred to is quite insufficient to justify such a statement: the interpretations extorted from it differ very widely; its meaning is simply a riddle.² This and other fragments of Philodemus suggest that Epicureanism had developed a new terminology since its founder's day.

Another passage in *Diog. L.* X. 139 is also more or less corrupt and almost as vague and difficult to understand as that in Cicero. It is a slipshod comment of his own which Diogenes adds after the first of the *κίρραι δόξαι*.

ἐν ἅλλοις δὲ φησι τοὺς θεοὺς λόγῳ θεωρητοὺς,³

¹ *Jahresh. über class. Alt.* 1900, p. 5.

² Scott's version, made by dint of transpositions, &c., may be found in *J. of Phil.* p. 232: that of Giussani, who does not adopt these changes, at *Studi Lucrez.* p. 261. (Giussani's ἀποπλείσθαι seems a misprint).

³ Gassendi reads οὐ μὲν...ὥς δὲ and translates thus: *Aliis vero in locis ait Deos (non sensu sed) mente cerni ipsosque non (soliditate quadam) con-*

οὺς μὲν [οὐ μὲν Schoemann] κατ' ἀριθμὸν ἐφέσιτῳτας, οὺς δὲ [γνωστοὺς δὲ Schoemann] κατὰ ὁμοειδέειαν ἐκ τῆς συνεχοῦς ἐπιφύσεως τῶν ὁμοίων εἰδῶλων ἐπὶ τὸ αὐτὸ ἀποτετελεσμένους ἀνθρωποειδεῖς.⁴

It looks as if both Cicero and Diogenes had been puzzled by the same original and had both tried to give its drift in brief. The slovenly-worded sentence has been supposed to mean that Epicurus believed in two classes of gods. Usener, somewhat arbitrarily, omits it as a scholion. Schoemann's brilliant emendation γνωστοὺς is based on the principle that the human mind can apprehend the Gods because the substance of both is the same, namely the finest atoms: it would mean that the Gods 'are discerned by the mind owing to the likeness of their substance.'

Mayor accepts the passage as genuine and thinks it may refer to an esoteric and an exoteric Epicurean theology so that 'we may apparently assume that Epicurus himself or some of his followers acknowledged a divinity of a more spiritual type, distinct from those in the intermundia. An attentive consideration of Cicero's language forces on the reader the conclusion that there were two distinct systems of theology recognised in the Epicurean school, one of a more esoteric nature, taken mainly from their great authority, Democritus, the other more suited to the popular belief: which two systems have, not unnaturally, been confounded together by Cicero.'⁵

There is, however, no reliable evidence for any such esoteric Epicurean theology.

sistentis aut (distinctione) numerabilis, verumtamen similitudine quasi hominiformis, propter affluxum continentem imaginum ad exhibendum menti nostrae talem naturam comparatarum. Hirzel (p. 73) reads οὐς μὲν...ὥς δὲ and understands the words as referring on the one hand to the true Gods who dwell in the intermundia and, on the other, to the Divine images. We know that Democritus did to some extent regard the Divine εἰδῶλα as having a certain independent existence. It may be due to a remembrance of Democritus that Cicero on two occasions speaks as if, for the moment, he regarded the flying Divine images as equivalent to Deity and as eternal (*De Nat. Deorum*, i. 109 and ii. 76), but Hirzel puts an extreme strain upon these mere allusions. Cicero knows well that the Epicurean Gods are altogether outside the world.

⁴ Schoemann explains ἐπὶ τὸ αὐτὸ ἀποτετελεσμένους to mean the same thing as Cotta's words in Cicero § 49 *fluentium frequenter transitione visionem fieri ut e multis una videatur*. He adds *Nam recte ἐπὶ τὸ αὐτὸ [sc. ἀποτελέσμα] ἀποτελεῖσθαι dici poterant τὰ εἰδῶλα quorum effectus (hoc est enim ἀποτελέσμα) unus idemque esset ut forma divina humanae non absimilis (ἀνθρωποειδῶς) animo insinuaretur* (p. 357).

⁵ On Cicero, *De Nat. Deorum*, i. § 49, pp. 148 and 147 (note).

Until we can find the original which Cicero so hastily summarised, we shall probably never understand either how Epicurus conceived the material being of his Gods or what Cicero meant in § 49. That passage, as it stands, is a slough

in which ingenious explanations without number have merely been swallowed up.

In another article I hope to discuss Giussani's view.

JOHN MASSON.

VIRGIL AND CALPURNIUS.

Verg. georg. iii 400—403.

quod surgente die mulsero horisque diurnis,
nocte premunt; quod iam tenebris et sole
cadente,
sub lucem exportant calathis (adit oppida
pastor),
aut parco sale contingunt hiemique
reponunt.

This reading of u. 402 was first attacked by Scaliger on Catull. 61 219: 'omnium poetarum principem ita interrupte cum suis parenthesisibus loquentem faciunt, ne in iure apud grammaticum tribunal soloeismi postuletur. atqui una litterula mutanda germanam Vergilii lectionem effeceris:

sub lucem exportans calathis adit oppida
pastor.'

It is indiscreet of Conington to quote in defence Aen. i 150 'furor arma ministrat' and to say that it is 'similarly thrown in to account for what has just been said': 'adit oppida pastor' does *not* account for what has just been said, but amplifies it, which is not the office of parenthesis; and Aen. i 150 'iamque faces et saxa uolant (furor arma ministrat)' is a telling contrast and a good example of parenthesis appropriately used. The change of *-ns* to *-nt* is easy everywhere (Ribbeck prol. pp. 255 sq. cites Aen. iii 527, 651, viii 45, ix 130, x 417, 540, 696) and was here the easier for *premut* standing above; and *exportans* is now actually found in the scholia Bernensia and is admitted into the text by Wagner, Ribbeck, and Haupt.

It amends the language, but the sense it does not amend. 'The morning's milk is made into cheese at night': so far so good. 'The evening's milk'—now we are going to hear that the evening's milk is made into cheese at some other time, or that it is not made into cheese—the evening's milk is either carried to town at daybreak in baskets or else salted and put by for the winter.'

But the stuff men carry in baskets and salt for the winter is cheese, not milk; so it appears that the evening's milk as well as the morning's (they do not get much sleep in this dairy) is made into cheese at night. Was it then simply in order to turn round and laugh at us that you led us to suppose the contrary? But to proceed: you have now told us that the cheese from the evening's milk is sold or salted: what are we to infer about the cheese from the morning's milk? The natural inference is that something else becomes of it; and if so we should like to know what. But you are so playful to-day that we dare not draw the natural inference, for fear you should turn round and laugh at us again: perhaps we had best assume that there is no difference in destination, as there seemingly was none in manufacture, between these two batches of cheese which you so carefully distinguish. This is didactic poetry: 'the morning's milk is made into cheese at night (never mind what afterwards becomes of it); the evening's milk (never mind what happens in the interval) is carried to town next morning in cheese-baskets or salted for winter eating.' 'The horse has four legs; the mare has two ears and a tail'.

I do not know if it was Fea in 1799 who first proposed the amended punctuation

quod surgente die mulsero horisque diurnis,
nocte premunt; quod iam tenebris et sole
cadente,
sub lucem: exportans calathis adit oppida
pastor,
aut parco sale contingunt hiemique
reponunt.

i.e. 'quod mane mulsero, nocte premunt; quod uespero mulsero, sub lucem premunt: casum partim uendunt partim hiemi reponunt.' The omission of *mulsero* in 401 gives the reader fair warning that *premut* will be omitted in 402; there is no inequality in the singular 'exportans adit oppida

pastor' (=mittunt pastorem ad oppida exportantem) beside the plurals 'contingunt' and 'reponunt'; in short the whole sentence is so lucid and well-balanced that it is sure to be called unpoetical and un-Virgilian. Nevertheless I believe the verses were thus read and understood by a poet, and a Virgilian poet, much earlier than any of our MSS. The imitation, like the model, has been corrupted, but in another part: put them side by side and they emend one another.

Calp. v 32—35.

at, si forte uaces, dum matutina relaxat
frigora sol, tumidis spument tibi mulctra
papillis.

implebis, quod mane fluet; rursusque
premetur
mane, quod occiduæ mulsura redegerit horæ.

implebis in u. 34 has no meaning, and Haupt writes 'tumidis *spumantia* mulctra papillis | *implebit*, quod mane fluet' with a strange tautology,—quod mane fluet implebit mulctra dum sol *matutina* frigora

relaxat'; *Vlitius' inde premes* is not much better. Calpurnius is saying what Virgil said and saying it in the selfsame way:

in tenebris, quod mane fluet, rursusque
premetur
mane, quod occiduæ mulsura redegerit
horæ.

intebis, intrebis, inplebis. The loss of *en* before *eb* has again corrupted this word at Manil. iii 645 'luces aequantia signa diebus', where Scaliger roughly alters *luces* to *noctes*, Barthius and Bentley more skilfully *diebus* to *tenebris*: *tebris* looked like *iebus*. 'rursus' will of course mean 'vice uersa', not 'iterum': 'in tenebris premetur, quod mane fluet, rursusque mane, quod uesperis'.

A similar echo in later poetry confirms the true punctuation of *Æo.* iv 683 sq. 'date uulnera lymphis | abluam'. Ovid's imitation met. xiii 531 sq. 'uulnera lymphis | abluere' is quoted by the editors; but add *Auson.* *ephem.* 2 5 sq. 'da rore fontano *abluam* | manus et os et lumina'.

A. E. HOUSMAN.

NOTES ON HORACE ODES, BOOK I.

9. 5. *ligna super foco large reponens*.

The force of *re-* in *reponens* is here something more definite than is given by the rendering 'duly placing.' Two stages of meaning may be observed in the word: (1) (more definitely), placing a thing in exchange for something else; (2) (more generally), placing a thing where it ought to be, 'duly placing.' The present is an instance of the former use; replacing the burnt out logs by new ones, 'making up the fire.' Exactly similar is *reddo* in *Pl. Most.* 110; the old tiles have come off, *dominus indiligens reddere alias neuolt*. In the next ode comes an instance of the other and more general meaning of *reponere*: *tu pius laetis animas reponis sedibus*; the pious shades are restored to their proper abode, heaven.

20. 10. *Caecubum et prelo domitam Caleno tu bibes uiam*: On this passage I had a suggestion to make, which I still think it may be worth while to put forward, although I feel it very possible that Mr. Ensor has hit on what will be accepted as the true solution. But I still feel some hesitation in accepting

a view that implies in the last stanza a distinction between different kinds of expensive wines—I have *Caecuban* and *Calene*; I don't keep *Falernian* or *Formian*. It seems to me more probable that the names are all used generically, and selected to give local colour. Moreover they are carefully paired, *Caecuban* and *Formian* being growths of *Latium*, while *Calene* and *Falernian* are growths of *Campania*, and the chiasmic order looks rather suspiciously ornamental. I should put a note of interrogation after *uiam*; 'do you suppose you are going to drink, etc.' But probably *bibes* should be altered to *bibas*, making the question of the same form as *tu pulses?* (*Satt.* II. vi. 30) etc. This view would imply that *poto* in line 1 and *bibo* in line 10 are synonymous; but the Editor's remarks (*C.R.* pp. 113 foll.) raise here a new point for consideration.

37. 4. *tempus erat*. In *C.R.* III. 75, Mr. T. E. Page illustrates these words by *Martial* 4. 33. There may also be adduced *Livy* viii. 5. 3 *tempus erat tandem iam uos nobiscum nihil pro imperio agere*. In all these

places the idea is present that the time is too late, or the occasion is unsuitable, for the proposal to be a practical one; cf. Conington on Verg. Ecl. I 79 *poterat*. It was hardly, perhaps, for the poet to propose a *lectisternium*. At any rate Horace was not driven to use 'erat' by metrical considera-

tions; he might easily have written 'adest' if he had chosen: as likewise it was no metrical necessity that made him omit the preposition in *Scriberis Vario*, when he could so easily have written *Scribere a Vario*.

E. S. THOMPSON.

May, 1902.

AN EMENDATION OF PERSIUS.

hoc satis? an deceat pulmonem rumpere
nentis

stemmate quod Tusco ramum millesime ducis
censoremue tuum uel quod trabeate salutas?

Persius, *Satires* iii. 27 sqq.

The correctness of the MS tradition of the last line has long been doubted: but no probable emendation has been proposed. We would suggest for the corrupt *ue tuum* the slight alteration *utulum*.

As we understand from the Editor of the *Classical Review* that the conjecture has been communicated to him by each of us independently, we gladly accede to his request that it should be published over our joint names.

A. C. CLARK.

A. B. COOK.

A. B. KEITH.

ON TACITUS *AGRICOLA* 28.

A COHORT of the Usipi stationed obviously in West Britain, mutinied, murdered their officers, and seized three galleys belonging to the Roman fleet (in which they attempted to return to their country), 'adactis per vim gubernatoribus.' The MSS. then have '*et uno remigante*, suspectis duobus eoque interfectis, nondum vulgato rumore ut miraculum praevehebantur.' Here '*et uno remigante*' is of course absurd. The easiest correction seems to me to be *et uno <regente> remigantes*. The one surviving captain steered the first galley, and the others followed it, probably attached by hawsers. Thus they coasted round Britain (it is uncertain whether they went round the Land's End or round Scotland, probably the latter); then apparently they tried to sail in order to cross the North Sea, four were wrecked

on the coast of the Low Countries. Tacitus says '*amissis per inscitiam regendi navibus*.' It is no wonder that the ships were lost, as there was only one seaman in the three, but critics have supposed that '*per inscitiam regendi*' implies that this surviving seaman was absent from the outset, and have tried to correct '*uno remigante*' in this sense (*uno refugo*, *ante suspectis* &c., Ulrich, is the best attempt). It is surely not necessary to force the point, and *remigante* is almost sure to be genuine. If Tacitus must be made as consistent as the critics wish, we may write *amissis per inscitiam regendi navibus <duabus>*, or we may, as he tells us that the mutineers were obliged to resort to cannibalism, assume that they had unwisely eaten the skipper.

W. R. PATON.

NOTES.

ἀτρέμα (ἀτρεμέ) = *SLIGHTLY*.—Can any of your readers exactly parallel this use of the word as found in the following fragments cited by Athenaeus?—

- (1) κολίκιον
ὕδαρς ὁ παῖς περιῆγε τοῦ πεντωβόλου
ἀτρέμα παρεξέστηκός (Lycophron ap. Ath. 420 B).
(2) τὰ κρεῶδι' ἔσται τ' οὐκ ἀπεξηραμμένα,
ἔγχυλα δ' ἀτρεμέ καὶ δροσώδη τὴν σχέσιν
(Alexis ap. Ath. 383 D).

In both passages it will be seen that the word is applied to the table, and is possibly a colloquial usage. ἦκα is used in this sense, but not apparently ἀτρέμας, and the nearest approach I can find to our fragments in Tragedy is Eur. Bacch. 1072, where the meanings of *gently* and *slightly* easily glide into one another, as in English. Not unlike in Latin is Caesar's *collis leniter* acclivis and *loco leniter* declivi (Bell. Gall. 7. 19, 83), while *ventus leniter* pluvius which Lewis and Short quote from Pliny would seem to correspond very closely with the Greek idiom above. Liddell and Scott give no hint of the usage at all.

W. F. R. SHILLETO.

Oxford: May, 1902.

ASCIOS: EXUMBRES.—In *An Eighth-Century Latin-Anglo-Saxon Glossary preserved in the Library of Corpus Christi College, Cambridge (MS. No. 144)* edited by J. H. HESSLES, Cambr. University Press, 1890, art. A 838 is *ascios: exumbres*. I have found the source of this gloss (*exumbres* is new to lexicons) in a translation of Basil's *hexaëmeron* (*Eustathiana interpretatio hexaëm.* (book vi. ch. 8, in Gaume's reprint, Paris 1839, of Garnier's Benedictine edition, vol. i. p. 950 col. 2bc): *nam et putcatis apud cos aqua viz tenuissimum potest in alveum de sole lumen exsurgere, propter quod eos quidam ASCIOS, id est EXUMBRES appellant.*

In Dr. Wace's *Dictionary of Christian Biography*, Murray, 1880, vol. ii. p. 383 b E.V. (my late friend Edmund Venables) says 'A spurious commentary on the *Hexaëmeron* bearing his name' [that of Eustathius of Antioch] 'is also printed by Migne.' I know not why Migne should be given credit for what was brought to light long before he was born. Plainly Canon Venables never looked at the book, or he would have seen that *interpretatio* means not 'commentary' but 'translation.' If he had consulted Fabricius' *Bibliotheca Latinitatis medievae...actatis* he would have learnt from Cassiodorus that in this version Basil's most interesting treatise was familiar to monastic libraries.

JOHN E. B. MAYOR.

ARCHAEOLOGY.

RECENT EXCAVATIONS IN ROME.

(SEE *C.R.* 1902, P. 94.)

In continuation of my last report (written in the middle of January) I give a short summary of the discoveries that have been made in the Forum during the interval.

I.—*Temple of Castor and Pollux, etc.*

The remains of what appears to be a triumphal arch of a late date have been discovered at the south corner of the Basilica Julia, spanning the road which ran along its S.W. side and along the back of the temple of Castor and Pollux. This road has not been excavated further to the N.W. behind the Basilica: on the other hand, the isolation of the temple of Castor and Pollux has now been completed. From the breadth of the foundations, and from the discovery of several fragments of the columns of the temple and of the corner of the pediment at the back, it is clear that the temple was peripteral. In this particular the *Forma Urbis* is incorrect, as it represents the temple as having no columns at the back. This fact had, however, been already ascertained by Fea in 1818 (*Frammenti dei Fasti*, tav. ii. p. xi. *Not. Scav.* 1882, 234 and tav. xiv.).

Work is now proceeding at the west corner of the Augusteum; a wall of opus quadratum just discovered belongs probably to a taberna on the S.E. side of the Vicus Tuscus. It is intended to explore the area between the Augusteum and the church of S. Teodoro, where the entrance to the Palatine is at present situated. See Lanciani, *Ruins and Excavations of Ancient Rome*, pp. 120–122 and Fig. 47. Close to the triumphal arch mentioned above a drain, which runs diagonally across the Augusteum from the centre of the S.E. side, and leaves it near its north angle, joins the cloaca of the Vicus Tuscus. It is probably earlier in date than the Augusteum, being in some parts built of opus quadratum.

II.—*Atrium Vestae.*

Excavations in the central peristyle have led to the discovery of two piscinae. The smaller of these is situated at the N.W. end of the court: it is lined with opus signinum, and has a small flight of steps leading into it at the west angle: it is about two feet in depth. Under its cement floor a pavement belonging to the earlier house has been discovered (see also below). The drain which serves as an outlet to the piscina leaves it near the north angle, and is remarkably

large in proportion to the size of the piscina. The larger tank is situated immediately to the S.E., the interval between the two being only about five feet: it is of almost the same width as the smaller but a good deal longer, and was four feet in depth and lined with slabs of white marble. Many fragments of the upper part of its walls have been found, and have been restored to their original position. They had been broken away when the piscina was filled up, at the time of the construction of the octagonal shrine (†) in the centre of the peristyle, the foundations of which cut across the S.E. end of the piscina. It is a curious fact that this tank does not lie in the centre of the peristyle: no traces of another corresponding with it, further to the S.E., have been discovered, and the piscina at the S.E. end is of about the same size as that at the N.W. end, and perhaps contemporary with it, the two having been substituted for the one larger piscina after its destruction by the building of the octagonal edifice.

Further traces of the earlier Atrium (*C.R.* 1899, 467) have been brought to light on the N.E. side of the small piscina at the N.W. end. They include a good black and white mosaic pavement adjacent to a floor of blocks of tufa, and repaired very roughly with cubes taken from some other pavement which had deeper tesserae, and laid longitudinally: a pavement in this last style, with square pieces of dark marble at intervals, has also been uncovered in front of the later entrance. It is surprising to find such rough work in the earlier Atrium Vestae.

In the latest period of the existence of the Atrium, the colonnade, at any rate on the lower level (the upper colonnade probably continued to exist—see Lanciani, *Ruins and Excavations*, 228) had apparently been superseded by a wall pierced by arches at intervals. Remains of this wall may be traced between, and sometimes upon, the travertine cushions of the column bases. The columns themselves, which were of cipollino, were sawn up into strips and used for paving and wall-facing slabs. This state of things must have come about after one of the fires which had devastated the Atrium and destroyed a great proportion of the cipollino columns. Lanciani (*loc. cit.*) notes that the breccia corallina columns of the upper storey resist the action of fire.

The rooms at the N.W. end of the later Atrium have now been completely cleared out. At the north corner is a room containing an oven, probably used for baking

the grain for the *mola salsa* for sacrificial purposes.

At the west corner are several rooms which seem to have been shut off from the rest of the building, and perhaps served for the more secret rites of the worship of Vesta and the custody of those sacred objects which were under the charge of the Vestals (*Not. Scav.* 1883, 441). Into the mosaic floor of one of these rooms are let a large round plate of terracotta and a small amphora, both of which are broken so as to drain into a larger amphora sunk a little deeper. This seems to be a very hasty arrangement for the pouring of libations or the offering of a sacrifice.

At the west corner of the house three flights of stairs ascend to the upper floor. Where there are two flights close together on the S.W. side, there was originally only one, which led through the doorway described in *Not. Scav.* 1899, 326.

III.—*Temple of Antoninus and Faustina.*

The earth has now been completely cleared away from under the steps of the temple. Foundations of earlier buildings have been brought to light, together with two more fragments (a part of the head and a piece of drapery) of the sitting statue of Faustina, which occupied a pedestal in the centre of the façade, and of which the lower part was found two years back (*Bull. Com.* 1900, 63).

In front of the temple, close to the south angle, a discovery was made at the beginning of April, which has excited more attention than any since the finding of the famous stele of the comitium in May 1899. At a depth of about 12 feet below the pavement of the Sacra Via, a tomb "a fossa" of the earliest Villanova period was found. It contained a large dolium, with both the handles which it once possessed broken off, and with a conical lid of tufa, which was also broken. Within the dolium was a smaller one-handled urn of unglazed black ware, which contained calcined bones, and had a cover precisely resembling the lid of one of the well-known hut-urns, having the rafters of the hut represented in relief. There were also several other pots, including two with raised horizontal and vertical lines, in imitation of a gourd surrounded by leather bands, and one with the *ansa cornuta*—both types characteristic not only of the tombs of the Terremare, but of the tombs "a fossa" of the necropolis of the Esquiline (*Bull. Com.* 1900,

147). The importance of the discovery is great, for the necropolis to which this tomb must belong clearly dates from a very early period, before the valley of the Forum had become the common meeting ground of the settlers on the surrounding hills. It is to be hoped that further discoveries will throw more light upon the many problems which present themselves.

IV.—*Sacra Via.*

On the N.E. side of the *Sacra Via*, between the Temple of Antoninus and Faustina and the Temple of Romulus, and extending for some way beneath the latter, a curious building has recently been uncovered. It consists of a corridor with small cells on each side of it. The walls of the corridor and of the cells are well cemented; the floors are of opus spicatum or herringbone brickwork, there are traces of two earlier floors, first one of opus spicatum, and then one of travertine (the latter possibly belonging to some other building), and the doorways are of tufa with thresholds of travertine. At about three and a half feet above the ground the outer walls of the cells become thinner on the inner side, leaving a shelf a foot wide. This probably marks the point at which the walls emerged above the ground level on the outside, and slightly above it the windows were placed. It is curious to notice that the doors to these small cells must have been hung from the top and not sideways, to judge from the absence of bolt holes for lateral hinges in the doorposts and for bolts in the thresholds. The purpose of this building is uncertain. It looks as if it can have been nothing but a prison: but the site is curiously chosen (though the neighbourhood to a post of the vigiles on the opposite side of the road—for that was perhaps the use of the building with narrow slit windows, against which was later built the small arched chamber which now serves as a museum—would be a recommendation), and we hear nothing of a prison in so prominent a site from our classical authorities. The S.E. end of it is filled up by massive concrete foundations, which are still being patiently chiselled away. They extend beyond the walls of the Temple of Romulus, at any rate in front of the central hemicycle of the façade, and very likely belong to an earlier building, the place of which was taken by the temple.

The course of the *Sacra Via* before the time of Hadrian, has at last been definitely settled by the discovery of paving stones *in*

situ under the steps of the temple of Venus and Rome, about ten yards to the N.E. of the Arch of Titus.

This does not, however, render it necessary to suppose that the arch was moved by Hadrian: for we know that the arches of Septimius Severus, and of Constantine, were not originally traversed by roads, but had steps in the central opening as well as in the side passages (Richter, *Topographie der Stadt Rom*, 83, 174). Whether steps exist in the opening of the Arch of Titus has not yet been ascertained. The foundations are, however, very rough, and from their level (unless this was in any way altered when Valadier reconstructed the arch in 1822, which is unlikely), it seems improbable that the arch can have stood where it does now when the *Sacra Via* which ran to the east of it was in use.

If this is the case, the road mentioned in *C.R.*, 1902, 96, lasted on till the time of Hadrian. Its pavement has now been discovered on the S.W. of the *Nova Via*. Before crossing this, it was flanked on the N. W. side by the façade of the house described in *C.R.* 1900, 239. In attempting to identify it with the *Sacer Clivus*, I stated that this expression did not occur in Roman literature, except in two passages in Martial. I omitted to cite Horace, *Carm.* iv. 2. 35.

'quandoque trahet feroces per sacrum clivum merita decorus froude Sigambros': but here the reference is clearly to the Capitol: the adjective *sacer* was not used in the time of Horace with reference to the imperial house, whereas in Martial's day it had become frequent.

If the reference in Horace were to the slope descending from the *Velia* to the Forum, 'trahet' would surely be an inappropriate word.

THOMAS ASHBY, JUN.

POSTSCRIPT.

Excavations are also being carried on in the baths of Caracalla, which throw much light on the system of drainage and heating, and on the arrangement of the underground passages by which the slaves who attended to the comfort of the bathers, passed from point to point. It is to be hoped that a full account, with a detailed plan, of these interesting and important researches will be given. The baths of Caracalla are the only ones in Rome which are so well preserved as to render these investigations possible.

T. A.

Revista italiana di Numismatica. Vol. xiv. Part iv., 1901.

G. Dattari. 'Appunti di numismatica Alessandrina.' Coins of Alexandria bear the names of M. Aemilius Aemilianus and of M. Iulius Aemilianus. Dattari maintains (in opposition to Poole, *Catal. Alexandria*, p. xxiv.) that these are coins of one and the same personage who was the immediate successor of the Galli. In the same article the chronology of the reign of Valerian I. is discussed.—Reviews. Dattari's 'Numi Augg. Alexandrini' and Macdonald's 'Hunterian Collection,' Vol. ii.

Numismatic Chronicle. Part I, 1902.

Th. Reinach. 'Some Pontic Eras.' On coins of Pythodoris, Antonia Tryphaena, Amasia, Sebasteia, and Sebastopolis-Heracleopolis.

Journal international d'archéologie numismatique (Athens). Parts 3 and 4, 1902.

J. Rouvier. 'Numismatique des villes de la Phénicie.' This part contains a catalogue of the coins of Ptolemais (Ace).—J. N. Svoronos. 'Ερημεία τῶν μνημείων τῶν Ἑλεσινιακοῦ μυστικοῦ κύκλου καὶ τοπογραφικὰ Ἀθηνῶν καὶ Ἑλεσίνος.

Revue numismatique. Part I, 1902.

E. Babelon. 'Vercingétorix.' Babelon maintains that the portrait of Vercingétorix appears on some of his Gaulish coins. The strange male head on denarii of L. Hostilius Saserna, called by Eckhel 'Pavor' is also supposed to represent Vercingétorix.—A. Blanchet. 'Recherches sur les monnaies celtiques de l'Europe centrale.' On finds of coins in Bohemia &c.—Th. Reinach. 'Monnaies inédites des rois Philadelphes du Pont.' An unpublished tetradrachm with admirable portrait-heads of 'King Mithradates and Queen Laodice' ΦΙΛΑΔΕΛΦΩΝ. This King is the 'Mithradates Philopator, Philadelphus, son of King Mithradates' who is already known from an inscription. He probably succeeded Pharnaces as king of Pontus in B.C. 169. Rare tetradrachms with his head (alone) have been already published. A revised genealogical table of the Kings of Pontus is appended to this article.—Th. Reinach. 'Le rapport de l'or à l'argent dans les comptes de Delphes.' The ratio is 1:10 in B.C. 336-5.—A. Dieudonné. 'Monnaies grecques récemment acquises par le Cabinet des Médailles.'—A. de la Fuye. 'La dynastie des Kamnaskirès.' On the coinage of the Kingdom of Elymais. WARWICK WROTH.

SUMMARIES OF PERIODICALS

Revue de Philologie. Vol. 26, 2, 1902.

Orientalia, L. Havet. Notes on Orientius with reference to Ellis' edition of the text. *Plautus*, Men. 1158, L. Havet. Reads *Venibunt servi, supellex, praedia, aedes, omnia*. Notes sur le Théétète, L. Laloy. On 158C, 161A, 175E. *Catulle* LXVII., R. Cahen. The object of the writer is 'to determine the minimum of hypotheses necessary to render this poem intelligible.' *Ad Oracula Chaldaica*, 7-8 = p. 18, 3 Kroll, J. Bidez. *Études cicéroniennes* I, J. Lebreton. On the comparative employment of *cum* and *quod* in propositions expressing equivalence. *La vie de Sextus Empiricus*, W. Vollgraf. Maintains that the life in Suidas refers to the sceptic philosopher and not to another person of the same name as has been generally thought, and so his biography may be constructed. *Sur la provenance de quelques manuscrits de Nonius Marcellus*, W. M. Lindsay. Some marginal notes from an edition of Nonius at the Bibliothèque Nationale give information of three MSS. viz., the Parisinus, Colbertinus, and Cantabrigiensis. *Une statue de Polyclète*, P. Foucart. An inscr. on a large pedestal found at Rome near the Baths of Titus Πυθολκλῆς Ἡαείος πέπταθος Πολυκλεῖτου [Ἀργεῖος] refers to the elder Polyclethus as we know from the Oxyrhynchus Papyri II. that Pythoel was victorious in the pentathlon B.C. 452. *L'accusation contre Phryne*, P. Foucart. On a passage referring to this from an anonymous treatise on rhetoric published in the *Notices et extraits des manuscrits grecs*. Note sur un manuscrit épigraphique de la Bibliothèque Vallcellienne à Rome, R. Poupardin. *Inscription métrique de Timgad*, K. Dutremer. An inscr. of five Latin hexameters found at the end of last year. Πατρόβουλοι, F. Cumont. This title only appears, to C's knowledge, in a single official text, viz., a rescript of the Emperor Julian (Ep. 11). The passage is explained.

Neue Jahrbücher für das Klassische Altertum, Etc. Vol. 9, 2, 1902.

Kulturschichten und sprachliche Schichten in der Ilias, P. Cauer. Chiefly a criticism of Robert's *Studien zur Ilias*. C. maintains that Robert's principle—that of combining the analysis of the language and civilization with criticism of the composition—while in itself excellent, is applied by him in too fanciful a method. Ancient traits can never be a proof that the part in which they are found is old, for it is always possible that a younger poet has used them freely for his purposes. *Die Entwicklung der römischen Taktik*, E. Lammert. Criticizes Delbrück's *Geschichte der Kriegskunst*. The most important facts of Roman tactics show a regular course of development in spite of appearances to the contrary. The Romans knew how to combine the tradition of the past in this matter with the needs of the present and so made a progress which gave them the superiority over all competitors. These positions are maintained in detail by various examples. *Analoga im altgriechischen und altgermanischen Epos*, H. Müller. Points out resemblances between the Homeric poems and Beowulf and the Edda.

Wochenschrift für Klassische Philologie. 1902.

30 April. *E. Rohde, Ein biographischer Versuch von O. Crusius.* (P. Stengel). O. Kern, *Inscriptionum Thessalicarum antiquissimarum sylloge* (W. Larfeld), favourable. G. Wissowa, *Religion und Kultus der Römer* (H. Studing), favourable.

7 May. F. Dümmler, *Kleine Schriften* (H. Schenkl). 'These three volumes—on Greek philosophy, Philological contributions, and Archaeological additions—show the wide extent and richness of the late author's learning.' W. Belek, *Beiträge zur alten Geographie und Geschichte Vorderasiens*, II.

(V. Präsek), favourable on the whole. F. Sommer, *Handbuch der lateinischen Laut- und Formenlehre* (H. Ziemer), very favourable. Brum-Bruckmann, *Denkmäler griechischer und römischer Skulptur*, fortgeführt von P. Arndt. Lief. CII—CVI (W. Amelung). 'A monumental work.'

14 May. G. v. d. Gabelentz, *Die Sprachwissenschaft*. 2. A. von A. v. d. Schultenburg (H. Ziemer). 'The work of a truly original thinker and investigator.' A. Wiedemann, *Die Unterhaltungsliteratur der alten Ägypter* (A. Höck), very favourable. *A Catalogue of the Greek coins in the British Museum* (K. Regling). A catalogue of the Greek coins of Lydia by B. V. Head. H. Kallenberg, *Textkritik*

und Sprachgebrauch Diodors. I. (K. Jacoby). 'A program very stimulating and of permanent worth.' 21 May. *Festschrift, Johannes Vahlen Zum 70. Geburtstag gewidmet* (I.) Contains 35 contributions from various scholars. E. Meyer, *Geschichte des Altertums*, IV. *Athen vom Frieden von 446 bis zu Kapitulation Athens im Jahre 404* (A. Höck). 'May the fifth volume soon appear!' A. Zimmermann, *Zur Entstehung bezw. Entwicklung der altromischen Personennamen* (H. Ziemer), favourable. Macmillan's Guides: *Guide to Italy* (F. H.). 'On the whole we can only recommend the book.' F. W. Putzger, *Historischer Schulatlas*, bearb. von A. Baldamus und E. Schwabe, 25. A., very favourable.

LIST OF NEW BOOKS.

All works are issued in 1902 unless otherwise stated.

Ahlberg (Axel W.). *De proeleusmaticis iamborum trochaorumque antiquae scaenicae poesis latinae. Studia metrica et prosodica* I. II. 8vo. 161, 30 pp. Extr. Lund, Möller.

Alciphronis Rhetoris epistularum libri IV. Annot. critica inst. M. A. Schepers. Large 8vo. xlv. 172 pp. 1901. Groningen, Wolters.

Anonymus Argentincnsis. Fragmente zur Geschichte des Perikleischen Athen aus e. Strassburger Papyrus. Herg. und erl. von Bruno Keil. Mit zwei Tafeln in Lichtdruck. Demy 8vo. xii. 341 pp. Strassburg, Trübner. Mk. 10.

Aristophanes. Roemer (A.). Studien zu A. und den alten Erklärern desselben. Part I. Das Verhältnis der Scholien des Cod. Rav. und Venet. Nebst Beiträgen zur Erklärung der Komödien des A. auf Grund unserer antiken Quellen. Demy 8vo. XVI. 196 pp. Leipzig, Teubner. M. 8.

Aristotle. Politics, (edited) with an Introduction, two Prefatory Essays, and Notes critical and explanatory, by W. L. Newman. Vol. III. IV.: Essays, Books VII—VIII. Indexes. Demy 8vo. lvi. 603, lxx. 708 pp. Oxford, Clarendon Press. Each, net 14s.

— Vahlen (J.). Ueber einige Citate in A.'s Rhetorik. Extr. Sitzungsber. d. Preuss. Akad. d. Wiss. Roy. 8vo. 29 pp. Berlin, Reimer. M. 1.

Beiträge zur alten Geschichte. Vol. I. part 3 contains the following classical articles: J. Beloch, Die attischen Archonten im 3. Jahrhundert. P. M. Meyer, Zum Ursprung des Colonats. B. Rappaport, Hat Zosimus I. c. 1–46 die Chronik des Dexippus benutzt? Roy. 8vo. Leipzig, Dieterich (Vol. I. complete in 3 parts, M. 20).

Brugmann (K.). Kurze vergleichende Grammatik der Indogermanischen Sprachen. Auf Grund des fünfbändigen 'Grundrisses etc.' verfasst. Part I., Einleitung und Lautlehre Demy 8vo. vi. 280 pp. Strassburg, Trübner. M. 7.

Bury (J. B.). A History of Greece to the death of Alexander the Great. With maps and plans. 2 vols. Demy 8vo. VIII. 534 pp. London, Macmillan. Net £1 5s.

* Slightly revised library edition of the one vol. School Edition of 1900.

Cybulski (S.). Tabulae quibus antiquitates graecae et romanae illustrantur. III b.: Nummi romani, mit Text, M. 5. XV a.b.: Roma antiqua, mit Text, M. 11. XII. XIII. Theatrum, each, M. 4.

Gardner (Percy) and Myres (J. L.) Classical Archaeology in Schools. With an Appendix containing Lists of Archaeological Apparatus. Demy 8vo. 35 pp. Oxford, Clarendon Press. Net 1s.

Gercke (A.). Abriss der griechischen Lautlehre. Cr. 8vo. VI. 86 pp. Folding table. Berlin, Weidmann. M. 1.80.

Hannig (F.). De Pegaso. Demy 8vo. VIII. 162 pp. Breslau, Marcus. M. 6.

Holland (R.). Die Sage von Daidalos und Ikaros. (Progr.) 4to. 32 pp. Leipzig, Hinrichs. M. 1. 20.

Homer. Das alte Lied vom Zorne Achills aus der Ilias ausgeschieden und metrisch übersetzt von A. Fick. 8vo. VIII. 130 pp. Göttingen, Vandenhoeck u. Ruprecht. M. 3.

— Ioris (M.) Ueber Homerübertragung mit neuen Proben, (Progr.). 8vo. 72 pp. Leipzig, Fock. M. 1. 20.

— Ludwig (A.). Ueber die Papyrus-Commentare zu den homerischen Gedichten. (Progr.) 4to. 24 pp. Königsberg.

Horace. Vollbrecht (W.). Ueber eine neue Hypothese inbetreff der Herausgabe der Dichtungen des H. (Progr.) 4to. 19 pp. Altona, M. 1.

Inscriptions. Inscriptionum thessalicarum antiquissimarum Sylloge edita a C. Kalbfleisch (Progr.). 4to. 18 pp. Rostock, M. 1.50.

Liedloff (K.). Die Nachbildung griechischer und römischer Muster in Seneca's Troades und Agamemnon. (Progr.) 4to. 18 pp. Grimma, M. 1.

Parthenii Nicaeni quae supersunt, ed. E. Martini (Mythographi Graeci, II. 1. Suppl.). Cr. 8vo. xvi. 106 pp. Facsimile pl. of Coll. Pal. Leipzig, Teubner. M. 2.40.

Philosophici Scriptores. Academicorum Philosophorum index Herculaniensis, ed. S. Mekler. Demy 8vo. XXXVI. 135 pp. Berlin, Weidmann. M. 6.

Plato. Ritchie (D. G.). Plato. Cr. 8vo. xii. 238 pp. Edinburgh, Clark. 3s.

Plantus. Comoediae rec. post F. Ritschl, G. Loewe, G. Goetz, F. Schoell. Vol. I. part II.: Epidicus, iterum rec. G. Goetz. Demy 8vo. xvi. 129 pp. Leipzig, Teubner. M. 4.

Polybius. Cuntz (O.). P. und sein Werk. Mit einem Kärtchen. Demy 8vo. IV. 88 pp. Leipzig, Teubner. M. 2.80.

Russell (C. H. St. L.) A Parallel of Greek and Latin Syntax for use in Schools. Crown 8vo. xvi. 223 pp. London, Sonnenschein.

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The Classical Review

JULY 1902.

THE new regulations for the Matriculation Examination of the London University, dated June 1902, are bound to affect seriously the study of the two classical languages in this country. From four to five thousand candidates enter annually for this examination and the number is continually growing. Under the expiring system English (two papers), Mathematics (two papers), Latin (two papers), General Elementary Sciences (two papers), were necessary subjects; in addition to these, one other language *or* science to be chosen from a list at the option of the candidate (one paper). The new scheme is: English (one paper), Mathematics (*two* papers as before), Latin *or* one out of a number of elementary sciences (one paper), two subjects from a list of languages and sciences, one of which must be a language if Latin be not taken (two papers). The pill is ingeniously gilded; but for all that it is clear that Latin is now only one optional language out of ten. But more is to come. Candidates and their teachers are not ignorant that the percentage of failures in Latin has been higher than in any other compulsory subject; and so the decline to be expected whenever a compulsory subject becomes an optional one, is likely to be much accented in the present case. Nor is this all. Latin and Greek are both to be treated as French and German; that is to say there are to be no more prepared books in classics. Now this would be quite fair and most desirable if Latin and Greek were taught as living languages: but in present circumstances it is, whether so intended or not, an undeniable handicap. Further the limitation of the translation to 'unseens' is likely to affect the teaching prejudicially. It is notorious that the number of passages of Latin and Greek which are suitable for a matriculation

examination is relatively very small; and examiners will be forced either to set harder passages than they should with the result of obscuring their standard or passages which a considerable portion of the candidates will have seen before. Latin, it is true, is an optional subject for matriculation at the University last founded in England. But the Birmingham scheme requires two languages to be offered besides English, nor has it eliminated set books; and in a matter of this kind the action of London is incomparably more important than that of Birmingham. Let classical teachers look to it. The hand has begun to write upon the wall.

The 'Album Gratulatorium' in honour of Prof. H. v. Herwerden who, in obedience to a regulation superannuating at seventy, retires from the post which he has held with such distinction for thirty-eight years, has just appeared. Of the forty or so contributors the majority are naturally Dutch; but there are some thirteen or fourteen foreigners, amongst whom we notice the names of Bernardakis, Blass, L. Havet, Wecklein, and Weil. Five of the contributors are English.

We have received the first number of *Dissertationes Americanae* in classical Philology. These are a series of Theses for the Doctorate of Philosophy, which have been specially recommended for publication by the professors in charge at the doctor's University. This is a useful restriction which the publishers of German degree dissertations would do well to copy. The series is published by Scott Foresman and Co., Chicago, G. Fock, Leipzig and H. le Soudier, Paris. The subject of No. 1 is *Lex de Imperio Vespasiani* by Dr. F. B. R. Hellems, Latin Professor in Colorado University.

AN INSCRIPTION FROM ERESOS.

- ΛΕΙΣΤΕΙΧΗΝ ΎΣΕΒΕΑΣ
 ΑΠΟΜΕΝΚΑΔΕΟΣΙΔΙΩ
 ΑΝΤΑΣΑΜΕΡΑΙΣΕΙΚΟΣΙ ΑΠΟΔΕ
 / ΣΑΜΕΡΑΙΣΤΡΕΙΣΛΟΕΣΣΑΜΕΝΟΙΣ
 5 ΤΑΤΩ ΑΜΕΡΑΙΣΔΕΚΑ ΑΥΤΑΝΔΕ *vacat*
 ΚΟΙΣΑΝΑΜΕΡΑΙΣ ΤΕΣΣΑΡΑΚΟΝΤΑ
 ΓΩΑΜΕΡΑΙΣΤΡΕΙΣ ΑΥΤΑΝΔΕΤ *vacat*
 ΤΟΚΟΙΣΑΝ ΑΜΕΡΑΙΣΔΕΚΑ *vacat*
 ΙΝΑΙΚΟΣΑΥΤΑΜΕΡΟΝΛΟΕΣΣΑΜΕΝΟΝ
 10 ΔΕΜΗΕΙΣΤΕΙΧΗΝ ΜΗΔΕΓΠΡΟΔΟΤΑΙΣ
 ΤΕΙΧΗΝΔΕΜΗΔΕΓΑΛΛΟΙΣ ΜΗΔΕ
 ΝΑΙΚΕΣ ΓΑΛΛΑΖΗΝΝΕΝΤΩΤΕΜΕΝΕΙ
 ΗΕΙΣΦΕΡΗΝΔΕΜΗΔΕΟΓΛΑΤΤΟΛΕΜΙΣΤΗΡΙΑ
 ΗΔΕΘΝΑΣΙΔΙΟΝ *vacat*
 15 ΔΕΕΙΣΤΟΝΝΑΥΟΝΕΙΣΦΕΡΗΝ ΣΙΔΑΡΟΝ
 ΜΗΔΕΧΑΛΚΟΝΓΛΑΝΝΟΜΙΣΜΑΤΟΣ
 ΜΗΔΕΥΓΤΟΔΕΣΙΝ ΜΗΔΕΑΛΛΟΔΕΡΜΑΤ
 ΜΗΔΕΝ ΜΗΕΙΣΤΕΙΧΗΝΔΕΜΗΔΕΓΥΝ
 ΕΙΣΤΟΝΝΑΥΟΝ ΓΛΑΝΤΑΣΙΡΕΑΣ *vacat*
 20 <ΑΙΤΑΣΓΤΡΟΦΗΤΙΔΟΣ *vacat*

vacat spatium .02 m.

///ΤΙΖΗΝΔΕΜΗΔΕΚΤΗΝΕΑΜΗΔΕΒΟΣΚΗΜΑΤΑ *vacat*
 ΕΝΤΩΤΕΜΕΝΕΙ

THE first letter (Τ) in line five is exceedingly doubtful. The stone is not earlier than the second century B.C. There are (as in many inscriptions) spaces corresponding to modern stops and separating clauses. Sometimes the shorter spaces only separate words, or rather are put where we would not put a stop.

Ἀπὸ τῶνδε ?] εἰστέιχην εὐσεβείας.

Ἀπὸ μὲν κάδεος ἰδίω

. . .]αντας ἀμέραις εἴκοσι ἀπὸ δὲ ἐκφορᾶς ἀμέραις τρεῖς λοεσσαμένους.

5 Ἀπὸ . . .]άτω ἀμέραις δέκα, αὐτὰν δὲ τὰν . . τοκοῖσαν ἀμέραις τεσσαράκοντα.

Ἀπὸ τοκε]τῶ ? ἀμέραις τρεῖς, αὐτὰν δὲ τὰν ζωο ?] τοκοῖσαν ἀμέραις δέκα.

Ἀπὸ γυ]ναϊκὸς αὐτάμερον λοεσσάμενον.

10 Φῶρας ?] δὲ μὴ εἰστέιχην, μηδὲ προδόταις.

Εἰστ]είχην δὲ μηδὲ γάλλοις, μηδὲ

γυ]ναῖκες γαλλάζην ἐν τῷ τεμένει.

Μ]ῃ εἰσφέρην δὲ μηδὲ ὄπλα πολεμιστήρια μ]ῃδὲ θνασίδιον.

15 Μ]ῃδὲ εἰς τὸν ναὺν εἰσφέρην σῖδαρον

μηδὲ χαλκὸν πλὰν νομίματος,
 μηδὲ ὑπόδεσιν, μηδὲ ἄλλο δερματ[ινὸν
 μηδὲν. Μὴ εἰστέιχην δὲ μηδὲ γυν[αῖκα
 εἰς τὸν ναὺν πλὰν τῆς ἱρέας

20 καὶ τὰς προφήτιδας.

Πο]τίχην δὲ μηδὲ κτήνηα μηδὲ βοσκήματα
 ἐν τῷ τεμένει.

This stone, which is a welcome addition to the ritual rules, the chief specimens of which are given by Dittenberger in his *Sylloge* (Nos. 560 ff.) was found recently at Eresos in Lesbos and was published in the *Smyrna Amaltheia* of Aug. 10th by my friend Mr. E. David, a distinguished native of Eresos and now head-master of the *Γυμνάσιον* at Salonika. I have an impression made for me by my very kind friend Mr. Galenos Koukas of Eresos; and as Mr. David's publication will not be generally seen by scholars, and as he misread or corrected one very curious word, I republish it here.

The text can be restored with certainty,

05 m.

Width .037 m.

except at the beginning and in lines 5-6, where I hope that some of the readers of the *Cl. Rev.* will find a satisfactory restoration. This task is made more difficult by the fact that we cannot determine accurately the number of letters missing at the beginning of the imperfect lines; since all the lines do not begin in the same longitude (if I may use that phrase). However it is not probable that any line went further to the left than line fifteen, which is the longest, and is obviously prolonged to the left because it begins a new paragraph relating to the temple and not to the *τέμενος*. Lines 5-8 give evidently the days of purification necessary after two different kinds of births. The father has in each case to remain impure for fewer days than the mother; but one kind of birth is much more defiling than the other. There are three distinctions we can make between births, and I think three only. (1) A girl or a boy, (2) twins or a single child, (3) still-born or born alive. As regards the first, it was and may be still the Jewish rule that when the child is a girl the period of the mother's impurity is longer than in the case of a boy; but it is quite impossible to find any restoration here which draws this distinction. As regards the second I think it must be excluded from consideration; and so I desire a restoration which distinguishes a living from a dead child. The greater impurity (the first mentioned) would be that produced by a still birth and I desire a short word for a premature birth ending in *αρος*. It is however remarkable that the period of the mother's impurity is here forty days, the same as in the Christian churches and in pre-Christian Greece when the birth is normal.

The most curious lines are 11-12. When one reads *εἰσείχην δὲ μηδὲ γάλλους* one remembers at once the rule of the Pentateuch *Deut. xxiii, 1 οὐκ εἰσελεύσεται θλαδίας οὐδὲ ἀποκεκομμένος εἰς ἐκκλησίαν Κυρίου* (cp. *Lev. 22, 24*); but here follows the curious rule with a curious word (I believe unknown) *μηδὲ γυναῖκες* (a new instance of the Aeolic use of the Nom. for Acc. in the third Declension) *γὰρ ἀλλ' ἄζην ἐν τῷ τεμένει*. What does *γαλλάζειν* mean? Of course it means 'to behave like a γάλλος,' but in what sense? Perhaps in a sense which the rule immediately following that which I quote from the Septuagint would illustrate. *Οὐκ εἰσελεύσεται ἐκ πόρνῃς εἰς ἐκκλησίαν Κυρίου*. But it is a ticklish matter to pronounce about. Wilamowitz thinks that *γαλλάζειν* means simply 'to perform the rites of the γάλλοι.' He is probably right.

I pointed out in the *Athenaeum* of Oct. 19th that the rule about shoe-leather here (l. 17), taken together with other texts, demonstrates that baring the feet in holy places was, among the ancient Greeks at least, a consequence of the taboo of the hides of unclean animals.

I append a note regarding the Hindu practice communicated to me by Mr. Mahajani of the Berar Educational Department. It is clear that the reason for baring the feet on holy ground is the same in India and in ancient Greece. I got this opinion from India, because Sir George Birdwood, who is a very high authority, did not agree with me (*Athenaeum*, Nov. 9th).

W. R. PATON.

The Hindus take off their shoes, not only when they enter temples but also when they enter their houses. Of late this practice however has been given up so far as the drawing-room is concerned, and that only in the families of educated natives who have taken to wearing Europe-made shoes. The theory underlying the taking off of shoes is that all parts of dead bodies, whether of men or of cattle or animals generally, *i.e.* bones, skins, hair, teeth, nails, etc., are considered unclean and are not to be touched when a person is ceremonially pure, *i.e.* when he wears sacred clothes to worship his household gods, or dines, etc. The only exception made is in the case of tiger-skin and deer-skin and elephant-skin. Here also in former times the skin was considered impure so long as it had its horns or claws or hoofs. The *rijis* of former times made use of deer-skin as garments and hence the sacredness attached to it. The tiger and the elephant are the favoured animals of particular deities, *Pārvatī* and *Ganeṣ*, and their skins are considered sacred. In the case of the bullock (or the cow), although that too is a sacred animal, its skin was considered unholy because (as we think according to our modern notions) the bullock is so useful for ploughing and the cow so useful for her milk, that their slaughter is prevented.

Shoes always took dirt from the streets and by-lanes where all possible nuisances were allowed to be committed. It was necessary to keep this dirt outside. When a person is ceremonially pure he is allowed to wear wooden shoes which he may take even within the precincts of an inner temple. So it is not the shoes by themselves that are considered impure, but the fact that they

are made of hides is the cause of their being considered impure.

scortea non illi fas est inferre sacello
ne uiolent puros exanimata focos.

[At Mr. Paton's request I append to his paper a passage of Ovid, *Fasti* I. 629 sq. to which I had drawn his attention

Compare also Varro *de ling. Lat.* VII. 5. 4.
'in aliquot sacris ac sacellis scriptum habemus "ne quod scortem adhibeatur" ideo ne morticinum quid adsit.'

J. P. P.]

PLATO, *REPUBLIC*, 616 E.

KROLL in his edition of Proclus' *Commentary* (vol. ii., pub. 1901) has called into question the genuineness of the text of *Rep.* 616 E which describes the order of the breadths of the whorl-rims, and suggests that the true original may be the alternative reading said by Proclus to be the older one, which shews a different order.¹

Among the reasons that might be given against the proposed change, there is one which has probably escaped notice. Mr. W. A. Craigie, in a note contributed to Jowett and Campbell's edition of the *Republic*, pointed out a curious circumstance which no one else seems to have observed. If we write down the numbers which express the order of the whorls, and under each set the number which its rim has in the order of breadth, and then join 'those σφόνδυλοι whose united numbers produce a sum of 9, we have a symmetrical figure with its centre between the 4th and 5th,' thus:

No. of σφόνδυλος

1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8

Order of width of rim

1 8 7 3 6 2 5 4

The same kind of thing is true of the order of the colours.

If we write down the numbers of the whorls in the order in which Plato mentions them when describing their colours we get:—

1 7 8 2 5 3 4 6

and there is here also a symmetry of arrangement with regard to the centre (and the centres of the two halves).

Mr. Craigie believes the same thing holds

of the order of the velocities of the whorls, but in this case, as will appear, he does not seem quite successful.

In the other two cases however the rule obtains, and as Mr. Craigie says, it 'can hardly be accidental.' This constitutes a strong confirmation of our text against the one preferred by Proclus, for the order in that is

1 7 8 6 4 3 2 5

where no such symmetry is followed. We learn from Proclus that some supposed the text believed to be the earlier had been altered to the other form (that of our MSS.) to suit differences of apogee and perigee, of which Plato had not taken account: and if the text were deliberately altered, the reason probably would be to harmonise it with supposed facts (cf. Theon's frequent phrase σόζειν τὰ φαινόμενα), but that would not be likely to produce the curious symmetrical arrangement of sums of 9. It is conceivably an accident, but this becomes less probable, when we see that the same rule holds in the order of the colours: and here, as Mr. Craigie remarks (in effect), it is the more credible that the apparent numerical rule was really followed because the order is not that of any scheme of colour. But there is another circumstance which confirms Mr. Craigie's theory, though it has escaped his notice. If we ask what was the reason of this curious arrangement, a not improbable answer seems to be that it was to effect a kind of equable distribution of the magnitudes along the series of the whorls. Now if this were so it would be best not merely to arrange two correlative pairs, as 7 and 2, 8 and 1, symmetrically with regard to the centre, but to make the order in magnitude of the members of one pair the reverse of that of the other. Thus in

7 1 8 2 the distribution is more

¹ For this see a recent article of Dr. J. Adam's in this *Journal*.

equable than in $\overbrace{7 \ 8 \ 1 \ 2}$, for in the latter we have the two larger numbers on the same side of the centre. Similarly the arrangement $\overbrace{7 \ 2}$ centre $\overbrace{1 \ 8}$ is more equable than $\overbrace{7 \ 2}$ centre $\overbrace{8 \ 1}$, and $\overbrace{7 \ 1 \ 2 \ 8}$ than $\overbrace{7 \ 8 \ 2 \ 1}$.

If we now look at the diagram for the breadths of the rims, and for their colours, we observe that this rule of equable distribution is exactly carried out in both of them and the order in magnitude of the numbers in one pair is the reverse of the order in its correlative pair. It may be noticed that in the case of the colours there is an addition to the equableness of the distribution in so far as the sum of the numbers in the first half is equal to the sum of the numbers in the second half. (Here 5 is put next to 2 because their colours nearly resemble one another.)

In the case of the velocities Mr. Craigie's figure is this:—

1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8

But here the order of the velocities is violated, for the speed of the outer circle (1) is the greatest and therefore the order is:

2 3 4 5 6 7 8 1

Moreover the figure violates the principle of equable distribution. One may venture to suggest that the velocities of 5, 6, and 7, being equal (Mr. Craigie notes their sum = 18 = half the sum of the whole series) the true scheme for the velocities may be:—

1 8 $\begin{pmatrix} 7 \\ 6 \\ 5 \end{pmatrix}$ 4, 3, 2

= 9 9 8 2 = 9

Here the order of the velocities is right, 1 preceding 8; the group 1 + 8 (= 9) is correlative to the group 4 + 3 + 2 (= 9), and

the order in magnitude of the unequal members of the correlative groups is reversed. The members of the centre group being equal may be considered to have no order. Thus, after all, the order of the velocities shews the same twofold law of symmetry; and the formula of our text which is doubted on the strength of an ancient variant is confirmed by its remarkable agreement with the remaining formulae of which there is no variant and which no one has doubted. It seems possible to conjecture how the ancient variant originated, but this may be reserved for another occasion.

J. COOK WILSON.

POSTSCRIPT.

Since the above was submitted to the Editor of this *Review*, the writer, who had pointed out to Mr. Craigie the error in his diagram of the velocities, without indicating a solution, has received a reply from Mr. Craigie, admitting the flaw and proposing precisely the same solution as the one given above. Mr. Craigie had not observed the law of the inversion of the order of magnitudes in corresponding pairs, but this is only a complement of his own ingenious discovery.

The diagram of the order of colours has been given as in Mr. Craigie's original note, but if arranged in the same way as the diagram of the widths of the whorls it would be this:—

Order of whorls

1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8

Order in which their colours are described

1 4 6 7 5 8 2 3

where as before the sum of the first half of the series is equal to the sum of the second half.

J. COOK WILSON.

NOTES ON THE SYMPOSIUM OF XENOPHON.

4. 37 ὁμοία γάρ μοι δοκοῦσι πάσχειν ὥσπερ εἴ τις πολλὰ ἔχων καὶ πολλὰ ἐσθίων μηδέποτε ἐμπύμπλαιτο. ἐγὼ δὲ οὕτω μὲν πολλὰ (read ὀλίγα) ἔχω ὡς κ.τ.λ.

Critics have been deterred, and not un-

naturally, from adopting Schneider's πίνων for ἔχων by not seeing how such a corruption could have arisen. Hence Nietzsche's make-shift ἔχοι, which is only one degree less unlikely than ἔχων. Is it not probable that

ἔχων is due to the influence of ἔχω in the next sentence, just as πολλά there may be due to πολλά occurring twice in this. We may then adopt πίνων without scruple.

ib. 45 ὁ δὲ Καλλίας, νῆ τὴν Ἥραν, ἔφη, τά τε ἄλλα ζηλώ σε (i.e. Antisthenes) τοῦ πλούτου καὶ ὅτι κ.τ.λ. 'Ἀλλὰ μὰ Δί', ἔφη ὁ Νικίρατος, μὴ ζήλου. ἐγὼ γὰρ ἤξω παρ' αὐτοῦ δανεισόμενος τὸ μηδεὸς προσδίσσθαι, οὕτω πεπαιδευμένος ὑπὸ Ὁμήρου...ὥς πλείστου πλούτου ἐπιθυμῶν οὐ πάνομαι.

Antisthenes *regum aequabat opes animis*. His wealth consisted mainly in his wanting nothing. It would be quite incoherent for Niceratus to say that he would borrow this frame of mind, as Homer had taught him such a taste for opulence that his desires were unbounded. Should this be thought to mean that, as he could not gratify his desire for wealth, he would try the other tack and, like Antisthenes, extirpate his desires altogether, the explanation is inconsistent with μὴ ζήλου, which he addresses to Callias and then justifies in these words. We must take ἐγὼ γὰρ ἤξω κ.τ.λ. as an indignant question of the kind illustrated in this *Review*, vol. 15, p. 386. What he says is 'Don't you have any such feeling towards him. Do you think that I, who love to count up my possessions and would fain be as wealthy as ever I can, am going to borrow his no-wants system?'

8. 1st Ἀρ', ἔφη, ὦ ἄνδρες, εἰκὸς ἡμᾶς παρόντος δαίμονος μεγάλου καὶ τῷ μὲν χρόνῳ ἰσθλίκος τοῖς ἀειγενέσι θεοῖς, τῇ δὲ μορφῇ νεωπάτου, καὶ μεγέθει πάντα ἐπέχοντος, ψυχῇ δὲ ἀνθρώπου ἰσχυμένον (Blomfield ἰδρυμένον), Ἐρωτος, μὴ ἂν ἀμνημονῆσαι, ἄλλως τε καὶ ἐπειδὴ πάντες ἐσμὲν τοῦ θεοῦ τούτου θιασώται;

This also gives an absurd sense, 'is it right for us not to forget Eros?', i.e. we ought to forget him, when he means of course 'I hope we shall remember him.' It

may be thought that the obvious remedy is to strike out μὴ, but the position of ἂν or any such particle, if right, then becomes very questionable, and in any case I think the remedy is to be found elsewhere. I have pointed out before now (*C.R.* 10, 103) that in *Oecon.* 4. 4 a similar ἄρα beginning a sentence has to be changed to ἀλλά to make sense, and that there is other evidence of the two words getting interchanged. Read then ἀλλά here and make the sentence a statement, not a question, 'but it is right that we should not forget.'

'An before ἀμνημονῆσαι is usually bracketed and certainly is not right. Εἰκὸς ἐστὶ with an infinitive has two senses: (1) 'it is likely,' (2) 'it is reasonable' or 'right.' Even when it bears the first sense, the infinitive very seldom indeed has an ἂν; when it bears the second, ἂν can hardly be appropriate or right. In this place ἂν may very well be due to the first letters of ἀμνημονῆσαι. But it may also be a corruption of δὴ, which would be quite in place here. I will not attempt to decide between the two possibilities.

There is, however, still an error in the passage. The editors seem satisfied with Blomfield's ἰδρυμένον for ἰσχυμένον, but they have been satisfied much too easily. The corruption is not a very likely one, nor is ἰδρυμένος, which applies usually to statues, temples, &c., not to the god himself, a very proper word. When we look at ψυχῇ...ἰσχυμένον, we remember first that the dative in η (written ηι) and the accusative in ην are constantly confused: then that an ε and an ει are really convertible. So we get ψυχῇ...εἰσχυμένον and thereupon it requires very moderate powers of divination to see that Xenophon wrote ψυχῇ...εἰσδυόμενον, which is both more suitable in expression and in letters closer to the MS. tradition.

H. RICHARDS.

NOUN DECLENSION IN PLAUTUS.

The following statistics are based on repeated reading of the small Götz-Schöll text, and have been verified from the apparatus in the *Triumvirate* edition, with some reference to the text of Leo. I have wished to bring together some facts of importance to students of Plautus. The information now available on Plautine usage

is scattered and of widely varying value. Rassow's Index (1881) is useful, but it has gaps here and there; Neue has many omissions. I have aimed to make my statistics complete in each instance, but I cannot hope that nothing has escaped me in the range within which I have kept myself, and I shall be glad to have omissions pointed

out to me. I believe this account of Plautus' nouns will be found more extended than any that has hitherto been given, and I hope it will prove of service.

My aim has been, in general, to collect facts, rather than to explain or discuss them. It has served my purpose better to group them under the traditional five declensions, than to carry them one case at a time through the different stems.

FIRST DECLENSION.

1. With the question of -ā in the nom. s. goes that of -ā in the nom. and acc. pl. of all neuters. It has become customary to say that neither can be proved for Plautus. It is true that -ā predominates overwhelmingly (cf. *prædā sūt*, Cas. 114, *seruā sūm*,

Pers. 615, *ulmitribā tū* [?], Pers. 278a, *condimētā sūnt*, Ps. 834), but the number

of places where the manuscripts give us -ā is, though limited, large enough to command attention and respect, and to make the usual summary dismissal of the matter unsatisfactory. The list in C. F. W. Müller's *Plaut. Pros.* pp. 3-13, is nearly complete, and includes some instances that even he rejects. If we neglect the places that show -ā late in the verse, and others that are for various reasons unlikely or impossible, there still remain the following:—

(a) Greek nouns:—

epistulā, As. 762.
Leonidā, voc., As. 740.
Sosiā, Am. 438.
Sosiā, Am. 439.

(b) Latin nouns:—

familiā, Trin. 251 (cretic).
filiā, Men. 762.
ineptiā, Merc. 26.
morā, Curc. 461 (may be removed by hiatus).
tesserā, Poen. 1052.
 Neuter pl., *facinorā*, Ps. 563.
 Very doubtful is *ancilla*, Cas. 655.

(c) Adjectives:—

alterā, B. 1128 (bacchiac).
alterā, Poen. prol. 85.
liberā, E. 498.
meā, Cas. 696 (bacchiac; haplography?).
meā, Curc. 602.
 Neuter pl., *ceterā*, As. 199.
fuctā, Pers. 761 (anap.).
omniā, Men. 900.
omniā, Mil. 1314.
omniā Mil. 1338.

More doubtful is *auara*, Truc. 459 (bacchiac).

(d) We may add these pronouns:—

eāque, Curc. 80.
illā, S. 159.
istā, Merc. 730.

Neuter pl., *istā* (so B), As. 860.

Of these 24 Leo prints 14.

2. Gen. s. in -as.

matrem familiās, Am. 831, Merc. 406, 415.
matres familiās, S. 98.

Others advocated by Ritschl, metri gratia, have not met with approval.

3. In two places only have the MSS. of Plautus preserved any trace of the genitive ending -āi: in verse 51 of the prologue to the *Poenulus* B reads *comedi ais inodiosi* for *comœdai sin odios*; add Poen. 1045, *Antidamā[t]i*—so A. This ending is, however, attested by the metre in many places; the small, conservative text of Götz and Schöll prints 28 instances of it, in nouns of various kinds, as well as in adjectives and possessive pronouns; e.g. *mei*, *tuai* (?), Aul. 121; *nostrai*, Mil. 519; *magnai publicai*, Mil. prol. 103 (attested by Marius Victorinus); *malai*, Merc. 692; cf. Rufinus, p. 561, 2, K. It is found even in Greek nouns: *Antidamai*, Poen. 1045 (but *Antidamæ*, Poen. 1042, 1047); *Charnidai*, Trin. 359 (but *Charmidi*, Trin. 744); *Periphanai*, E. 246, 508, 635.

This -āi rarely suffers elision; doubtful instances are cited by Lindsay, L.L. p. 381. The usual gen. ending -ae also is not liable to synaloepha, but the -ae of the dat. s. (of different origin) is elided (Leo, *Plant. Forsch.* ch. 6).

4. Final *d*, as a means of avoiding hiatus, is now generally rejected in all ablatives, except in the pronouns *mēd* and *tēd*; these are good accusative forms also. Lindsay is inclined to admit also *rēd* in Aul. 141, Merc. 629, Ps. 19 (*Archiv f. L.L.* 10 [1898] 550); to these add As. 224.

5. The dialectic termination -as for the nom. pl., proposed to help the metre in various places (e.g. Am. 275, Trin. 539), has now been abandoned.

6. We find no instance of -abus in our plays. Priscian (G.L. ii. 293, 12, K) quotes S. 567 as showing *filiis pro filiabus* [so also Poen. 1128]; and he gives from an unnamed play of Plautus the words *de gnatabus suis* (*Frag. Fab. Inc.* v. 82).

SECOND DECLENSION.

1. Two *u*'s are avoided in the nom. and acc. s., so that we get e.g. *sérus ést*, Ps. 727 (B, C, D) and *Quom7 séruos sis séruom tibi*, Pers. 291 (A, B), but *oculus* (e.g. Truc. 579) and *oculum* (e.g. Truc. 881).

2. Men. 957 gives us the nom. *socerus*; verse 1046 of the same play has *socer*. A nom. *puerus* has been conjectured into Truc. 906 (MSS. *purus*).
conciliabolum, Trin. 314, BCD.

3. The gen. s. of *-io* stems ends of course in a single *i*; e.g. *flágiti*, Merc. 417.

4. *Huic puello*, Frag. 92, Lenones Gemini. So Festus, 249. 15; Priscian, 231. 21, reads *hic puellus*.

5. Vocative singular.

meus caseus, Poen. 367.

huic caseus, Poen. 390.

oculus, Poen. 394.

oculus meus, Most. 311, Pers. 765.

meus oculus, Cist. 53, S. 764.

ocellus aureus, As. 691.

meus ocellus, As. 664, Poen. 366. Compare Curc. 203, 392.

In As. 664 we find *mi anime* parallel with *meus ocellus*; cf. Cas. 137, 138.

The vocative *puere* is attested by MSS., by grammarians, or by limping metre.

(a) Needed for metre, i.e. before consonants or at the end of verse, 16 instances: As. 382; B. 577; Curc. 75; Merc. 912 (910); Most. 843, 947, 949, 965, 990, 991; Pers. 792; Ps. 170, 242b, 249, 252; Truc. 535.

(b) Not needed by metre, but given by MSS., i.e. before vowels, 5 instances: As. 891; Merc. 930; Most. 308; Pers. 771; Ps. 241b.

(c) Merc. 922 (921) has *puer6, hoc pallium*.

(d) Merc. 976 shows *nouos amatori, uetus, puéri*, apparently vocatives but possibly nominatives in apposition. So *thensaurus*, As. 655.

6. The genitive plural in *-orum* occurs in about 60 different words—nouns, adjectives, pronouns—with a total of 111 instances. The genitive in *-um* or *-om* is found in some 21 words, 76 times. Both forms occur for 12 words:

deum 14

duom 1

liberum 1

meum 8

nostrum (pron.) 9

„ (adj.) 3

nummum 12

puerum 1

seruom ? 1

socium 1

tuom 2

uerbum 4

uostrum (pron.) 7

„ (adj.) 1

deorum 9 (synizesis in 8 of these).

duorum 2

liberorum 5

meorum 3

nostrorum (pron.) 3

„ (adj.) 1

nummorum 1

puerorum 1

seruorum 4

sociorum 1

tuorum 7

uerborum 6

uostrorum (pron.) 5

Of the other words in *-orum* 36 occur once each, of the others in *-um*, 5 once each. The needs of the metre seem to be the only thing that determines the choice; in Most. 120 we get *liberum*, but in the next verse *liberorum*—both verses are bacchiac.

THIRD DECLENSION.

1. Nominative singular.

(a) *-os* and *-or*.

colos, Men. 828, Mil. 1179; *color*, Merc. 368.

honos, Trin. 697, Frag. 101 Pagon; *honor*, R. 195, Trin. 663.

labos, Capt. 196, Merc. 72, Trin. 271, Truc. 521; *labor* Curc. 219, R. 202.

lepos, As. prol. 13, Cas. 235 (voc.), Curc. 98 (voc.), R. 352; *lepor* is not found in Plautus.

odos, Capt. 815 (814), Curc. 99 (Nonius only), 105, Ps. 841, 842; *odor* [Curc. 99 MSS.], Poen. 1179.

Total, *-os* 17, *-or* 6.

(b) *-ör*, *-ër*.

Amatör, B. 1163; *amör* [Cist. 72 doubtful], Merc. 590, Most. 142, Trin. 260a; *auctör*, Ps. 231; *exercitör*, Trin. 226, 1016; *gubernatör*, R. 1014; *honör*, R. 195; *imperator*, Am. 229; *oratör*, B. 981; *seruatör* (change of speaker) Ps. 874; *sorör*, B. 1140 a, E. 657 (so B, not A; voc., change of speaker), Poen. 364, 406, (change of speaker), 895, S. 76; *uxör*, As. 927, Merc. 800 (voc.), S. 140; *Iuppitör* Am. prol. 94 (t) Curc. 27 (change of speaker); *patör*, Aul. 779, As. 828 (voc., change of speaker). Total, *-ör* 18 (22)!, *-ër* 1 (4)?

(c) Unsyncopated nominatives singular.

Opis, B. 893; *Ops*, Cist. 515.

Polluces, B. 894; *Pollux* not found in Plautus.

sortis, Cas. 380; *sors* six times in the Casina, and also in Most. 631.

(d) Miscellaneous.

haec canes, Trin. 172; *Canes* (i.e. Hecuba) Men. 718 (Ba, C, Da). Cf. *fores*, Most. 507 (B'CD).

inus, Merc. 985, CD.

nubis, Merc. 880.

lac, *lact*, *lacte*. *Lacte* is sure for B 19 (13), Men. 1089, Mil. 240; and it is possible for Truc. 903. On the other hand, a monosyllable is demanded in Am. 601 (MSS. all give *lac*); in B. 1134 (*lact* seems a trifle more probable than *lac*); and in Truc. 903 (here we may read *lacte* with elision, or *lact*, but probably not *lac*).

mers, *merx*, *merces*. In Plautus this word is usually found with an adjective, *mala*, *proba*, *tua*. *Mers* seems to be the common Plautine form, but it is nearly always changed to *merx* in some MS. or MSS. *Mers* seems sure in Cist. 727, Men. 758 (Nonius twice), Mil. 728 (Nonius only), Pers. 238, 586, Poen. 342; perhaps it is to be read in Mil. 894.

Mil. 1059 has *merces*, nom. s.; Ps. 954 *mercist*. In S. 519, A gives *commersque*.

[*milis*?? Mil. 946 (C). Truc. 874 (BCD'); cf. *milix* in late inserr.]

opos, S. 573 (B).

uatis, Mil. 911 (BCD').

2. Genitive singular.

su<er>is, Curc. 323, corr. Scaliger; *sueris*, Frag. 49, Carbonaria, corr. Turnèbe; *sueres*, Festus 330. 27. *sui<s>*, Most. 40.

[*neminis*, Capt. 764; similarly abl. *nemine*, Cist. 87, Mil. 1062].

3. Accusative singular.

(a) -i stems.

capparim, Curc. 90.

clauim, Most. 404 (F), 425.

cratim, Poen. 1025.

farim, Most. 169.

usque ad fatim, Men. 91, Poen. 534.

febrim, Ps. 643.

ictim, Capt. 184.

[*imbrim*, Ps. 102; so A, Studemund, but not quite certainly; by a curious interchange with a following word].

magudarim, R. 633.

messim, E. 718, Most. 161, Poen. 1019, Trin. 32 (A ?), but *messem*, R. 637 and perhaps Trin. 32.

nauim, Cas. 557, Men. prol. 25, Mil. 1187, 1188, 1300, 1303. In the Mercator (vv. 75, 87, 92, 187, 194, 218, 257, 259, 461) C and D regularly give *nauim*, where B has

nauem; in 946 *nauem* alone is found. Elsewhere we get *nauem*, in 27 places.

rauin, Aul. 336, Cist. 304, Frag. 8 Artemo.

restim, Cas. 425, Pers. 815, Poen. 396, Ps. 88, R. 367; but *restem*, R. 1036.

securim, Aul. 95, Men. 858.

sitim, Curc. 116, Merc. 861.

strigilim, S. 230 (228), but -em Pers. 124.

turrim, B. 710.

(b) Miscellaneous:

itiner, Merc. 911, 929.

tenuis, B. 793.

4. Vocative singular.

Harpage, Ps. 665, but *Harpax*, 653.

5. Ablative singular.

(a) Ablatives in -i:

adfini, Trin. 622.

aedi, Poen. 847, but *aede*, B. 312.

aetati, Poen. 509.

auri, Cas. 616, E. 184, Ps. 762.

bili, Am. 727.

calcarei, As. 708.

[*Carthaginii*?, Cas. prol. 71].

civi, Pers. 475.

columbari, R. 888.

fini, Men. 859.

fusti, As. 427, Aul. 454, Capt. 896, Cas. 967, 971.

luci, Am. 165, Aul. 748, Cas. 786, Cist. 525, Men. 1006, Merc. 255, S. 364; but *luce*, Am. 547, Curc. 182, Truc. 574.

lupanari, B. 454.

mani, Am. 253 (Nonius), Most. 767 (B before corr.), Poen. 650 (? A); but *mane*, E. 273, 314, Men. 1157, Mil. 503, Most. 534, Pers. 113, 114 (bis), Poen. 806, R. 418 (Lambin). The grammarians quoted in the Triumvirate edition on Most. 767, are pretty consistent in declaring that the ablative is *mani*, and the adverb *mane*. Add *mane septimi*, Men. 1157.

mari, abl., occurs 30 times,—with faint traces of -e in 4 places. Priscian expressly testifies to an ablative *mare* in R. 981.

militi, Ps. 616 (A, B) shown also by metre. In Mil. 1290, B gives *militi*, at end of verse; in Ps. 717 A has either *militi* or *militē*, with elision; and in Truc. 87, BCD show *militi* at end of verse. Besides these 4 in -i, we find 7 ablatives of *miles* in -e.

nauis, 31 times, the only form.

parti, Men. 479, Pers. 72, but *parte*, Poen. 1285.

pectoris? Merc. 345 (D).

securi, Ps. 158.

senapi, Truc. 315.

siti, Cas. 154, Curc. 119, Most. 193, R. 312.

sorti, Cas. 428.

Theti, E. 32 (35).

Veneri, Poen. 256.

For *vesperi*, see p. 302.

(b) Apparent instances of *-ē*.

capitē, Most. 211.

carnē, Capt. 914.

faenorē, Curc. 508.

famē, As. 145, Cist. 45, Most. 193, Pers. 318, S. 216. The ablative of *fames*, occurs 16 times—11 times at the end of a verse or half-verse, and 5 times elsewhere, with a long ultima in all the five.

lucē, Merc. 255.

marē, R. 981, according to Priscian.

militē, Ps. 616 (C, D; *-i*, A, B).

millē, B. 928.

mortē, Mil. 707.

Navcratē, Am. 860.

ordinē, Ps. 761, 1312.

parietē, Cas. 140.

patrē, S. 71.

pectorē, B. 628.

punicē, Pers. 41.

temporē, E. 406.

tramiē, Frag. 108, Parasitus Piger.

ucorē, Cas. 318.

This length of the *-e* is probably only apparent; Plautus doubtless wrote *-i*, confounding these with *-i* stems. Cf. *luci* and *temperi*; also Merc. 345 (D) (elided however), and B. 628.

(c) Miscellaneous.

iungere, Men. 913, abl. of **iungus*, a wagon; cf. Plato. Euthyd. 299, b.

[*nemine*, Cist. 87, Mil. 1062].

in peregre est. Frag. 40, Caecus uel Praedones.

rete, abl., with quantity of ultima indeterminate, As. 100 (B, D), R. 914, 1020, 1292, Truc. 37. In R. 1071 *reti* must be the right form. Priscian expressly attests *rete* in R. 1020.

6. Nominative plural.

There are at least 98 instances (in nouns and adjectives) of *-is* in the nom. pl. attested by the reading of one or more of the MSS. A B C D. This number would be raised to 108 if we included some readings due to E or J, and Nonius' quotation of Capt. 164. Of the 96 the Miles shows 32, the Truculentus 14, the Poenulus 9. I have found at least one instance in every play except the Aulularia (and the Vid. and fragg.). The forms are attested as follows:

By A 5 (Cas. 720, Poen. 433 bis, 994, 1208).

ABCD 1 (Truc. 182).

B 22.

BC 1 (Poen. 849).

BD 9.

BCD 47.

C 2.

CD 8.

D 3.

Such forms as *puppis* and *restis* are attested by Varro, L. L. 8. 66. The 98 instances in Plautus occur in consonant, as well as in *-i* stems. They have generally been disregarded by editors; but, aside from a few that may be open to suspicion, they are too numerous to be looked on as accidents or blunders. Plautus evidently confused the two kinds of stems elsewhere: cf. abl. s., pp. 297 sq.

FOURTH DECLENSION.

1. Genitive singular, 16 instances.

(a) *gemiti*, Aul. 722.

quaesti, Aul. 83, Most. 1107, Pers. 66, Poen. prol. 95.

senati columen, Cas. 536, E. 189.

sumpti, Cas. 425, Trin. 250.

tumulti, Cas. 649, Poen. 207.

uicti, Capt. 855.

(b) *cibus*, Capt. 826, according to the testimony of Priscian, is a genitive; some take it as a nominative in apposition. Elsewhere we get only *cibi* (Cas. 778, Curc. 319, Vid. 42).

lectus, Am. 513, expressly attested as a genitive by Priscian.

quaestus, Ps. 1197, probably genitive, possibly nominative.

sumptus, Mil. 675, very doubtfully genitive.

The ending *-uis* seems not to occur at all in Plautus.

Total, *-i* 12; *-us* 4?

2. Dative singular, 27 instances:—

depeculatuī, E. 520.

despicatuī, Men. 693.

extersuī, Curc. 578.

frustratuī, Men. 695.

gustuī, Cist. 70.

ludificatuī, Poen. 1281.

memoratuī, B. 62.

pērdituī et praedatuī, Cist. 366.

quaestui, Poen. 626.

sūmptui, Mil. 672.

sumptui, Mil. 740.

sumptui, Most. 125 (bacchiac).

usu, at verse end, Merc. 32, Mil. 600, 724, 771, Ps. 305; in interior of verse, Cist. 691, Curc. 501, Men. 358, Mil. 601, Ps. 1129.

anū, Aul. 466; *anu*, Curc. 104.

quaestu et cultu, R. 294.

Total, *-ui*, at end of verse or half-verse, 13, elsewhere, 10; *-u* 4.

3. Accusative singular.

algum, masc., Vid. 103 (Priscian).

ueru, neut., R. 134; but *uerum*, neut., Truc. 628, and, nom., R. 1302, 1304.

4. Ablative singular.

angiportu, Cist. 384, Most. 1046.

ex hac domu, Mil. prol. 126; this is the only fourth declension form of *domus* in Plautus.

hac noctu, Am. 272, 404, 412, 731, Mil. 381, Trin. 869. *Noctu* stands alone as adverb in 25 places. Cf. *diu* (as in Cas. 823) and *nudius tertius* (as in Most. 956-7). *sine penu*, Capt. 472.

5. Genitive plural.

mille passum, Men. 177, Truc. 334.

The form *fluctuom*, sometimes quoted as Plautine, does not occur in Plautus.

6. Accusative plural.

artuā, Men. 855 (MSS., Priscian, Nonius, metre).

FIFTH DECLENSION.

1. Genitive singular.

reī, Cist. 144 (omitted by editors), Men. 764, Pers. 65, Poen. 745, 1405, Ps. 1120, S. 379, Truc. 145, 223.

rēī, Aul. 121, Merc. 692, Mil. prol. 103, Most. 89.

rēī, E. 203, Men. 323, 494, Merc. 964, R. 487.

rēī, Aul. 68.

rēī or *rēi*, either possible, As. 855, Men. 812.

diēi, Capt. 800.

diē, Ps. 1158 (so B; *diem* A).

di-ēī, As. 253, Poen. 217, Trin. 811.

Fidēi, Aul. 617.

Fidēi, Aul. 667. Either here or in 617 Charisius read *Fide*.

Fidēī, Aul. 585.

fidēī, Aul. 121.

plebi, Ps. 748.

2. Dative singular.

reī. As. 182, 589, B. 947, Capt. 460, Cas. 773, Cist. 97, 184 (prol.), Curc. 532, Merc. 300 (*re*), 376 (379), 551, Mil. 764, 798, 802, 1093, Poen. 479, Ps. 58, 175, R. 1374, Trin. 38, 635, 757 (*re*), 930, 1123, Truc. 375, 394, 713.

r(ēi), Am. 674 (*reī*), B. 297, Men. 234, Most. 92, Pers. 333, 372, 393, Poen. prol. 49, Poen. 815 (*re*), Ps. 783, 1115, R. 717, S. 720 (718), Trin. 119, 230, 522, 865, Truc. 231.

rēī(*e*), or *rēī*, either possible in Merc. 987.

diēī Am. 546.

diēī, Capt. 464.

diē, Am. 276; so Serv. Dan. expressly for this verse; the MSS. of Plautus have *diei*.

diī, Merc. 4 (13); so Serv.; *die* ex *dii*, D, *die* BCF.

dīēī or *dīēī*, either possible in Trin. 843.

fidēi. Am. 391.

fidei, Aul. 615.

Fidēi, Aul. 676.

fidēi, Cas. 1007.

fidēi, Cist. 245.

Fide, Poen. 890 (*-e* BCD; *-ei* AF).

fid(e), Pers. 193 (A); Trin. 117 (B).

fid(ei), Trin. 128, 142.

It is noteworthy how little evidence, relatively, we have for *-e* in the genitive and dative singular: gen. *die*, Ps. 1158; *Fide*, Aul. 617 or 667; dat. *re*, Am. 674, Merc. 300, Poen. 817, Trin. 757; *die*, Am. 276, Merc. 4 (13); *Fide*, Poen. 890, *fide*, Pers. 193, Trin. 117; and possibly *pube*, Ps. 126. Total in *-e*, gen. 2, dat. 10.

3. Ablative singular.

pube (dat. s. ?) Ps. 126.

rēd, see p. 295.

reapse, Camerarius in Truc. 815; cf. *rempsam*, Truc. 864 (so B), and Am. prol. 73.

4. Locative.

die crastini, Most. 881.

die septimi, Men. 1156.

die septumei, Pers. 260.

5. Genitive plural.
sorderum, Poen. 314.

VARIATIONS IN GENDER.

Nouns ordinarily masculine, appearing in Plautus as feminine, 4 :

Nulla Acheruns, Capt. 999 ; MSS. and Nonius expressly. This is the only one of the 17 instances to show gender.

ulla amnis, Merc. 859 ; MSS. and Nonius expressly. The other (four) instances do not betray gender.

capivundas crines, Most. 226 ; B ante ras., and Nonius expressly ; -*dos* other MSS. Mil. 792 the only other instance is indeterminate.

hanc rudentem, R. 938 ; MSS., Nonius expressly, gloss. The other instances (2) do not indicate gender.

2. Nouns ordinarily masculine, appearing here as neuter.

artua, Men. 855 ; C, Nonius, Priscian, metre.

calor, acc. s., Merc. 860 ; BCD,¹ Philargyrus ; Nonius expressly says neuter, but his text reads -*em*. Occurs, in Plautus, only here.

capillum, nom. s., Most. 254 ; Nonius expressly ; Plautine MSS. have -*us*. Six other instances indecisive.

caseum, nom. s., Frag. 103, Parasitus Medicus ; Nonius expressly. The three other instances are masculine.

nasum, nom. s., Am. 444 ; MSS., Nonius.

sagax nasum, acc. s., Curc. 110, MSS.

nasum, nom. s., Men. 168 ; MSS., Nonius incidentally.

nasum, nom. s. Mil. 1256 ; CD. Totals for this word, 4 neuter, 8 indeterminate.

pane, nom. s., Curc. 367 ; Nonius and Charisius, both expressly ; F ; -*em* B E J. On the other hand, *panem* six times, and *binos panes*, Pers. 471. Three indeterminate.

puugnum, nom. s., Capt. 796 ; Grammaticus de dubiis nominibus expressly says neuter, but the MSS. and Nonius have it masculine. Seven places show masculine gender, out of a total of 38.

sumbolum, Ps. 648 (-*us* A), 1001 ; clearly masc. in 5 places ; masc. or neut. in 11 others. The fem. form (4 instances) differs in meaning.

uterum, nom. s., Aul. 691 ; B E, Nonius expressly. Seven places do not show gender.

3. Nouns ordinarily feminine, appearing here as masculine.

hoc acetate, Trin. 1090 ; Nonius expressly, but our MSS. have *hac*, unquestionably right.

in suom aluom, Ps. 823 ; MSS., Nonius expressly. Three indecisive instances.

unum calcem, Poen. 908 ; Nonius expressly, but our MSS. show *unam*.

sedatum cupidinem, Am. 840 ; MSS.

severo fronte, Mil. 201. So A ; other MSS. -*a*. R. 318 gives *contracta fronte*, and six places do not indicate gender.

coloratitem frontem, Frag. 110, Plocinum. Nonius, 204, 26, says masculine, quoting as above ; but in 149, 5 he quotes the verse for another purpose, giving *coloratum* ; metre affords no sure help.

hoc luci, Am. 165, B D E F J.

luci claro, Aul. 748 ; Nonius expressly says masculine and is followed by F, but B D E J give *clara*.

lucis tuendi, Capt. 1008 (*tuendae* only in F, J).

cum primo luci, Cist. 525 ; MSS.

hoc luce, Curc. 182 ; MSS.

This word is feminine in Am. 547, *luce clara*, MSS. ; (and in Aul. 748 according to B D E J). There are 20 instances of *lux* and its cases ; 14 are indeterminate, 5 masculine, and 1 feminine.

4. Nouns usually neuter, here masculine :

ueitalem aeuom, Poen. 1187 ; A B C D F. *collus*, Am. 445 ; Nonius expressly, followed by F ; MSS. have *collum*.

collus, Capt. 357 ; MSS., Donatus.

collus, R. 888, Priscian ; MSS. give *collum*, so Osbornus, and so apparently the metre ; cf. Leo on R. 888.

hunc in collum, Pers. 691 ; MSS.

collos, Capt. 902 ; MSS.

Of 29 instances of this word, 4 are masc., 1 masc. or neut., 24 indeterminate.

unum conclauem, Mil. 140 (prol.), B ante ras. C D.

... *clauē*, Cas. 881 ; so B. *clauem* without space, E F. Most. 843 has *conclauia*, and the two remaining instances are indecisive.

crassus corius redditust, Frag. Fab. Inc. 5 (18) ; Paulus expressly.

tris corios bubulos, Poen. 139 ; MSS. and Nonius expressly. Totals, 2 masc., 4 neuter, 11 indeterminate.

dorsus totus, Mil. 397 ; BC, Nonius expressly. *dorsum totum*, A F ; *dor sū totus*, D. Three instances indecisive.

gūtturēm, Aul. 304 ; MSS., metre, Nonius, Priscian.

gūtturēm, Mil. 835 ; MSS., metre, Nonius.

gutturēm, Trin. 1014; MSS., metre.

Capt. 468 has *guttur* nom. s., but gender is not indicated here or in the remaining two instances.

hi loci, Ps. 595.

quos locos, Trin. 931;

but *loca*, R. 227, Cist. 677, R. 111, Trin. 863, 864; add *locorum*, Capt. 385, and *locarum*, Cas. 120 (so A), Poen. 144 (BCD), Truc. 661 (BCDL).

pergrandem lucrum, Pers. 494; Nonius expressly, against all our MSS.

papauerem, Poen. 326; MSS.

papauerēm, Trin. 410; MSS., metre,

Nonius, Charisius.

uvidum retem, R. 942; so Priscian, 332. 14, but in 270. 15 he gives *rete*.

retem, R. 984; CDF, Priscian, Lambin; further details about this word on page 302.

sinus, bowl, nom. s., Curc. 82; MSS., Prisc., gloss.

sinus, nom. s. R. 1319; MSS.

Two indecisive instances.

familiarem tergum, As. 319; Nonius expressly, followed by F; *-are*, all other MSS. *tributus*, nom. s. m., E. 227, 228.

uisus, nom. s. masc. B 50; MSS., gloss.

uisus, nom. s. masc. Poen. 479; MSS., and Charisius without quoting. Four other instances indeterminate.

5. Nouns ordinarily neuter, here feminine.

fulmentas, Trin. 720.

ad labas, S. 721; *labiis*, Mil. 93, indeterminate.

locarum, see above.

e murteta, Vid. 100; so Priscian. Porphyrio gives *per murteta*, and *murteta*, acc. pl., occurs in R. 732.

ramentā, B. 513, 518 [519 b], R. 1016; but *cum ramento*, B. 680.

senapis scelerā, nom. s. f., Ps. 817. Expressly attested as feminine here by Prisc., Serv., Mar. Sacerd., Probus. MSS. are muddled, but agree with feminine gender. One other instance, indecisive.

6. Nouns masculine and feminine.

anguis, Am. 1108. Nonius expressly says feminine, against our MSS. In 1116, *alterum [anguem]*, u ex a, D. The word is masculine in Am. 1114, 1119, 1123, and indeterminate in 3 other places.

araneorum, As. 425; so Nonius; *-arum* MSS.

araneorum, S. 348; MSS., Nonius.

araneas, Aul. 87.

araneas, S. 355; so C D F (*-as* or *-os*? A)

araneis, indet., Aul. 84.

canis, and its cases, occurs 26 times; 11 as fem., 2 as masc., 13 indeterminate. It is therefore normally feminine in Plautus, and is used as feminine even when it refers to a man (Most. 41, Poen. 1236, Trin. 172). It refers to a woman in Men. 838, 936; and is feminine with only general reference in Capt. 435, Most. 850, 854, Poen. 1234, Ps. 319 (Nonius has masc.), S. 139. It is masc. only twice, and in both cases it refers to a man (B. 1146, Mil. 268).

dies, as feminine, occurs at least 9 times: As. 534, 838, E. 545, Ps. 58, 279, 301, 374, 623, Vid. 90.

feminam leonem, Vid. 111, 112, Philargyrius. Similarly *ciui femina*, Pers. 475; and with distinctly feminine adjectives, *rabiosa femina canis*, Men. 838, and *musca nulla femina*, Truc. 284.

scrobes, masc., Am. Frag. 6, Priscian twice expressly, and other grammarians; also Aul. Frag. 3, Nonius expressly.

uesper, *uespera*, see p. 302.

7. Masculine, feminine, neuter.

penus annuos, Ps. 178; Priscian.

omne penus, nom., Ps. 228.

aliud penus, acc., Capt. 920; six instances indeterminate.

8. Nouns masculine and neuter.

algum, acc. s. masc., Vid. 103, Priscian; *algu*, abl., Most. 193, R. 582, indeterminate. *calamistrum meum*, nom. s., Curc. 577, MSS. and Charisius. Occurs nowhere else in Plautus.

pilleum quem, Frag. Dub. 6, Nonius 220. 11, expressly; *pilleum*, voc. neuter, Frag. 69, Cornicula; so Nonius 220. 11 expressly. Indeterminate in Am. 462.

9. Nouns feminine and neuter.

praesepe suas, Cas., prol. 57, MSS.

praesepe suam, Curc. 228. Expressly stated to be fem. by Charisius and Nonius; B reads *suum*.

praesepe meas, R. 1038. Nonius quotes it as fem. but assigns it to the Curculio. B also has *meas*.

haec praesepe mea est. Frag. Inc. Fab. 67, Marius Sacerdos, expressly.

I have discussed this matter of Variation of Gender from a different point of view in the Proceedings of the American Philological Association, vol. 32, 1901, p. lxxxiii, from which I may here quote the following paragraphs:

We have coincident testimony of

Metre,	MSS., and	Grammarians	in 10 cases
Metre and MSS.			7
Metre and		Grammarians	1 (+ 2 fragg.)
	MSS. and	Grammarians	17
	MSS. alone		23
		Grammarians alone	13 (+ 8 fragg.)
Metre 20	MSS. 57	Grammarians 51	71 (+ 10)

Of eighty-one instances of variation in gender in Plautus, all but six [*aetate*, m., *capillum*, n., *lucrum*, m., *murteta*, f., *pugnum*, n., *tergum*, m.], can be paralleled by testimony of various sorts, oftentimes coincident, more rarely of one kind alone. The evidence from other authors consists, overwhelmingly, of that of writers of plebeian Latin. We should be inclined to look with rather less suspicion than we might have imagined on the testimony of the later grammarians in this matter of gender. In particular, Nonius probably blundered in only four instances out of thirty-four. It would seem that, on the whole, the variations of gender in Plautus, are as well assured as most points in Plautus can be.

SINGULAR FORMS USED FOR PLURALS.

castrum Poenorum, Frag. Fab. Inc. 76, Servius. Plural forms occur five times.

mea delicia, Poen. 365. So Gellius and Nonius; -ae, A B C D.

me<a> delicia, Truc. 921, B C D.

deliciae, dat., R. 429.

As epithet in plural 5 times: Most. 15, Pers. 204, Ps. 180, 227, S. 742.

foris, nom. s., Am. 496, Aul. 665, B. 234, 1057, Cas. 163, 874, Merc. 699, Mil. 154 (prol.), 528, 985, 1198, Most. 507, 1062, Pers. 300, 404, S. 87, total 16.

forem, B. 833, Cas. 893.

This word occurs in the plural about 89 times, exclusive of the adverbs *foris* and *foras*.

VARIATIONS IN DECLENSION.

angiportum, neuter, Ps. 961, Most. 1045, Pers. 678, Ps. 961; *angiporto*, abl., As. 741, Ps. 971; *angiporta*, Cist. 384, Ps. 1235; *angiportis*, Pers. 444,—all these are apparently of the second declension; against them stand *ex angiportu*, Cist. 124, and *in angiportu*, Most. 1046 (in the latter place the reading of A is doubtful, -u or -o).

araneorum, As. 425; so Nonius; MSS. give -arum.

araneorum, S. 348, MSS. and Nonius.

araneas, Aul. 87.

araneas, S. 355, C D F; A doubtful.

araneis, Aul. 84, indet.

domu, Mil. prol. 126, is the only fourth declension form of *domus*, and occurs but this once; *domo* is very common.

fulmentas, fem. not neut., Trin. 720.

ad labeas, S. 721, (*labiis*, Mil. 93, indet.).

locus, in plural, see page 301.

murteta, see page 301.

hac noctu, Am. 272, 404, 412, 731, Mil. 381, Trin. 869; *nocte* is common.

paniculum, m. or f., Mil. 18.

pecus, n., 1; *pecudem*, etc., 4; *pecu*, *pecua*, 5.

penus annuos, Ps. 178.

peni, gen., Ps. 608, Trin. 254.

penum, acc. Capt. 771, Men. 120, 801; but

omne penus, nom., Ps. 228,

aliud penus, acc., Capt. 920, and

sine penu, Capt. 472.

On this word see Gellius, N. A. 4. 1.

ramentā, abl., B. 513, 518 (519b) R. 1016.

cum ramento, B. 680.

rete, and its cases, occurs 15 times; 8 of the instances are normal. For R. 942, Priscian attests a masc. acc. s., *uuidum retem*, though elsewhere he quotes the same verse with *rete*. In R. 984, C, D, F, Priscian, Lambin, give *retem*, acc. s. In R. 900 we get *retiam*, acc. s., in Priscian and in ed. princ., the MSS. giving *retia* acc. pl. In R. 1071 we find *retia prehendi* (so practically B C D), but the metre requires *reti apprehendi*. We have the ablative *rete* expressly attested for R. 1020 by Priscian, and it occurs also in R. 914, 1292.

In As. 238, B D F give *syngrapham*; in 5 other instances we get *syngraphum*, Nonius expressly stating that Cicero used the feminine, and that Plautus used the masculine in As. 746.

uasum, Truc. 53, 54; *uas*, B. 202, R. 986.

ueru, *uerum*, see page 299.

uesper hic, B. 1205.

uesperum, 10 instances (Mil. 503 -am F; Most. 767 -am grammatici).

uesperi, 5 instances.

de uesperi suo, Mil. 995.

prima uespera, Curc. 4 (cf. Mil. 503, Most.

767). Compare *uesperugo*, Am. 275, and *uesperna*, Frag. Fab. Inc. 45, Paulus.

Greek nouns show a good deal of wavering. They have been treated by H. M. Hopkins, in *Harv. Studies*, ix. 96, and I shall notice only a few here.

Achilles (3 instances), *Achillem* (2), *Achilli*, gen., B. 938. The first syllable of this word is thought to be long in Merc. 488 and Mil. 1054; and it may be long in the 4 other places.

architectus (4), *architecte* (2), *architectis* (1); *architēctonēm* twice at end of verse. Text corrupt in Mil. 919.

Calchas, nom., Merc. 945; *Calcha*, abl., Men. 748.

Callicles (10), *Callicli*, gen., Trin. 1183, *Callicli*, dat., Trin. 582, 899, *Calliclem* (6), *Callicle*, abl. (2),

Charmides (13), *Charmidai*, Trin. 359, *Charmidi*, gen., Trin. 744, *Charmidem* (4), *Charmide*, abl. (2).

Euripidi, gen., R. 86.

Herculis, gen., R. 161, *Herculi*, gen., Pers. 2, R. 822.

Philolaches (17)

Philolachetis (1) *Philolachis* (14)

Philolacheti (1) (2?) *Philolachi* (1)

Philolachetem (2?) *Philolachem* (3?)

Philolachete (1) *Philolache* (1)

Thetis, Truc. 731, *Theti*, abl., E. 32 (35).

Tranio, nom. (18), *Tranioni* (1), *Tranione* (1); but *Tranium*, acc., Most. 560.

NOUNS, ADVERBS, AND PREPOSITIONS.

usque ad fatim, Men. 91, Poen. 534.

hoc commodum, Trin. 1136.

tueis ingratiis, Merc. 479.

amborum ingratiis, Cas. 315. *ingratiis* as an adverb, ten times.

a mani, Am. 253 (-i Nonius; -e B D E J); Most. 767 (gramm. testimony strong for -i, MSS. -e); *a mane*, Most. 534, MSS.; Mil. 503, MSS.; *mane septimi*, Men. 1157; and *mane* ten times as an adverb.

Meritissimo eius, As. 737; cf. *meritissimo* E. 430. *merito*, clearly a noun, 10 instances; clearly an adverb, Cas. 182; *merito magis*; indeterminate, 23. Similar is *im-merito*.

hac noctu, Am. 272, 404, 731, Trin. 869.

noctu hac, Am. 412, Mil. 381.

noctu as adverb, 24 times.

nunc ipsum, B. 940.

in peregre est, Frag. 40, *Caccus vel Praedones* (Charisius).

osse fini, (*fini* as preposition), Men., 859.

intendi tenus, (*tenus* as noun), B. 793.

SYNCOPIATED AND UNSYNCOPIATED NOUNS.

balineae and its cases, As. 357, Merc. 127, Most. 756, Pers. 90, Poen. 976, R. 383, Trin. 406; *balineator*, R. 527. Total unsynco-pated, 8; but *balneator*, Poen. 703, Truc. 325.

columen, Am. 367, Cas. 536, E. 189, Most. 765, Trin. 85; *culmen* seems not to occur.

contro[uo]rsiam, Men. 593.

disciplina, so accented, occurs 12 times.

In As. 201 we find *disciplina*, with the second syllable apparently long; but mute and liquid cannot make position in Plautus, so it is necessary to read here *discīpūlina*. In Most. 154 the *u* is attested by Ba C D, though it is not needed for the metre. In 11 of the 13 instances the metre would permit the longer form; but in Cas. 652, 657, *disciplinam* ends a bacchiac tetra-meter, so that -u- would be impossible there.

expurgationem, Am. 965, Merc. 960.

fanitores, Am. prol. 67, 78, 79.

laridum, Capt. 847 903, 907, Men. 210.

naūitis, Men. 226; *nauta* occurs only twice, Mil. 1335, 1430, where it must be trochaic.

opificina, Mil. 880.

populus, and its cases, occurs 45 times. Eleven times at the end of a verse (or hemistich) we get the forms *popli*, *poplo*, *poplum*, shown by metre, and by more or less clear proof of them in the MS. readings. *popli* As. 655 (hemistich), Aul. 285, Cas. 536, Most. 15, Pers. 408; *poplo*, Am. prol. 101, 190 (hemistich), 259, Ps. 126, R. 1251; *poplum*, As. prol. 4. In S. 490, Leo prints *popli*, on account of Meyer's Law; in Ps.

178 the Götz-Schöll edition prints *poplo* in the interior of an anapaestic verse; in Most. 124, Poen. 227, Ps. 1129, Leo reads *popló* at the beginning of bacchiac verses—but all these seem unnecessary.

Quadrup <u>eator, Pers. 70.

uidulus occurs 53 times. In R. 1130 the metre demands the form *uidlus*, and in R. 936, 1106, 1127, *uidlum*.

periculum, and its cases, occurs 48 times. In 36 places we must read *periculum*. In 10 instances we find the full form at the end of an iambic verse or hemistich: As. 457 (hemistich), B. 599, Capt. 91, 687, 740, Men. 199, 201, Poen. 633, R. 349 (hemistich), Trin. 858. Twice we seem to get the longer form in the interior of a verse: in Pers. 524 A and F read *periculo*, but B C D give *periclo*; it would seem to be better to read *periclo* with following hiatus at penth. caesura [cf. Men. 841,—shall we read *oraculo* with B and avoid hiatus, or *oraclo* with hiatus?].

In Frag. Fab. Inc. 53 (Porphyrio) we get *periculū*, apparently filling the second dipody of a senarius, but it is just possible that we have here parts of two verses, one ending with *periculū*.

pōculum occurs 12 times, but it does not show the regularity of usage that *periculum* does. The full form ends verse or hemistich 4 times, lies within an anapaestic verse in Ps. 947, occurs in a corrupt passage in Pers. 775. We also find it four times in the interior of a verse (Cure. 368, S. 272, 725; Truc. 43), where we get twice what we should there expect, the shorter form (As. 771, Cure. 359).

saeculum is found 5 times; the full form occurs in Trin. 283, cretic verse, and the shorter (if we accept Leo's reading for Aul. 126) in the other four.

spectaculū ends the senarius Poen. 209, and *spectacula* occurs normally in the interior of Cure. 647.

tabernaculū, end of verse, Trin. 726; *tabernaclo*, interior of verse, Am. 426, 428. This word is formed as if from **tabernāre*.

vehicla, Aul. 168, 502, Pers. 782, all med. versu.

vincla appears 10 times in the interior of the verse, and *vinculis* once in cretic verse, Capt. 204.

Other words with *-tlo-* suffix occurring at the end of a verse are *cenaculū*, Am. 863 (only here); *cubiculū*, Am. 808, As. 767 (also in full form med. versu Cas. 965, 769, and—cretic verse—Most. 696); *iaientaculū*, Cure. 72, 73 (perhaps only twice); *propugnaculū*, B. 710, Mil. 334 (twice only); *redimiculū*, Truc. 395. The full form occurs, med. versu, in these words: *cubiculum*, see above; *curriculum*, 12 times; *deridiculi*, 3 times; *deuortaculum*, Capt. 523; *piaculum*, Truc. 223; *ridiculi*, etc., 3 times, and twice in anapaests; and *adminiculum* in the corrupt Most. 130.

Alcumenā, 29 instances, all with help vowel. [The only occurrence of the short form is in the non-Plautine Arg. I, cf. *Alcumenas*, Arg. II.] *Alcumeus*, Capt. 562. *Coculitum*, Cure. 393. *Cucino*, Men. 854. *drachuma*, Ps. 86, 88, 91, 93 (8081?), Trin. 425; *drachmā*, Merc. 777. *mina* occurs very frequently and is the only Latin form of the word. *techina*, B. 392, Capt. 642, Most. 550, Poen. 817. Cf. Ps. 1096, *cōtechnātrus*.

³ *lārūa*, etc., Am. 777, Aul. 642, Capt. 598, Cas. 592, Merc. 981, 983 a; so *lārūātus*, adj., Am. Frag. 7, Frag. 12, Men. 890, Frag. Inc. Fab. 75.

miliōs, Aul. 316, 319, Poen. 1292, R. 1124; and adj. *miliūnus*, Men. 212, Ps. 852.

aiōncūlus, Aul. prol. 35; *aiōnculus*, Aul. 685, 778, 782, 799.

cau[il]ator, Truc. 683; *cāuillator*, Mil. 642; *cauillationes*, S. 228 (226), Truc. 685

clauator, R. 805 (cf. Poen. 530).

naūis, B. 797, Men. 344.

diuitiā, i.e., either the full or the syncopated form possible, 13 instances; *diūis*, at verse end, 4 instances (Capt. 170, Poen. prol. 60, R. 542, Trin. 682); *diuitiāe*, i.e. surely unsyncopated, 23 instances.

duelli, etc., As. 559, Capt. prol. 68, Truc. 483; *duellatores*, Capt. prol. 68; *duellica*, E. 450; *perduelles*, Am. 250, 642? Cist. 201 (prol.), Mil. 222, Ps. 583, 589. Against these stand *diūello*, Am. 189; and *bella* (10 instances), *bellator* (10), *Bellona* (2).

MISCELLANEOUS QUANTITY.

Acheruns and *Acherunticus* show the first syllable long in 17 instances; short (but possibly so only by iambic shortening) in 2: Poen. prol. 71, 831; indeterminate in Truc. 749. This is thought to be a result of some peculiar pronunciation of the Greek chi: some editors write *Acheruns*.

On *Achilles*, see page 303.

bacchanāl, acc. s., Aul. 413 (411); *-al* indeterminate in Aul. 408, B. 53, Mil. 858.

Castōris Cure. 481.

coēpulōnus, Pers. 100: cf. *coēmptionālem*, *Bacch.* 976 (B. com-CD).

cōr., voc. s., Poen. 390 b (cf. Lindsay, L.L. p. 215).

Hannibālem, *Hasdrubālem*, *Hamilcārem*, Frag. Inc. Fab. 46; cf. *Muthumbālis*, Poen. 997.

homīnis, *homōnis*, etc.:

Total instances of oblique cases of *homo*, 518—

Must have <i>homīn-</i>	... 382
May have <i>homīn-</i> or <i>homōn-</i>	... 71
<i>homōn-</i> with transposition or change of words restores metre	... 33
<i>homōn-</i> alone restores metre	... 32

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The 32 instances are As. 473, 779; Aul. 111, 226; B. 573, 633, 981; Capt. 333; Men. 82, 89, 98, 223, 304, 489, 709, 713, 958, 961; Mil. 452; Most. 781; Poen. 89, 671, 730; Ps. 153, 873; R. 11, 829; S. 171, 576; Trin. 1018; Truc. 607 (?), 957.

messis ? nom. s., R. 763

miles, Aul. 528.

We find the words *Philippus* (rex) 3 times, *Philippi*, coins, 15 times, *Philippi*, adj. 15 times, and *Philippei*, adj. 6 times, 39 instances in all. The name of the man occurs twice (Aul. 86, 704) with the scansion *Philipp-*, and once (Pers. 339) with the scansion *Philipp-*. Of the second, third, and fourth words all 36 instances show the measurement *Philipp-*, which evidently reproduces the accentuation of the Greek original.

polyppum, R. 1010; indet. in Aul. 198.

rūbrica, Truc. 294.

rūdentem, R. 1015.

[*sincipūt* !, Men. 506].

stātus, Mil. 1389; cf. Mil. 206.

strīgibus, Ps. 820.

[*Surdūsus*, Men. prol. 37].

[*Tārenti*, Men. prol. 39].

tegilhum, R. 576.

terrunci, Capt. 477.

trapezita, and its cases, occurs 14 times—in 11 places with the accentuation *trapézita* (As. 438, Capt. 193, 449, Curc. 345, 420, 559, 618, 721, E. 143, Ps. 757, Trin. 425), and in 3 with the accentuation *trápezita* (Curc. 341, 406, 712). To account for the length of the first syllable in these three places, Ritschl suggested that the word should there be written *tarpezita*. In the same way we get *ad phrygionem*, five times in the Menaechmi, but *phrygio*, Aul. 508. Cf. *proculenam*, Mil. 1060, and *pristinum*, 3 instances (and even *pristrinum*, 6), for *pristinum*, 2; here no difference in quantity results from the metathesis. *Praestigia*, etc. (4) is still different—merely a reduction from *praestrigiae*, etc. (3).

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January 11, 1902.

PLAUTINUM.

Stichus 353-4 :

PIN. Age tu ocus,

pinge, humum consperge ante aedis.

Multa sunt de hoc loco scripta, neque minus multa quae critici coniecerunt; *finge* : *terge* : *stringe* : *tinge* ; quorum nullum satis probatum videtur ; quam ob rem in editionibus recentioribus revocata est librorum lectio (cf. Leo, Goetz-Schoell edit. stereot.), quamquam sine dubio haec depravata est.

Nobis videtur Plautum scripsisse :

'ago tu ocus ;

perge, humum consperge ante aedis'.....

Verbum *pergere* praeter solitam vim (iter vel aliud quippiam iam coeptum continuare, prosequi, perseverare) habet etiam

illam festinandi facere aliquid, quod nondum coeptum est, sed quod iam coeptum, ne effectum dicam, esse volumus, ut locus similis e Baccladibus docet, v. 870 sq. 'Em illuc pacisce, si potes ; *perge* obsecro, pacisce quid vis.' cf. 695 : '*perge*, ac facile ecfeceris.' —Vocabulum *perge* cum sequente *consperge* conficit adnominationem, quae figura apud Plautum usitatissima est. Stich. 295 : '*a portu adporto*.' 404 'simul *Mercurio* qui me in mercimoniis iuvit.' Men. 257 : '*geminum* dum quaeres *gemes*.' 610 : '*palla pallorem* incutit.' Poen. 137 : 'tuae blanditiae sunt mihi *gerrae germanae*, καὶ δὲ κολλῶμαι λύπαι' : et aliis locis sescentis (cf. Leo, *Analecta Plautina* II.).

THEOPHANES KAKRIDIS.

Athenis.

ON HORACE, EPODE XV., 1-10; AND ON VIRGIL, AENEID IX., 339.

I WONDER whether Mr. Housman's 'elucidation' of Horace, Epode xv., 1-10 (at pages 404-6 of the last volume of *The Classical Review*) has commended itself to many of his readers, already dissatisfied, I presume, with the various interpretations which he has justly condemned.

NO. CXLIII. VOL. XVI.

To me 'lupus,' in the line 'dum pecori lupus et nautis infestus Orion,' seems corrupt. What have the predatory habits of a wolf to do with celestial appearances or with atmospheric conditions, extremes of which are here illustrated by allusions to Orion and to Apollo? I can imagine only a mad

X

or feigning to be mad Hamlet inditing to his lady love (except in burlesque) such a line as the third in—

'Doubt thou the stars are fire,
Doubt that the sun doth move,
Doubt *wolves to rend not cattle*,
But never doubt I love.'

Is not the sense simply that Neaera had sworn unceasing reciprocity of affection 'through pleasant and through cloudy weather,'—the ideas of 'pecora' and of 'nautae' being introduced so as to particularise two industries most liable to suffer from a winter's storm,—viz. : husbandry on land and commerce on sea—whereas a summer's breeze is refreshing everywhere?

Instead of 'pecori lupus' I would read 'pecoralibus.' The adjective 'pecoralis' occurs in Festus; and 'pecoralia' may, I think, have been used by Horace as a substantive to mean 'cattle-pens' (like 'ouilia' meaning 'sheep-folds,' as a substantive from the adjective 'ouilis'), and the rarity of the word have caused the corruption.

In Virgil Aen. ix., 339, 'Impastus ceu plena leo per ouilia turbans,' (where the participle is commonly regarded as intransitive, but Servius understood the last three words as a *tnesis* for 'perturbans ouilia'), perhaps we ought to read 'pecoralia turbans' (transitive).

Possibly some might prefer to read 'pe-

corilibus' and 'pecorilia.' But I do not know of any neuter substantive ending in '-iis' in the nominative and in '-ōris' in the genitive and forming an adjective ending in '-ōrilis, -e'—much less forming two adjectives ending, one in '-ōrālis, -e' and another in '-ōrilis, -e'; whereas 'pecoralis' not only occurs but also is correctly formed on the analogy of 'nemoralis,' and with it may be compared 'pecudalis' and 'pecualis' ('pecudilis' and 'pecuilis' not being found).

That the terminations '-ale' singular and '-alia' plural, no less than the terminations '-ile' singular and '-ilia' plural, were used for the signification of enclosure or enclosed place or enclosing or protecting structure or material appears from the words 'augurale,' 'manuale,' 'nauale,' 'naualia,' 'pectoralis,' 'penetrāle,' 'penetrālia' and 'puteal(e)'—with which may be compared 'bidental' and 'capital'—all properly neuters of adjectives ending in '-alis,' masculine and feminine singular, and formed from substantives from which are not also formed adjectives ending in '-ilis, -e.' Similarly the words 'bubile,' 'caprile' and 'ouile,' properly neuters singular of adjectives ending in '-ilis,' masculine and feminine singular, are formed from substantives from which are not also formed adjectives ending in '-alis, -e.'

SAMUEL ALLEN.

VINDICIAE PROPERTIANAE.—III.

(Concluded from vol. xv. p. 413).

TRANSPOSITIONS OF LINES.

*I do not like you, DR. FELL;
The reason why I cannot tell.
But this alone I know full well;
I do not like you, DR. FELL.*

My defence now, refreshed by an interval, passes to the feature of my edition which has evoked most comment and dissent, its changes in the vulgate order of lines and couplets. But it is at a loss what to take first. πότεν τὸν ἔρωτα δακρυσῶ; *quod mihi das flendi, Cynthia, principium?* My perplexity is increased by the sympathy which at bottom I feel with much in the protests of my critics. When I contemplate a page of my text with its succession of non-sequent numbers in the margin, I am tempted to

exclaim with them *quam ferus et uere ferreus ille fuit!* My natural attitude of mind towards transposition as a means of correction is exactly their own; and I will myself quote my earliest utterance upon the subject, as they have not.

'On the first [change] which has been very extensively employed I would observe, to begin with, that it is the least convincing and satisfactory of all changes. Before we can prove that a transposition is correct, we must have shewn not only that a passage *cannot* be placed in its old position, but that it *must* be placed in its new; this is very rarely done and not often attempted.'

Notes on the Text and Matter of the Politics of Aristotle. (Cambridge, 1877, p. 24.)

What then is my reward for the painful efforts and the weary vigils that I have spent in the endeavour to correct my natural bias? That the last editor of Propertius should attribute my declension from the idyllic simplicity of the *Select Elegies*, into whose text only two transpositions were admitted, to the malign influence of Mr. Housman: 'Housman enim, non humilis ipse poeta dum Callimachum Romanum in Atticum quendam effingere conatur eiusdem libidinis reum fecit Postgate in corpore Poetarum Latinorum recognoscendo, quantum diversum ab illo optimo recensiois anno 1881 factae editore.'¹ It is true that Mr. Housman gave no arguments for his proposed trajections but simply placed them upon record and that I am quite unconscious of the influence: but this will of course only show how powerful is the spell.

Malus de se quisque iudex is a maxim whose soundness we are all of us apt to forget. And in the present case where a critical principle is at stake I shall do my best to respect it by omitting all reference to transpositions of which I am myself the author; while I invite my critics, avowed and latent both, to consider whether there is not some other better method of dealing with a troublesome and distasteful inquiry than simply to shelve it in obedience to a natural bent.

The dislike to transposition of lines or couplets as a mode of change is beyond question a widespread one. A mere enumeration of those who have betrayed indications of this feeling would fill a column with names. Here are the *oliter dicta* of three different scholars upon the application of the method to three separate Latin poets. 'This proceeding [*i.e.* transposition] so seldom successful'; 'the many arbitrary transpositions suggested by Lachmann, Baehrens, and other editors'; 'to resort to frequent and violent changes in the order of verses seems unjustifiable.' When I was considering what should be my procedure in this matter a friend whom I consulted wrote to me: 'Some people will say that you ought not to transpose at all'; and he might have written 'Most' for 'Some' without overstepping the mark.

The causes of this prejudice are not far to seek. The constitution of the human mind

¹ Sexti Properti Carmina recognovit Ioannes S. Phillimore Clarendon Press 1901 *Praefatio*. The Latin words of Professor Phillimore which I have placed in italics mean, it is true, that Mr. Housman 'has put me on my trial for the same wantonness as his own'; but Mr. Housman has assuredly never made this charge.

itself unfits it for considering changes of order fairly. Transpositions disturb the accustomed sequences of its ideas, of which sequences it is most tenacious. In addition to this, and by consequence from it, the mental effort required to appreciate a transposition is much greater than that required for any other form of change; and if, to ease matters, the editor actually transposes, his reader not unnaturally resents the intrusion of a change that he cannot remove by a few strokes of the pen, as a species of tyranny. Nor must we forget the sense of what is a very real practical inconvenience, the difficulty of finding a line we want when it has been moved from its accustomed place. This is not all. There is a special accessory difficulty. The modern mind appears to be much more tolerant of disorderly successions in thought than the ancient one, and accordingly it finds it harder to realise the need of a proposed trajection.

There is enough here to create a strong prejudice against transposition as a critical method—a prejudice in fact far stronger than the actual arguments alleged against it.

And yet how unreasonable after all it is! If in the twentieth century you or I are wedded to an order which has soaked into our brain-pan at school or college, 'quo semel estimbuta recens, seruabit odorem | testa diu,' if we dislike the trouble of hunting for our place and the trouble of schooling our imagination to realise an alien standpoint, what has all this got to do with the question whether five, ten, or fifteen centuries ago a scribe copied a line or lines of a classical writer in the place where he should not?

A competent and friendly critic in speaking of the transpositions which I have proposed in the text of Manilius says: 'A change in the order of words is a common error of scribes; but the transposition of lines is far more unusual and where we are certain that such a mistake has been made the cause of it can often be discovered in the context or in the condition of the archetype.'² It might be sufficient to set against this the opinion of Munro, *Criticisms and Elucidations of Catullus*, p. 8. 'I feel convinced therefore that these two verses are to be transposed, transposition being one of the simplest remedies in the case of a text resting finally on a single manuscript;' and to add that such is the text of Propertius as of Manilius. But the matter is of enough critical importance to justify a more extended reply.

² *The Nation* (New York) 1893 p. 318.

The displacement of lines is in the vast majority of instances a secondary effect of their omission. Now that this omission is a kind of mistake to which scribes of all ages and countries are liable has never been disputed, even by the most stubborn opponents of transpositions. The omission when made may be subsequently discovered or may remain undetected; but with the latter alternative we are not here concerned. In most cases it will be discovered sooner or later; but whether sooner or later what we call 'chance' will alone determine. This must be carefully borne in mind. A single line only, a dozen lines or a score of pages of writing may have intervened between the omission and its detection. The error then is discovered, and there arises, let us hope, in its discoverer an impulse to correct it. How is this to be gratified? 'Chance' again can alone decide. The extent of the omission, the breadth of margin in the copy, the space between its lines, the amount of trouble which the corrector is prepared to take, the value he sets upon his time, the market price of parchment vellum or paper are all considerations which he will have taken, consciously or unconsciously, into account in deciding how the correction shall be made. Often the omitted line (or lines if not too many) may be put in the margin of their proper place, and then there is some—at most a fair probability that a subsequent scribe will restore them to their original seat: but very often the only course available will be to write them in a place at some distance from their proper position with a mark to indicate the displacement. Only let a subsequent scribe neglect this indication; and the transposition is complete.

The only circumstance which is likely to arrest or reverse the process is the scribe's sense of an incoherence. This is bound to be much more operative in poetry than in prose. It was advanced by a critic of the transpositions adopted by Dr. H. Jackson in his edition of book V. of the *Nicomachean Ethics* that it was impossible to find any line of such a length as would explain the dislocations assumed by the editor. The objection might have taken the form that a disarrangement which affected only sentences and paragraphs could not have had a purely mechanical basis. The accidental omission of a line of prose will in the vast majority of instances throw the whole context out of gear; it will leave verbs and nouns out of agreement, prepositions without regimen, nay, even

words themselves severed in twain and unless the copying be purely slavish it is unlikely to pass unnoticed. Now this is by no means the case in verse. A line of verse is a whole in more than one sense; a line of prose, except accidentally, is not. This is why, to illustrate by a passage to which the editors have with remarkable unanimity applied the proper remedy, in *Tibullus* iii. 10 (iv. 4), 17 *sqq.* the shifting of vv. 21 *sq.* from their place after 16 never troubled the scribes. With these the logical incoherence of an address to the lover, bidding him not to grieve for the illness of his beloved but to keep his tears for the day when she was unkind to him, in the middle of an appeal to *Phœbus* to cure her, counted for nought. And this in fine is why displacement is commoner and transposition more legitimate in poetry than prose.

It will now be clear why the complaint of my critic in the *Nation* that I had produced 'only exegetical considerations' in favour of my transpositions in *Manilius* was unfair. The displacements whose genesis I have been describing leave no external trace. The critic who would remove them has *only exegetical considerations* to guide him—*only* that is to say considerations of coherence and incoherence, of relevance and irrelevance, of sense and nonsense!

Anxious as I am to proceed to the special problem of this paper, there is one particular accusation which in defence of critical transpositions I must retort upon their adversaries. It is fashionable to describe them in the gross as arbitrary. Now that they cannot hope to escape a charge which may be levelled against every kind of critical change needs no demonstration. They may be, they often are, wanton, infelicitous or both. But what of that? How many out of every thousand verbal emendations win or even deserve acceptance? I hesitate to say. Is the proportion of successful transpositions less? The opponents of transposing dare not say this—*because they have never investigated the question*. Of all modes of changes, except re-punctuation, transposition alters least: of all it does least violence to the tradition. When therefore a scholar rejects transposition altogether as a means of textual emendation or when, while granting a cold and perfunctory assent to the proposition that in the abstract it is admissible, he refuses to entertain it in every single case where it is presented to him, when, in defiance of one of the first principles of scientific investigation, he declines to apply to himself the necessary corrections for per-

sonal bias but hugs with irrelevant affection the prejudices engendered in him by habit inertia and environment, is *he* not 'arbitrary' or worse? There is nothing of course to prevent a man from mountaineering on two legs and one arm: but if it were a point of honour with a climber to tie his left hand behind him, we should eschew his company in the higher Alps.

My next task is to show that the method whose legitimacy in general I have endeavoured to vindicate must be employed in restoring the poems of Propertius. The question whether its results should be printed in a given text is an entirely different one and will have to be separately considered.

The displacements which have to be removed by transposing are of two kinds, those whose cause is to be sought 'in the condition of the archetype' and those whose cause must be sought elsewhere. To the first class belong displacements like those in Lucretius which enabled Lachmann to determine the pagination of the archetype and that in Seneca ad Marciam c. 17, where the correctness of the transposition made by Madvig (*Adv. Crit.* i. p. 355) for intrinsic reasons was proved from extrinsic ones by Dr. J. R. Harris (*American Journal of Philology* iv. p. 77).

The disarrangements in the text of Propertius belong to the second class which we may call 'clerical' or 'scribes' displacements. We have seen how in general these displacements arise. The *fons et origo mali* is an omission. That omission may be of two kinds, between which it is advisable to distinguish. (a) It may be pure and simple, that is to say the effect of sheer negligence on the part of the transcriber. (b) It may have been facilitated by something in the copy. The scribe may have allowed his eye to wander from a group of letters in one line to a similar group in another and so have omitted the intervening matter. Thus are produced the well-known phenomena which are ascribed by scholars to *homoioleuton* and *homoiokatarkton*, but which are equally due to 'homoioimeson.' And as a general term is wanted, I propose to replace the awkward trio by the one term *Homoio-graphon* which I take from the actual Greek adjective *ῥμοιογράφος*.

I will now deal briefly with a few passages in which I have accepted rearrangements proposed by others, and endeavour to conform to the demands laid down by myself in the passage I have already quoted.

III. v. (iv.) 39-44

sub terris sint iura deum et tormenta gigantum,

Tisiphones atro si furit angue caput (40)
aut Alcmaeoniae furiae aut ieiunia Phinei,
num rota, num scopuli num sitis inter
aquis (42)

num tribus infernum custodit faucibus
antrum

Cerberus et Tityo iugera pauca nouem.

Here Mr. Housman has proposed, and I have accepted, what no doubt many have thought the arbitrary interchange of the two pentameters 40 and 42. The author having as yet nowhere defended it, will, I trust, forgive me if I offer a weaker apology than he would have himself provided. The shifting of these verses improves the passage from more than one side. The grammatical gain is that the substantives in 42 and 43 are provided with a verbal construction: for *sit*, or *sint*, is easily supplied from the *sint* of 39 with *rota*, *scopuli*, *sitis* and with *furiae* and *ieiunia*. The stylistic gains are that the awkward connexion '*si Tisiphones caput furit aut Alcmaeoniae furiae (furunt)*' is avoided: that a description (40) is not thrust into the middle of a catalogue and that Tisiphone returns to the society of her favourite Cerberus, Aen. 6. 572-575, Hor. carm. 2. 13. 33 *sqq.*, Tib. 1. 3. 69 *sqq.*

Furthermore, a very brief consideration of the passage which I have for this purpose printed in full, shows it to admit of no alternative correction whether by transposition or otherwise; its words, with the possible exception of *gigantum* (and this has no bearing on the present question), are obviously sound. So that it may be fairly claimed that of the mischief this transposition is the only cure. It remains to offer an explanation of the corruption. This is not far to seek. The scribe with whom the mistake originated went on from v. 39 to v. 41, leaving out the intervening pentameter: but discovered his mistake before he had copied another hexameter. The result was that in the copy he made a couple of hexameters in succession were followed by a couple of pentameters in succession, it may be with marginal indications of the proper order. A successor of this scribe tried to set matters right and observing (as it is reasonable to conjecture) that both 42 and 43 began with the same particle *nam* unluckily decided for the incoherent order of the vulgate text.

If we believe, as the preponderance of evidence appears to require, that in a neigh-

houring poem, III. iii. (ii.) 6-12. Propertius is giving the subjects of the *Annales* of Ennius in the order of the books, we shall not reject Polster's interchange of v. 2 'anseris et tutum uoce fuisse Iouem' and v. 8 'regiaeque Aemilia uecta tropaea rate.' The sole difference between this case and the preceding will be that the omission of the first pentameter was not discovered quite so soon. I have cited this passage because the historical allusion in 8 is usually misunderstood. The victory meant is that of Aemilius Regillus at Myonnesus over the fleet of Antiochus (190) which destroyed the last hopes of Hannibal. The loss of Ennius' poem prevents us fully realising the allusion in 11 'Hannibalemque Lares Romana sede fugantes' but it is a fact not without bearing upon the present passage that a temple was vowed to the *Lares permarini* for their help in the naval battle, Livy 40, 52.

A similar transposition of pentameters was introduced by Lachmann into the text of III. xi., a passionate poem whose chief subject is the danger and disgrace which the unholy alliance of Antony and Cleopatra brought upon Rome.

To avoid all suspicion of prejudicing the issue I print these lines as they are found in the MSS., except that I change the preposition of '*adusta*,' which, if retained, must be understood in the sense of '*inusta*.' And I take no account of my own emendation of v. 40.¹ I can do this as the arguments in its favour do not touch the question now before us.

Noxia Alexandria dolis aptissima tellus
et totiens nostro Memphi cruenta malo,

¹ One point however omitted in my defence (*C.R.* xv. p. 407) I should like to make here. If the objection to the stop which I placed after *una* be analysed, it will be found to consist chiefly of a dislike to the emphasis which a pause here is imagined to throw upon the adjective. This is a mere illusion, engendered by the customs of modern verse which associates a strong stress with a pause in or after the first foot. To the ears of all who have not shaken off these associations lines like Eur. *Or.* 1659 Πυλάδῃ δ' ἀδελφῆς λέκτρον ᾧ ποτ' ἤνεσας | δόσ' δ' ἐπιὼν νιν βλοτὸς εὐδαίμων μένει, 721 τὰ δ' Ἄγα- μέμνονος | φρουδ' ἄριλος ἦσθ' ἄρ', ὦ πάτερ are hideous; and so you will read pages of modern Greek iambs without finding one. Mr. W. Headlam long ago pointed out that a pause after the first foot of a tragic trimeter imparted of itself no sort of emphasis. So too in Latin verse. Let the reader turn the pages of Propertius and he will soon see how numerous are the cases where the modern habit would make the emphasis false. I. iv. 20 'quaeret;' 22 'difficet,' v. 32 'quaerere;' vi. 34 'ibis,' viii. 32 'dicitur.' γυνῆσι σεαυτὸν is the first duty of the critic and usually the last that he attends to.

tris ubi Pompeio detraxit harena triumphos,
tollet nulla dies hanc tibi, Roma, notam. [(36)]

issent Phlegraeo melius tibi funera campo
uel tua si socero colla daturus eras.
scilicet incesti meretrix regina Canopi
una Philippeo sanguine inusta nota (40)
ausa Ioui nostro latrantem opponere Anubim
et Tiberim Nili cogere ferre minas.

e.q.s.

Upon the relation of 40 to its neighbours in the manuscripts Lachmann says: 'Nimia profecto licentia est Memphim primum alloqui, tum vero Pompejo commemorato—ad Romam dirigere orationem—tum proximo versu, Romae immemorem, ad Pompejum sese convertere.' But the licentious use of apostrophe is hardly the worst fault of the vulgate. Pompey's assassination, it makes Propertius say, was 'an indelible stigma upon Rome.' This stigma may be understood of Pompey's assassination *in itself* or of his assassination *by Egyptians*. Taking the first hypothesis, I challenge the rejectors of Lachmann's transposition to produce a single passage from Roman literature, not excluding the works of the Pompeian and anti-imperialist Lucan himself, in which such an extravagant accusation of blood-guiltiness is brought against Rome. With Lucan, as with the rest, the guilt is Egypt's, not Rome's. I quote a single passage which may well be set beside the present one: 8. 823 sqq. '*noxia civili tellus Aegyptia futo | haud equidem immerito Cumanae carmine uatis | cautum, ne Nili Pelusia tangeret ora | Hesperius miles ripasque aestate tumentis. | quid tibi, saeua, precor pro tanto crimine tellus?*' Nor again was the murder of Pompey by the Egyptian Achilles and the Roman renegade Septimius an everlasting disgrace to Rome, nor does Propertius so represent it. He says: It was an ignominious termination of a glorious career, more ignominious than death by fever (37) or execution by Caesar (38). At the time when Propertius wrote the name of Pompeius was little less than odious at Rome. To the people it recalled the piratical depredations of Sextus while for the court, and for the court poets, the 'Great' Gnaeus himself was no heroic figure of the past but the bitter adversary of the deified Julius, round whose memory, still glowing with the resentments of civil strife, fluttered the moths of an anti-monarchical party.

But why waste words? Those who read this poem as a whole will see that there is only one thing mentioned in it to which 'the indelible stigma' will apply—the

intolerable infamy and danger in which Rome was involved through the alliance of a Roman general with the harlot queen of Canopus and from which she was saved by the courage and wisdom of her patriot leader Augustus.

I return to the other pentameter which is said to mean that Cleopatra was the only one of the line of Ptolemies on whom a brand was set. Why Propertius should pause in his invective to pass a compliment on the previous rulers of the hated country, it is not easy to see; and these immaculate Ptolemies included monarchs like Philopator, Physcon, and Alexander II, to say nothing of Cleopatra's own brother Ptolemy Auletes whom Propertius could have hardly regarded with favour. Can we extract a better sense by referring the line to Pompey? I think we can. On the principle of *uae victis* Pompey was bitterly censured for the carnage of the campaign which ended with Pharsalia (*Philippeo sanguine*), the first of a long series of engagements in which Roman blood flowed like water. I have already quoted (Praefatio p. vi) Petronius *de bello civili* 43 sqq. I add the words which Lucan puts in the mouth of Pompey's enemy Pothinus 8. 505 sqq. 'nec socer tantum arma fugit: fugit ora senatus | cuius Thessalicas saturat pars magna uolucres | et metuit gentes quas uno in sanguine mixtas | deseruit, regesque timet quorum omnia mersit, | Thessaliaeque reus nulla tellure receptus | sollicitat nostrum quem nondum perdidit orbem.' I maintain then that the general sense of this line, however it is to be emended, is clearly suitable to Pompey and agrees well with the rest of the parenthetical reference to him. The connexion is this. Egypt is the grave-yard of Rome; Pompey is a notable victim, happy, had he escaped his wretched end and previous blood-guiltiness by dying of fever in Campania or surrendering to the vengeance (or clemency¹) of Caesar.

In the present case we are able to see the cause of the displacement. The homoio-graphon *notam-nota* or, with my emendation, *notam-notam* caught the scribe's eye, and he copied down the last pentameter first. Unwilling to erase or re-copy, he indicated the proper places of the now adjacent pentameters by signs in the margin which it need not surprise us a following scribe or corrector failed to understand.

Homoio-graphon, it may be noted in

¹ The general sense would not be affected if we accepted Mr. Housman's attractive emendation '*nec tua sic socero colla daturus eras.*'

passing, has caused mischief elsewhere e.g. at II. xiii. 13-16 where 'nec mea tunc' and 'nec mihi tunc' in two successive hexameters have inverted the couplets and the sense, making Propertius say how his corpse should be taken to the grave before he says how it is to be laid out; and at II. xxviii. 32, where the couplet 'Iuppiter—erit' was omitted through the following couplet's ending with *perit* and was subsequently placed at the beginning of the poem which the address to 'Iuppiter' suggested as its proper place.

I have selected three interchanges of pentameters because they have a special appearance of being arbitrary: but they only form a small minority in the trajections that I have admitted. I pass on to two examples of transpositions of couplets within the same poem in support of which 'only exegetical considerations' can be offered.

In III. xv. Propertius rebukes Cynthia for her jealousy and persecution of her slave Lycinna with whom she suspected the poet of carrying on an intrigue. In the traditional order the poem has three parts. Lines 1-10 in which Propertius purges himself as regards Lycinna, 11-42 in which he recounts the fable of Dirce and Antiope as a warning to Cynthia and 43-46, the two couplets in question. I print the first fourteen lines with the corruptions of verses 7, 11 and 13, which the editions of Messrs. Rothstein and Phillimore leave in the text.

Sic ego non ullos iam norim in amore
tumultus,

nec ueniat sine te nox uigilanda mihi
ut mihi praetexti pudor est ablatus amictus
et data libertas noscere amoris iter,
illa rudes animos per noctes conscia primas
imbuit heu nullis capta Lycinna datis 6
tertius haud multo minus est tecum ducitur
annus:

uix memini nobis uerba coisse decem.
cuncta tuus sepeliuit amor nec femina post
te

ulla dedit collo dulcia uincla meo. 10
testis erit Dirce tam tuero crimine saeua
Nycteos Antiopen accubuisse Lyco.
a quotiens pulchros fussit regina capillos
molliaque immites fixit in ora manus!

I now print the end of the poem from the last distich of the fable

prata cruentantur Zethi (Zetho Rothstein)
uictorque canebat

paeanæ Amphion rupe, Aracynthe, tua.
at tu non meritam parcas uexare Lycin-
nam: 43

nescit uestra ruens ira referre pedem.

fabula nulla tuas de nobis concitet aures:
[45
te solam et lignis funeris ustus amem.

Let us take the case of 43 *sq.* first. Mr. Phillimore in animadverting on my transpositions says in his praefatio 'est profecto ut peccaverint in non nullis librariis. homines enim. at non beluae.' Well, what name would he or his 'collega humanissimus et de Vmbro poeta mirum quam unanimis H. E. Butler,' apply to the person, poet or other, who placed the couplet 11, 12 after the couplet 9, 10 and thus called *Dirce* to witness that, after Propertius fell in love with Cynthia, no other woman threw her arms round his neck? Can neither he nor his 'humanissimus collega' catch here an echo of the Arcadian bray? Rothstein does indeed cite the Boar of II. 13, 53 *sq.*, but I gather from Mr. Phillimore's note, which records two readings 'testis cui' and 'formosus' that I have placed in my text, that he regards this irrelevant Boar as a rather shaky witness.

Now accept the trajectory of Volpi and see if matters are improved.

at tu non meritam parcas uexare Lycinnam:
nescit uestra ruens ira referre pedem.
testis erit Dirce, e. q. s.

That is 'Cease, Cynthia, from illtreating the innocent Lycinna. Remember how ungovernable is the passion of your sex (*uestra*) when it gives way to jealousy. The history of Dirce teaches us this.' I expect an unbiased reader to assent to these propositions: the couplet is *not* wanted where it stands in the MS., it *is* wanted where Volpi placed it and it can stand nowhere else in the poem or anywhere outside it.

When 43, 44 have been shifted, 45, 46 are seen to be conspicuously incoherent after 42 with which perhaps most readers will feel the poem would fitly conclude. There is no need to take them out of a poem, with whose general subject they most aptly cohere. Place them with A. Otto after 2, their only possible seat within it; and the two subjunctives of wish, *concitet* and *amem*, the latter of which some vainly attempt to construe as a potential, fall into line with the similar subjunctives *norim* and *ueniat*.

The connexion of thought is this: 'So may the serenity of our present intimacy be always undisturbed, so may you be ever kind to me, and I ever true to you, as my youthful fancy for Lycinna has been long extinct and for years I have been entirely

yours.' The apodosis, if we may call it so, of the wish in 'sic' to 'amem' is to be sought in 7 *sqq.*, 3-8 being introduced only to give the situation. This makes the passage, like other places in the classics, (e.g., Prop. III. xxii. 5-17) very difficult to punctuate on our modern system, and I have therefore quoted it as far as possible without stops. It will be seen that the *sic*-sentence falls into two parts which in accordance with Roman custom are contrasted by asyndeton, the first one putting the wish from Propertius' side, the second putting it from Cynthia's. The thought in 46 is Propertian; see I. xix. 5 *sqq.* It may be added that these two transferences show as we have already indicated how idle it is to lay down rules as to the distance that a passage may travel from its place.

So much to prove that transposing is both legitimate and necessary in dealing with the text of Propertius. But it may be that the proper amount is much less than what I have admitted, and this is the opinion of Mr. T. W. Jackson (*C.R.* ix. pp. 325 *sqq.*). Now as I claim for this mode of emendation the same fair treatment as for other modes, viz. that each example should be judged on its merits unprejudiced by the question of what other examples there may be, I ought not to rest satisfied with less than an examination of every passage where its aid has been invoked. But the reader need not take alarm. I shall here attempt only the humbler task of removing some misconceptions and offering some explanations.

Mr. Jackson has certain observations on previous transposers in Propertius to which I would now advert (p. 324 a).

'And what evidence can there be?' [*i.e.* for my extensive use of transposition]. 'The consensus of critics? Lachmann retracted the whole of his transpositions, Munro condemns all but one of them and himself proposes others: the present edition accepts what Munro thought impossible and so on.'

Mr. Jackson is here following Munro, *Journal of Philology*, vi. p. 30 where Lachmann's second text is called 'his mature critical edition.' Lachmann's first edition, the only one which critics have used in the reconstitution of the text, saw the light in 1816; Lachmann was then 23. Eleven years after F. Jacob published a text with brief critical notes which he dedicated to 'Carolo Lachmanno, Propertianae integritatis indagatori sagacissimo, huius operis liberalissimo adiutori.' It can hardly have appeared before the beginning of September as at the end of the praefatio is the date August 21, 1827. In 1829 followed Lachmann's second text, some *two* years at most

after Jacob's and *twenty-one* years before his own edition of Lucretius. It has no *præfatio*, but a note at the foot of page 1 describes it as 'Optima Frid. Jacobi recensio aliquot locis a me refecta' e.g.s. Lachmann's own conjectures where admitted (which is seldom) are admitted silently, the reason of which appears to be that they had been previously published in the edition of 1816. Hence *hic* for *his* in II. (III.) xxxiv. 83 may be a mere erratum. I have therefore in my note designedly ascribed it not to Lach. but to 'Lach. ed. Berolinensis.' To call this little book a 'mature critical edition' seems an abuse of terms.

We may accept from Mr. Jackson the suggestion that 'the consensus of critics,' or what passes for such, should be the test of the admissibility of transpositions as of every other kind of critical change. Only let us be fair and exclude from the jury that is to try a transposition all who are for condemning every transposition whether good or bad.

One of my greatest difficulties in accepting Mr. Jackson's estimate of this feature in my edition is that it leaves me altogether unable to account for myself. He has spoken of much in my work in terms which leave me deeply grateful and which I would do a great deal to deserve. Thus he says my '*apparatus criticus* in spite of the obvious need for brevity is helpful in an extraordinary degree' . . . 'speaking generally the sanity of judgment shown in this matter is most striking.' 'Apart from it,' [transposition] 'the new text commends itself greatly; there is balance and sound judgment; no timidity certainly in the admission of conjectures, but extremely little that can be called fanciful or rash.' Now I have shown that I have no natural bias for this form of change, and I hope I shall be believed when I say that out of the whole of a heavy and laborious task I found nothing so wearisome as the weighing of proposed or possible trajections. Why then or how did this frenzy seize me? Frenzy I call it; because, as Mr. Jackson's summary (p. 325) shows, its manifestations are altogether incalculable. Through Book I, I am almost entirely free; but no sooner does Book II. begin than I have a severe attack which now increasing now abating stays with me till xix. when there is a slight lull, which lasts till xxvib. In xxix. I am quite sane; but in xxx. I am violent. In xxxi. and xxxii. I am recovering and in xxxiii. I am myself again. And so on to the end of the book.

Despairing of myself I turn to Propertius

and ask 'Is it possible that the poet who composed poems of the symmetry and order of say I. iii-vi., II. xii., III. x., IV. v. is responsible for such say as II. vi. or IV. i. I cannot believe it. Till actual proof is produced of such outrageous incongruity in a single genius, I must hold that, unless Propertius' mind was deeply disordered, his poems are. Can we account on any theory for this 'huge disorder,' as Munro called it, of which Mr. Jackson says it is inexplicable on any hypothesis, which he has seen or been able to frame for himself. Munro's own hypothesis, put out in 1876, that it was due to a posthumous editor of Propertian fragments has no adherents now. Baehrens ascribed it to the tattered and fragmentary condition of the archetype which he actually supposed had only four lines to the page. These '*fragmina disiecta et discerpta coniungere et in ordinem redigere studuit* [homo quidam] *successu non adeo felici.*' His theory of what Mr. Phillimore calls an '*archetypum dilaniatum et κατεκερματισμένον*' though not to be altogether rejected is quite inadequate to account for the phenomena. I have tried above to show how even some at first sight most surprising displacements might be due to the scribes. A manuscript corrupt already in itself may have been very carelessly copied and that careless copy carelessly and stupidly copied again. A suggestion made, I believe, by Mr. Housman would explain a good deal. A number of the omitted couplets may have been written at the end of the poems, and an editor tried '*successu non adeo felici,*' to put them in their places: a number of these intruders have a superficial resemblance to their context. In fine, I think the text of Propertius has suffered from a concatenation of circumstances perhaps unique in the copying of Latin MSS.

And now for the last question. Why did I admit trajections to the extent I did? I held, and hold, that it is the business of a new editor to do something, and the most he can, to help on the study of his author; if he does not, the world needs neither him nor his work. I conceived that to set the text of Propertius right transpositions must be freely used and that there would be no lack of editors that would refuse to employ it. I made no error here. Since 1897 there have been already two. Furthermore it was clear that if any improvement was to be made in this direction for the future, it was necessary in order to overcome the bias and inertia of which I have said so much, for a large number of the transpositions to be

placed in the text. This is possible only with a page of unusual dimensions.¹ It is out of the question with one containing no more lines than those of Baehrens, Palmer, or the Oxford text of Propertius. (I present this defence to Mr. Phillimore; for it is better than his own.) Lastly, in some cases where the text was very much disturbed, I deemed it legitimate to endeavour to give a better arrangement, even though it were uncertain. My order I felt might be wrong, but the MS. order must be. That the total result involves some inconvenience to the reader I freely grant, but there can be no omelettes without a breaking of eggs. And I tried to lessen it as far as I could by not admitting changes which involved turning over a leaf, by using marginal numerals more frequently than was absolutely necessary, the effect of which is to make the transpositions appear somewhat more numerous than they are, and by arranging the critical notes according to the numbers and not according to the lines as Baehrens did. Finally let me say that I am only too well aware of the defects in what I have produced; but so far as principles are concerned, I have no intention of propitiating criticism by sitting on the stool of repentance. If this work could be done over again, I trust that I should do it better; but I hope I should not do it less.

In taking leave of Mr. Jackson and Professor Housman I part from the only competent critics who, so far as I know, have reviewed my text at length. Another notice has however appeared which by its authorship and place of publication may be thought to claim some mention here. Professor F. Leo of Göttingen in the *Göttingen Gelehrte Anzeige* for October, 1898, has despatched me in just a page. But Professor Leo has long been suffering from a severe attack of *Culex Volitans* induced by a review of an edition of the unfortunate Virgilian poem, *Classical Review*, vi. pp. 113 sqq. So it is enough for me to say that, when he has recovered from this distressing affection of the critical vision, I shall be prepared to give to his unsupported statements on Propertius the same consideration that I should give to his unsupported statements on Plautus.

Before leaving perhaps for a long time the thorny region of Propertian criticism I would say something about its present position apart from the special subject of this paper.

¹ These two considerations have not escaped Mr. Housman, *C.R. l.c.* p. 354.

The differences upon principles which divide, I fear unequally, the 'critical' students of Propertius, may be best gathered from examples; and these again will here most conveniently be taken from a poem which I have already partly quoted and commented on.

In III. xv there are, apart from transpositions, the following divergences between Rothstein's text and my own:

3 *ablatus* R., *sublatus* P. 7 *cum** R., *iam* P.
11 *uero** R., *uano* P. 13 *ussit** R., *uulsit* P.
32 *ubi* R., *ut* P. 33 *si tacito* R., *sic tacito** P.
35 *est** R., *et* P. 41 *Zetho* R., *Zethi** P.

(The * denotes the MS. tradition).

I throw out of the list as not affecting the general sense those in 3, 32, 35. Also 33 where I now believe that we are both wrong and Mr. J. A. Nairn's *solicito* (*C.R.* xiii. p. 201) is probably right. There remain 7, 11, 13 and 41. As to 41 I did not change the MS. reading because I was not convinced that *Zetho* (dat. of the agent) was clearly better than *Zethus* which would go with the second clause, and I thought it just possible that Propertius had in view some *pruta Zethi* locally connected with the legend (the *Coclitis-semita* of III. xi. 63 appears to be otherwise unknown): but I will freely admit that R. may be right. In the remaining three I maintain that the MS. reading is either absurd or ungrammatical.

3 is absolutely unconstruable. You can say 'tertius annus est, or ducitur, cum &c.' 'it is now three years since, &c.,' as in II. 20. 21 '*septima iam plenae deducitur orbita lunae | cum de me et de te compita nulla tacent*' (which R. quotes); but it does not appear possible to take *cum* with the pentameter. With the slight change *iam*, all is clear: the two sentences are the terms of a very common kind of asyndeton.

In 11 *uero* is absurd. With the whole mythology of jealous women to choose from, was Propertius going to rebuke the jealousy of Cynthia by a story in which the charge of infidelity was *true*? Rothstein sees this and explains as follows: 'The charge of Dirce against Antiope was as true as that of Cynthia against Lycinna, that is, it was not true at all.' I have seldom come across a more heroic attempt to turn black into white.

In 13, if Dirce had been Antiope's hair-dresser, '*quotiens pulchros ussit regina capillos*' would have had a meaning though a would hardly be the suitable interjection. As it is, the conservators of the text had better ask any of their lady friends

how many times was Dirce likely to have burnt her rival's hair. Rothstein quotes half a line of Tibullus, I. 9, 21 'ure meum potius flamma caput,' for a parallel, as though *capilli* were a synonym of *caput* and as though branding on the forehead was not a common punishment in ancient times. R. Titius' emendation enables Dirce to wreak her spite against Antiope as often as she pleased: 'She scratched her face and pulled her hair.' One of the *u*'s in 'uulsit' was omitted and *l* changed to *f*, for which see my remarks on III. vii. 60 in *C.R.* xv. p. 40a.

Such in a single poem are the results of the refusal to recognise that the Propertius of the MSS. is buried under an unusual

accumulation of text corruption. A sober criticism assumes as one of its first principles that it has no right to argue from the tradition of one text to the tradition of another; but the criticism of the recent reaction treats the codices of Propertius as if they were manuscripts of Plato or of Virgil and imputes to the poet all but the whole of the solecisms and absurdities which should be laid at their door. 'You are mistaken,' says in effect this new school of healers by faith. 'We have observed A, B, C. But we have never seen anything like this scarred and pitted D. You must be mistaken. This is not smallpox: it is original sin.'

J. P. POSTGATE.

A NEGLECTED MS. OF MARTIAL.

THE paper Renaissance MS. of Martial in the Laurentian Library (XXXV 39), known as *f*, was mistakenly pronounced by Schneidewin to be a mere 'Italian' text, unworthy of notice, and has in consequence been neglected by subsequent editors. Schneidewin's mistake affords fresh illustration of the danger of relying upon a stranger's collation of a MS. instead of examining the MS. for oneself. He got his knowledge of *f*, he tells us, from two sources: (1) a collation made specially for him of parts of Book I, in particular of I xlix, (2) an old collation¹ preserved in the Royal Library, Copenhagen (no. 219).

Now *f*, like the British Museum Martial (*Q*), has suffered greatly at the hands of a corrector (or correctors) (*f*²), who has used some trivial 'Italian' text, so that the *f*² readings, like the *Q*² readings, are quite unworthy of notice. Parts of Book I, including epigram xlix, having been omitted at their proper place, are supplied from this 'Italian' source; and the Copenhagen collation throughout makes a most disastrous jumble of *f*¹ and *f*² readings. Schneidewin's information was therefore woefully misleading.

Through the kind exertions of the Foreign Office the Italian authorities consented to transmit the MS. to the Bodleian Library, where I have managed to make the deliberate examination that a corrected text of

this kind requires. The result has been to vindicate for *f* nearly the same position as *Q* among the authorities for the Gennadian text of Martial, that is to say, a position inferior only to *L* and *P*.

Neither *f* nor *Q* are direct transcriptions of an unadulterated Gennadian text. The originals of both contained some (not very many) variants and insertions, introduced (no doubt by a corrector) from an 'Italian' text. Thus both *f* and *Q* exhibit some things omitted in the archetype, epigrams like I i-ii² and lines like VII xcii. 5-8. A glance at *f* shews us that XIV xeviii. 2-xcix. were inserted in the side margin, xev-xevi in the bottom margin of its original. And unfortunately for Schneidewin's investigation, the corrector of *f*'s original had been perhaps more active in Book I than at any other part. Hence such *f*¹ readings as I iv. 7 *solet* for *potest*, ix. 2 *at* for *sed*, x. 4 *igitur* for *ergo*. A reading, apparently from this source, but of better quality is *Apona* I lxi. 3, for which the archetype of the Gennadian family had *Aponi*.

In the main however *f*, like *Q*, exhibits the genuine Gennadian text. The importance of its testimony may be gauged from a single instance. In VII xx. 13:

Sed mappa cum iam mille rumpitur furtis,

¹ Through the courtesy of the Danish Librarian I have had the opportunity of inspecting this in the Bodleian Library.

² In *L* these epigrams are entered on the fly-leaf, but by a much later hand, not the hand of the (twelfth century) scribe. I should add that the insertions in *Q* and *f* are not always the same. *Q* has inserted things not found in *f*; *f* has insertions not found in *Q*.

the archetype of *LPQf* had as last word of the line something which could not be deciphered. *L* offers *uirus*, *P* *hirus*, *Q* (kindred to *P*) *hircus*. It so happens that this part of Book VII has been by an error written twice in *f*. In the one occurrence of the line the word is omitted, but in the other we find an undecipherable word that looks like *lurus* or *turris*. The 'ductus litterarum' has been as faithfully reproduced by the scribe as by the scribe of *f*'s original.

Similarly *f* seems to reproduce the archetype's reading in I xxvi. 7 with its ^{sed} ^{nec} (sed nec *L*, sed *PQ*); cxi. 3 *quit tibi* (quid tibi *LPQ*; qui tibi *edd.*); II lxvi. 6 *tangat et sanum* (so *P*); VII xxvii. 5 *teti* (for *laeti*; tetri *LPQ*); lxxii. 3 *leuesse* (leuesue *LPQ*) *libre* (for *leues selibrae*); XII lxi. 3 ^a *me tu* (for *metu*; *me L*); XIV xxiv. 2 *acus sportas* (for *acus tortas*), etc., etc.

Often too, its testimony is welcome, where the other MSS. of this family disagree. One example will suffice. In the introductory epistle (omitted by the other families of MSS.) of Book II editors read: 'Video quare tragoedia atque comoedia epistolam accipiant, quibus pro se loqui non licet.' This reading depends on *P*, which has *qua tragoedia aut qua comoedia*. But *f* agrees with *LQ* in *quare tragoedia aut comoedia*, which must have been the reading of the archetype and was probably what Martial wrote. The plural verb is justified by the plural relative clause *quibus...licet*; cf. Cic. *Deor. Nat.* I, 117 'nisi forte Diagoram aut Theodorum, qui omnino deos esse negabant, censens superstitiosos esse potuisse.'

Even in the matter of orthography, the evidence of *f* is not wholly without value; e.g. VI xxviii. 9 *adplicabat* (appl- *L*); lxvi. 6 *adtraxit* (attr- *L*); lxxvi. 4 *hostilis* Acc. Pl. (-les *L*); VIII iii. 11 *dulcis* (-ces *L*). In VI xxxv. it reproduces faithfully the archetype's spelling (attested by *L*) v. 1 *clepsydras*, v. 6 *clebsydra*. Like all Renaissance MSS. it abounds in modern and in pseudo-archaic spellings; but spellings characteristic of Italy like *legittimus*, *seppellire*, *rodīs* (for *rudis*), *plomba* (cf. Ital. *piombo*) probably came from the Archetype, which was in Lombard script.

A curious feature of *f* is the omission of I xlvi. —lix. In the archetype I xlvi (with heading DE LEONE ET LEPORE) —ciii. 2 followed I xiv. The identity of the heading of I lx. and I xlvi., is clearly the cause of *f*'s defect.¹ Another peculiarity, already mentioned, is the double occurrence of a part of Book VII, epigrams x–lxi. Fortunately the corrector has left untouched the passage at its second occurrence, so that we have the *f*¹ text unobscured, and can appreciate how faithfully it reflects the Gennadian text. In the later books especially (but occasionally elsewhere), the corrector has a habit of using red ink, so that his corrections (e.g. *miore* for *mios*, i.e. *Myos*. in VIII xxxiv. 1), can be more easily distinguished from the *f*¹ readings.

It is the corrector who has supplied (from an 'Italian' text), the red-ink headings from Book VII onwards (and elsewhere, when omitted by the scribe), e.g. VIII xxxiv DE MISO DEFORMI (!). That is the reason why the Gennadian subscriptions do not appear after the end of Book VI. But that they appeared in the original of *f* is shewn by the fact that the scribe has left large enough space for them. For example, he has left a space of three lines at XIII iv, which is quite inadequately filled by the THVS of *f*². Finally I may mention that *f* is the 'Florentinus,' from which Beverland derived the variants mentioned by Schneidewin on p. lviii of his Prolegomena. Another copy of these will be found in the marginalia of a printed text in the Leyden Library (755 H 38; cf. 755 H 32). It is also the 'Florentinus' whose variants are entered in the margin of a Plantin text in the Bibliothèque Nationale. The readings of *f* must find a place in the *apparatus criticus* of editions of Martial in the future.

W. M. LINDSAY.

¹ The disorder is heightened in *f* by the fact that the corrector of *f*'s original had inserted in the margin I xxii., which has the same heading; so that in *f* this epigram occurs twice, once after I. xiv. and again at its proper place. At its first occurrence the epigram comes from the 'Italian' text and should be ignored. Schneidewin's *f*-reading in v. 3, *seruanur*, belongs to this first occurrence.

CONSTRUCTIONS IN CONNEXION WITH 'PONDO.'

THE constructions in connexion with '*pondo*' are interesting, but would seem to have received little attention.

These constructions fall naturally into two main classes: (I.) where the full construction occurs, (II.) where the construction is elliptical; and both classes can be again sub-divided according to the Case used. Typical instances of each sub-division are here appended.

I. (a) Plaut. Rud. 4, 2, 8 (913), *Negue piscium ullam unciam hodie pondo cepi*. This is the original and simple construction. The only question concerning it is the nature of the Ablative. Some would consider it as Instrumental, and translate 'by weight'; but to the writer it seems more probably an Abl. of Respect, or perhaps a Descriptive Abl., meaning 'in weight,' as in Caes. B.G. 3. 13. 4. *transtra . . . confixa clavis ferreis digiti pollicis crassitudine*, where *crassitudine* = 'in thickness.'

(b) (1) Liv. 3, 29, 3, *coronam auream libram pondo*. (2) *ib.* 26, 47, 7, *paterae aureae fuerunt . . . libras ferme omnes pondo*. Here the weight is expressed by an Accusative.

Madvig, Em. Liv. 26, 47 would read *librae* for *libras* rejecting as contrary to analogy such an Accusative. He writes, 'Equidem nunquam intellegere potui quis esset hic Accusativi usus, aut quam haberet analogiam: . . . *patera libram pondo* sic dicitur ac si dicas *homo annum aetate* quod omnes sentiunt ridiculum esse.' He considers I. b. 1. to be a case of simple apposition and would emend I. b. 2. to make it similar.

No scholar would defend '*homo annum aetate*,' but let us consider parallel constructions of the Accusative. To take Madvig's own examples, Lat. Gr. § 234. a. *fossa decem pedes alta*; *terram duos pedes alte infodere*; *fines Helvetiorum patebant in longitudinem ducenta quadraginta millia passuum*; *a recta conscientia transversum unguem non oportet discedere*; also the ordinary Acc. of Measure of Time *annos natus unum et viginti*.

These examples are sufficient to show, what is recognised by all, that Measure of Space or Time is commonly expressed by the Accusative and that such an Accusative can be constructed with an Adjective, Adverb, Verb, Participle, or a substantival phrase, the last especially in expressions of 'thickness.' In other words, the natural reply to the question 'how long?' 'how deep?' 'how

high?' and by parity of reasoning 'how heavy?' would be an Accusative constructed with some word expressive of length, depth, height or weight. In the case of weight the qualifying word would seem to be '*pondo*.' In Varro we have side by side L. L. 5. 36, 174 *libram pondo as valebant* and *ib.* 5. 36, 182 *asses libras pondo erant*. If these two last passages stood alone it would be possible that the latter was merely an extension of the former, but the analogies of other Accusatives of measurement would make it seem more probable that all are really to be included under the same head. In Columella for example we find 12, 28, 1, *irum cribratam quae sit instar pondo quincuncem et trientem*.

The reading therefore in Liv. 26, 47, 7, of *libras* is sufficiently confirmed by analogy, and the most scientific explanation of the Accusative would seem to be an Acc. of measure of weight, '*pondo*' being used instead of an adjective meaning 'heavy.' This would be a very easy and natural variation of the common '*fossa decem pedes alta*'; just as in English we might say 'a trench ten feet deep,' or 'a trench ten feet in depth,' though 'a child a year in age' would be a very awkward substitute for 'a child a year old.' So it is no conclusive argument against an Acc. of Measure of weight with '*pondo*,' that Latin usage prefers the Acc. of Measure of time with '*natus*.' Indeed when we remember that *alte* is really an Abl., the phrase '*terram duos pedes alte infodere*' affords a very close parallel.

(c) The weight is sometimes expressed by a Genitive of Quality or Description. This construction is usually elliptical; but we have it in full in Plaut. Men. 3, 3, 17, *inaureis da mihi faciundas pon-to duum nummum stalagmia*, 'ear-drops of two nummi in weight.' With this compare Caes. B. G. 3, 13, 4, quoted under I (a) also *ib.* 7. 73 *stipites feminis crassitudine et scrobes trium in altitudinem pedum*.

II. Elliptical Constructions. It should be noted that, while *pondo* may be used in connexion with any sort of weight, when no weight is expressed some case of *libra* is always to be understood. As is natural in phrases of constant occurrence elliptical constructions are far more common, and it is interesting to trace their development.

(a) First we find a class of examples where the construction might be completed by the addition of some case of *libra*; e.g.,

Cic. Clu. 179 *auri quinque pondo abstulit* (sc. *libras*); Liv. 27, 4, *pateram ex quinque pondo auri factum* (sc. *libris*); ib. 7, 38, 2, *fuit* (*corona aurea*) *pondo viginti quinque* (sc. *librarum* or *libras*).

Here probably belongs a passage from the XII. Tables quoted by Gellius 20, 1, 45 *quindecim pondo ne minore aut si volet maiore vincito* 'let him fetter the man with fifteen pounds'-weight, with no less weight or with a greater weight at his pleasure.'

The construction would be completed by the insertion of *libris*, *minore* and *maiore* agreeing with '*pondo*,' carried on from the earlier part of the sentence, though *minore pondo* and *maiore pondo* would be grammatically parallel to *quindecim libris*. This is a good instance of a popular and looser use of language.

(b) The next class of examples shows us a stage where, from the habitual omission of the word for 'pounds,' the original construction is lost and we find '*pondo*' in connexion with a numeral used as a neuter plural = 'pounds' weight.' That this was the familiar usage is proved by Quint. 1, 5, 15, *duapondo . . . usque ad nostram aetatem ab omnibus dictum est, et recte dici Messala confirmat*. Instances are (1) Liv. 1, 55, 9, *quadraginta millia pondo argenti seposita*; (2) Liv. 27, 4, 9, *terna pondo paterae aureae*; (3) Liv. 44, 14, 2, *torquis aureus duo pondo*. In (2) and (3) *terna pondo* and *duo pondo* are probably Accusatives, as in I (b) 1 and 2.

The following examples illustrate the flexibility of the phrase; Plaut. As. 2, 2, 33 (299), *Quot pondo ted esse censes nudum?* Liv. 22, 23, 6, *Argenti pondo bina et selibras in militem praestaret*. The juxta-position of *pondo bina* et *selibras* is instructive as showing how completely the original *binas pondo libras* has fallen into disuse.

In the examples quoted under II (a) it is probable that '*pondo*' is used in this sense, and that there is no true ellipse.

(c) There remains a small class of passages more difficult of explanation. (1) Liv. 30, 21, 4, *ducentum et quinquaginta auri, octingentum pondo argenti in vestibulo curiae posuerunt*. (2) Cic. de Rep. 2, 22, 40, *qui aut non plus mille quingentum aeris, aut omnino nihil in suum censum praeter caput attulissent*. This passage is probably a quotation by Cicero from some older document. (3). Paulus ap. Gell. 16. 10, 10 *qui in plebe Romana tenuissimi pauperrimique erant, neque amplius quam mille quingentum aeris in censum deferebant*. (4). Varro ap. Non. 149, *itaque rettulit auri pondo mille octin-*

gentum septuaginta quinque. (5). Lucil. ap. Non. 493, *Maximū si argenti sescentum ac mille reliquit*.

It is safer to leave out of consideration Lucil. ap. Non. 544, *millia ducentum frumenti tolle* (or *tolli*) *medimnum*, the quantity of *ducentum* throwing doubt upon the reading.

In his first edition of 'Formenlehre,' Neue says that these forms in *-tum* must be understood as neuter Acc. Sing., and this view is apparently adopted by Lewis and Short (s.v. *ducenti*). Presumably he meant that such forms were to be considered as following the analogy of *sestertium*, but in any case the hypothesis would seem most improbable.

A more reasonable explanation would be that in early Latin the Cardinals representing hundreds were indeclinable, as *centum* always remained, and that Cicero and Livy, in the passages cited, merely copied the forms from the authorities which they were quoting.

There is indeed sufficiently good evidence that *ducentum* was so used, e.g. Col. R.R. 5, 3, 7, *qui numeri inter se multiplicati efficiunt mille ducentum et viginti quinque*; and perhaps *sescentum* in Lucil. ap. Non. 493 cited above.

But granting, for the sake of argument, the possibility, or even probability, of such indeclinable forms in ancient Latin, some difficulties still remain in adopting this as an explanation of Liv. 30, 21, 4.

Livy uses the numerals for 200, 300, etc., many scores of times, and in most instances he was presumably deriving his information from documents existing at his time. Is it likely that he should have preserved an archaism in one passage which he rejected in all the rest?

There is moreover an obstinate citation from Lucilius, ap. Non. 493 *quid vero est, centum ac ducentum possideas si millium?*

It would seem impossible to take *centum* ac *ducentum* as substantives governing the Gen. *millium*, and there seems no alternative, on the theories proposed.

I would therefore venture to make the following suggestion, which would explain this and all the other passages, viz. that owing to the frequency of the Genitive construction in measures of weight, when the idea to be expressed was vaguely 'a sum' or 'an amount,' in popular language it was not thought necessary to insert the direct object '*vim*' or '*numerus*,' but that the numerals in all these cases are Genitives Plural depending, grammatically, on this idea understood.

Indirect support is given to this view by the fact that constructions with '*pondo*' are usually elliptical. From the nature of the case the construction would be unlikely to occur except with large sums or weights.

In Livy 30, 21, 4, Madvig emends the

reading, as also Baiter and Kayser in Cic. de Rep. 2, 22, 40, but the parallel passages leave no reasonable doubt that the MSS. are correct.

A. SLOMAN.

ON PERSIUS III. 29.—A CORRECTION.

THE emendation '*vetulum*' in Persius iii. 29 has been already published in the *Classical Review* for 1888, Vol. ii. p. 85, by Mr. H. B. Stanwell.

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June 17, 1902.

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NOTES.

ἀτρεμία = *sluggish*.—The parallel desiderated by Mr. Shilleto may be found in Bacchylides v. 7. φρένα δ' εὐθύδικον ἀτρεμ' ἀμπαύσας μεριμνᾶν. A better parallel perhaps than *ἡκα* is *ἡρέμα*, as in Plato, *Phaedo* 62 A *ἡρέμα ἐπιγελάσας*.

A. W. MAIR.

ἀτρεμία = *sluggish*.—If Mr. Shilleto desires other examples of *ἀτρεμία* qualifying an adjective, the Dictionary will supply them,—I mean the Paris *Thesaurus*, the revised edition of Stephanus' great work. Liddell and Scott, with all its errors, is an extremely useful handbook, but it does not, could not, and should not aim at being exhaustive; it belongs also to an earlier period of knowledge. L. Dindorf quotes in the *Thesaurus* Hippocr. 494. 32 *ἀτρεμία χολιδης*, Oribas. p. 30. 17 τὸ περὶ τούτοις *ἀτρεμία μετέωρον καὶ ὑπερῶρον*. Plut. *Mor.* 1062 c (q. v.) τῶν *ἀτρεμία λευκῶν*. I cannot add to these, but there are two synonyms of it which I can illustrate more fully: *ἡρεμία* Marcell. *Vit. Thuc.* *ἔθεος*

ἡρέμα, Diog. La. ii. 11 ἡ. δεισιδαιμονέστερος, Ath. 33e *ἔχει τι καὶ ἄρωματῶδες ἡρέμα ἐπιστύφον*; add Pollux vi. 165 ἡ. φορτικόν, Lucian i. 79 ἡ. δηκτικῶ, Artemid. ii. 32, γυναῖκα *εὐμορφον*, ἡ. πλουσίαν.—*ἡσυχῇ* Hippocr. '1132 H.' *ξηρὸν ἡσυχῇ*, Ael. N.A. iii. 28 γρυπὸς γε μὴν *ἡσυχῇ οὕτως* (more 'precious' this, see Jacobs' note), Hesych. *Δισσοῦς*: τοὺς *ἡσυχῇ φαλακρούς*: add Theophrast. *fr.* 159 *ἡσυχῇ θερμόν*, Grenfell's *Papyri* 1896 p. 63 *προκέφαλος ἡσυχῇ*.¹—These words, in the sense 'gently,' 'slightly,' 'moderately,' have a common opposite in *σφόδρα*, and *ἀτρεμία* and *ἡσυχῇ* at any rate seem properly to belong to the language of scientific description, that is, Ionic. They were not the purest Attic, but later writers of Comedy by no means always cared to be strict purists, and the diction of Lycophron's Satyric play is not distinguishable from that of later Comedy.

W. HEADLAM.

¹ The recurring abbreviation *ap* in this document must surely be for *ἀνῆρ*.

REVIEWS.

'BAYFIELD'S ANTIGONE OF SOPHOCLES.

The Antigone of Sophocles. With Introduction, Notes, and Appendices. By M. A. BAYFIELD, M.A. Macmillan and Co., Ltd. 1901. Pp. xxxii, 174. 2s. 6d.

THIS is a useful addition to Messrs. Macmillan's Classical Series and will be welcome to those who cannot aspire to Prof. Jebb's edition. The introductory matter includes a chapter on the story of the house of Lab-

dakos,—(would it not have been well to state somewhere that Labdakos was king of Thebes?)—an analysis of the play, and a very just estimate of its moral.

In a book intended for school use it is a satisfaction to find the stage directions inserted in the Greek text. In their absence entrances and exits are too often unobserved of those whose attention is distracted by wrestling with an alien tongue. But Mr. Bayfield

does not confine himself to noting the exits and the entrances. He tells us that the robes of Antigone and Ismene 'are black. The πέπλοι are confined at the waist by richly ornamented girdles. Both sisters wear diadems of gold, rings and other jewelry': and that on Kreon's head 'is an Asiatic pointed cap.' Presumably there is authority for all this: but what is it? And I do not find any evidence in the text for the 'procession bearing the bodies of Haimon and Antigone on biers covered by palls,' p. 45. Mr. Bayfield is careful to note any deviations from Prof. Jebb's interpretation, though he does not always convince us of the merits of his own. The notes vary in quality. There are some reflections which could be spared, but descriptive notes such as that on the trace-horse (line 140) or on Delphi (1126) are of use. At one moment again Mr. Bayfield in an interesting note throws light on a difficult point, as on the use of ἄγος (line 775), while at another he explains τῶν μεγάλων...θεσμιῶν (line 800) as 'the ἀγραπτα νόμματα of 454, and in particular those enjoining obedience and respect to parents and loyalty to kings,' which is surely a *reductio ad absurdum*.

On line 253 ὁ πρῶτος ἡμεροσκόπος Mr. Bayfield says 'there was of course to be also a night-watch. This man was the first sentry to arrive on the spot. Antigone had visited the body before the guard's arrival,' following Prof. Jebb who says '... A. had done her deed in the short interval between the publication of the edict and the beginning of the watch over the corpse. ὁ πρῶτος ἡμέρος, the man who took the first watch of this day was the first who had watched at all...' The whole time-question of the play depends largely on dramatic convention: but we do know that the Argives fled in the night, that the order for watching the corpse was given probably on the field (cf. Bayfield, p. 52 on line 7), that Antigone was aware of the order and had proceeded to disobey it before the entrance of the Chorus who hail the rising sun and who on hearing of the order for the first time hear at the same time from Kreon that watchers are already set. Why then may we not draw what seems the natural conclusion, that Antigone had eluded the *night-watch* in the dark, and that it was left to the *first day-watch* to detect the fact? The very name suggests an antithesis which it would surely be far-fetched to seek in the fact that 'there was of course to be also a night-watch.' If, moreover, he were the first watcher of all, why the

dismay among the rest? Who could be held accountable before any had been set? And may not ἐγερῖ (413) possibly be used as evidence in the same direction?

On the vexed question of the authenticity of the lines 904-920 Mr. Bayfield, again in agreement with Prof. Jebb, decides to reject them, primarily on the ground of the inconsistency involved in the conception of the character of Antigone. In the reading of the character of Antigone, especially in relation to Ismene, I find myself more in agreement on the whole with Mr. Bayfield than with Prof. Jebb, and so far I agree with him in this; but on p. 118 he seems to falsify his own analysis. Antigone has acted throughout under the influence of love for her brother and in reliance on the 'unwritten laws.' For her the Divine law was more binding than the human. And is she to lose faith at the end? That would be to attribute to her the very inconsistency that Mr. Bayfield deprecates. As well could one conceive of her as the faltering girl who can give no coherent reason for her action (904-915)—a characterisation as foreign to Sophocles—in my opinion—as it might be natural to Euripides. She is scared, crushed by the horror of her impending doom, longing for human sympathy and finding none in the rather arid comments and chilling comfort of the chorus, but that she distrusts the gods I do not think. Is there not another possible interpretation of these lines? Might not Antigone at the end—above all in Kreon's presence—pull herself together, and still relying on her love and on her piety go unflinchingly to her death? May not lines 922-928 be ironical? Indeed ἐπεὶ γε δὴ τὴν δυσσέβειαν εὐσεβοῦς ἐκτησάμην would seem to point to this—and may not lines 925-8 (taking ἂν συγγνώμην in the sense of *I shall agree* cf. Thuc. 2. 60), though couched in the form of an alternative, be no more than a disguised expression of assurance, for which we can find a parallel in the words of Clytemnestra to the Chorus in Aesch. Agam. 1421-5)?

There is an admirable appendix on metres and some notes on Epic idioms in tragedy. An index at the end of the volume leaves one embarrassed as to the principle on which it is compiled.

Mr. Bayfield adopts throughout the Greek spelling of proper names with the exception of *Oedipus*, who remains the solitary survivor of an earlier mode.

JANET E. CASE.

THOMPSON'S *MENO OF PLATO*.

The Meno of Plato. Edited by E. SEYMER THOMPSON. London: Macmillan & Co.

IN his Preface Mr. Thompson says, 'This book might possibly have been better if less time had been spent over it,' and he fears that, having worked at it for more than twelve years, he has left it at last 'something of a farrago.' The fact seems to be that the editor has gone very fully into all the questions of Platonic language which can possibly be raised by the *Meno*, and that he has put most of his grammatical work into the book. This certainly overloads it if we regard it simply as an edition of a single dialogue, but it makes it a very valuable book for the Platonic student. One can only regret that, if an editor thinks it necessary to discuss at length every grammatical question that arises, he should not put all the material in proper order in an Introduction or Appendix after the manner of Riddell's *Digest of Platonic Idioms*. There is material in this edition for a very valuable supplement to that storehouse of facts. However, it is ungracious to complain when so much is given, and there can be no doubt of the thoroughness with which this part of the work is done.

The text is based upon that of Schanz, though Fritzsche has been called in to correct that editor's exclusive devotion to B and T. In some places the reading of Flor. x is adopted and many of its peculiarities are discussed. This MS. is a copy of Vind. F, to the importance of which I called attention in a recent article in this *Review*.¹ The fact that x alone preserves the

name of *Ανντος* in 89 E, where B T have *αὐτός*, is duly emphasised, and so is its *ἀλλὰ πῶς* (so too Stobaeus) in 81 E, where BT have *ἀλλ' ἀπλῶς*. It is to be regretted that more use could not have been made of W (Vind. suppl. phil. gr. 7) which, in spite of Schanz, is of great value as a supplement to B. Thus, in 79 D we should certainly read *ἄρτι ἀπεκρινάμην* (TW), though B omits the *ἄρτι*.

The excursus on *οὐσία* as a philosophical term is of great value, and the tentative way in which Plato first so uses the word is well brought out. It is a pity that Mr. Thompson should have kept the old mis-translation of *Phaedo* 78 D, *ἡ οὐσία ἧς λόγον δίδομεν τοῦ εἶναι*, 'as whose principle we assign being.' Plato would not have understood that. The words simply mean 'the reality of the being of which we give an account,' *λόγος τοῦ εἶναι* being a mere variant of *λόγος τῆς οὐσίας*. Mr. Thompson knows the language of Plato too well to be offended by the cumulated genitive. Apart from this, the excursus on *οὐσία* is a most useful bit of work.

In conclusion, while we may doubt, as Mr. Thompson himself seems to doubt, whether this volume is not too much of a 'farrago' to be an ideal edition of the *Meno*, we need have no doubt of its great value to all who have to occupy themselves with Plato as a writer and as a thinker. For some months I have kept it constantly by my side to refer to on points of Platonic grammar and idiom, and I have rarely turned to it without finding something worth knowing. It is impossible to say more for a book than that. Will not Mr. Thompson give us a Platonic Grammar? He must have most of the material ready, and such a book is wanted to take the place of Riddell.

JOHN BURNET.

¹ *C.R.* xvi. p. 98. I hope to return before long to the subject of Vind. F, and I do not at all despair of convincing Mr. Adam that I am right about it. I should like, however, to point out at once that his interesting criticism of my views in *C.R.* xvi. p. 215 ignores altogether what is to me the chief part of the argument, namely the frequency in Vind. F of errors which can arise only from the misreading of uncials. Mr. Adam complains that I have not proved Flor. x to be a copy of Vind. F (*C.R.* xvi. p. 216). I never even attempted to do so in print, though I believe that I could if necessary. I thought that, as I was not immediately concerned with Flor. x, I might assume that Schanz had proved the point (*Plato codex*, pp. 105, 106). As, however, his affiliation is doubted, I shall do my best to settle the matter at

an early date. Flor. x was written in 1420, and we learn from Kollarinus' edition of Lambecius, vol. i. pp. 409 sqq. that Vind. F was in the possession of Franciscus Barbarus in that very year. I am not so sure that Ang. v is copied from Flor. x as Schanz seems to be; but I believe that I can prove its descent from Vind. F. I have to thank Mr. Adam for the courteous way in which he has expressed his dissent from my theory.

PETERSON'S CLUNIACENSIS MS. OF CICERO.

Anecdota Oxoniensia. Classical Series.

Part IX. Collations from the codex Cluniacensis s. Holkhamicus, a ninth-century MS. of Cicero, now in Lord Leicester's Library at Holkham. By W. PETERSON, C.M.G., LL.D.

THIS very interesting and important MS. discovered and collated by Dr. Peterson, has suffered from considerable mutilation, but still contains the greater part of the speeches in *Catilinam*, a fragment of the *pro Ligario* (§§ 18-28), most of the *pro rege Deiotaro*, and part of the second speech in the *Actio Secunda in Verrem*. Its antiquity claims for it a high place among Ciceronian MSS. Apart from various palimpsests, which of course are several centuries older, only one known MS. of any speeches of Cicero is of superior antiquity, viz. V (cod. tabularii Basilicæ Vaticanæ H 25), the first part of which, containing the *in Pisonem*, was written in the eighth century. The only rivals of the Holkham MS. are Paris 7774 A, which contains *in Verrem* Act. Sec. iv. v, and is written in a very similar hand, and 7794, which contains the speeches *post reditum, pro Sestio, in Vatinius, de provinciis consularibus, pro Balbo, pro Cælio*.

It was not until Dr. Peterson had nearly completed his work that he found that, although he was the first to collate the MS., he was not the first to draw attention to it in recent times. M. Léon Dorez, whose courtesy and palaeographical skill are well known to frequenters of the Bibliothèque Nationale, was sent on a mission to Holkham more than ten years ago, and spent six months there examining the library. He sent a photographure of this particular MS. to M. Chatelain, by whom it was published in his series of Facsimiles, with a note that M. Dorez meant shortly to give an account of it in the *Mélanges de l'École française à Rome*. M. Dorez announced in this publication (*Mélanges*, 1892 p. 116), that he intended to publish a Report on the Holkham MSS. in general in the *Bibliothèque de l'École pratique des Hautes Études*. Owing, however, to other occupations he was prevented from carrying out his intentions. It is to be hoped that his Report may soon see the light.

The MS. has on the first page an erased library-mark which Lord Leicester kindly

allowed to be revived, and was read by Bodley's Librarian, Mr. E. W. B. Nicholson, as *d' cōuētū clun'*, i.e. *de conventu Cluniacensi*.

The verification of this reading is supplied by the well-known Catalogue of the Cluni MSS. made in the twelfth century, in which is found, '498 Volumen in quo continetur Cicero in Catilina et idem pro Quinto Ligario et pro rege Deiotaro et de publicis litteris¹ et de actione idemque in Verrinis.'

This, if not the Holkham MS., is its twin-brother.

Prof. Robinson Ellis has recently in a public lecture expressed doubts as to the correctness of this decipherment. He thinks that 'after *cl* the remaining letters are indecipherable, yet that, so far as anything can be made out, it is the presence above the line and over the remaining letters of a stroke coming upwards from right to left and suggesting a half-erased *d* corresponding in form to the first *d* of *de*.' I have lately had the opportunity of again looking at the MS. with Bodley's Librarian, who made me a tracing of the entry, and convinced me that the mark which Professor Ellis takes for the top of a *d*, is the ordinary abbreviation over *n*. But, even if the mark were less legible, I could not doubt the truth of *Clun'*, in view of the fact that the MS. so closely answers to the description given in the old Cluni Catalogue. M. Dorez kindly consulted for me M. Delisle on the point, who expressed himself as quite satisfied, laying stress upon the fact that the MS. is 'bien nettement décrit' in the Catalogue. M. Dorez adds 'je suis persuadé que M. Delisle a raison et que M. Peterson a bien interprété les mots qu'il a fait revivre.'

Dr. Peterson has taken great trouble to investigate the affinities of the MS., which as *Ho.* is a somewhat awkward symbol, I prefer to call *C*. His chief conclusions are as follows:

(1) In the Catilinarian speeches and the part of those before Caesar which it contains, it is very closely connected with A (Ambrosianus, *sæcl.* x.) Although he sometimes wavers in his opinion, he is on the whole inclined to think that A is a direct copy of it.

¹ The phrase *publicæ litteræ* occurs nine times in Verr. ii, and seventeen times in Verr. iii. As it would frequently be in capitals, the maker of the Catalogue took it for a title.

He thinks that *a* (Laur. xlv. 2, *saecl.* xiii), is descended from it, and that editors have attached undue weight to *a*.

(2) In the Orations Caesarianae he shews that it is also very closely connected with H, the second copy of these speeches in Harl. 2682 (*saecl.* xi), and considers that H is a direct copy of it.

(3) In the portion of Verr. ii. 2 which it contains it is the best representative of the best family. He believes that it has previously been known under three names after three different sixteenth century scholars, viz. as liber Fabricianus, Metellianus, and Nannianus. He also considers that the MS. generally known as Lag. 42 (Flor. Bad. 2618. 79), to which recent editors attach the highest value, is directly copied from C.

As to the first of these points, that C stands in the closest possible relation to A and V (Vossianus, Lat. O. 2 *saecl.* xi.), both in the Catilinarian and Caesarian speeches, is obvious at a glance. I entirely agree with Dr. Peterson in the view which he takes of *a*. I had come to the same conclusion before using C, and am strengthened in it after recently recollating *a*. Several of the readings quoted by Dr. Peterson to shew the connexion of MSS. of this group might well be dispensed with: thus p. ix on 268. 27, he says, 'H and A agree in omitting the indispensable *quem* (which occurs, indeed, only in the γ family).' As *quem* is omitted by most MSS., the omission by CA does not prove any special relationship. This criticism applies to several of the passages quoted on p. x.

In an article published in this *Journal* (June 1900, p. 253) I gave reasons for considering H in these speeches to be superior to A, and in my recent edition (Bibliotheca Oxon. 1900) frequently followed H as against A where they differed. I did so with diffidence, since I was impressed by the antiquity of A, and sensible that I might be charged with favouritism.¹ I am, therefore, gratified to find that in the great majority of cases C agrees with H and not with A. Not only is this so in the case of important readings, e.g., Deiot. 36, *sustulerat*, 40 et *quonam*, but also in the collocation of words e.g., 26, in *convivioque nudum* CH, *nudamque* in *convivio* AV; 27, *ille quidem* CH, *quidem ille* AV; 32 *iste est corruptus* CH, *est corruptus iste* AV; and variants, which on the face of them appear equally good, e.g., 26 *reges* CH, *regem* AV; 29 *Castor* CH, *om.* AV; 30 *acerbitatis* CHV, *acerbitas* A.

¹ Dr. Zielinski in *Deutsche Literaturzeitung*, 1901, p. 1558, speaks humorously of 'Clark's Liebling H.'

I now in several places regret that I did not follow H more boldly. Thus in Deiot. 35 I took from AV *extremum causae*, the variants being, *extremam partem causae* H, *extremam causae partem* β , *extremum causae partem* σ , thinking that *partem* had all the appearance of a gloss, and gained the approval of Dr. Hirschfelder (*Woch. f. kl. Phil.* 1901, p. 736) for so doing. C, however, agrees with H, thus carrying back the reading to the ninth century. The source of the variety in the MSS. appears to be 'the open *a*' undistinguishable from *u* in the archetype; *partem* has been banished from A, is inserted in the wrong place in β , while the fifteenth century σ combines with *partem* the original corruption *extremum*.

Dr. Peterson wavers between two opinions regarding the connexion of C with A (in the Catilinarians and Caesarianae), and H (in the Caesarianae). In the early part of the Introduction he inclines to believe that they were directly copied from C, while later on, e.g. on pp. lvi, lxi, he realises more clearly the difficulties which exist, and even adduces arguments which may be adduced against his theory. I strongly incline towards the second view, viz., that A and H are derived from *gemelli* of C. As the point is of importance, I may be pardoned for entering into some detail. The chief objections are as follows. I take the case of A first.

(1) A has the pro Marcello, C, if the description in the Cluni catalogue is to be trusted, never had it. It may be urged that the pro Marcello was omitted by accident in the entry in the catalogue, and many examples may be quoted where the list of contents ascribed to a MS. is defective. On the other hand the writer of the entry, to judge from his multiplication of the Verrines, viz., *de publicis litteris et de actione, idemque in Verrinis*, seems to have been extremely anxious to leave nothing out. Dr. Peterson, therefore, on page vi. allows that 'the codex did not in all probability contain the pro Marcello,' and in a note to the same page that 'the inclusion or non-inclusion of the pro Marcello,' in C is of 'prime importance' when its relation to A is considered.

A special feature of CA is that they contain certain *scholia* known from no other source. Those on the pro Marcello in A are of precisely the same character as those on other speeches. It is very unlikely, if A was directly copied from C in the pro Ligario and pro rego Deiotaro but got

the pro Marcello from another MS., that it would have had these scholia in the pro Marcello also. Dr. Peterson also notes that in the scholium on Deiot. 29, where C has clearly *quo partes*, A gives *qritus* or *qrttis*, and candidly allows that this is an argument against the theory of direct copying.

(2) The orthography of A is archaic, that of C more modern, but in very many cases the archaic spelling was added in C above the line and then erased by a corrector. The commonest case is the substitution of *i* for *u* in the superlative and gerundive. Thus C gives normally, e.g.

maximus, *gerendo*, while A has *maxumus*, *gerundo*. Dr. Peterson inclines to the view (p. xiv.) that these supralineal additions in C are due to the wish of the second hand 'to secure a correct Latin script, such as we know the Tours school prized' (cf. p. lv.), i.e. that they were not taken from a MS. but inserted according to a system. He finds in their incorporation in A an argument for the direct copying of A from C.

This theory, however, does not cover all the cases. Thus A has e.g. 249. 11 consili (consilii C), 261. 2 imperi (imperii C), 258. 34 inmissus (immissus C), etc., where there is no supralineal correction in C. I would draw special attention to *quur* A (a relic of the archaic *quor*), *cur* C (Cat. ii. 17 and iv. 2), and *inicum* A, *iniquum* C (Deiot. 1). It would be necessary to assume that the writer of A not only adopted the corrections of the second hand, but introduced other archaisms *de suo*.

The opposite theory seems to me far more likely, viz. that these come from the archetype, and have been more faithfully preserved in A than in C. That they existed in earlier MSS. than C is of course certain, and their occasional survival in C e.g. 250. 28 *comprehendi*, 270. 22 *gerundo* shows that in the copy from which C was taken some had escaped the pen of the corrector.

(3) Certain lacunae in A are hard to explain if it was copied from C. Thus in Cat. iv. 13, where C omits *sine lacuna*, A marks a lacuna. Dr. Peterson says that 'A indicates possibly because of an (erased) mark in C a lacuna of some 30 letters.' It is true that a letter in the margin appears to have been erased, but it is very unlikely that it can have been any sign which would shew the most ingenious of copyists that something was wanted or have enabled him to make so good a guess as to the number of letters omitted.

(4) I would draw attention to the follow-

ing readings, all taken from the first four sections of Cat. 1. A considerable list of such cases could be made.

§ 2. *pestem* C, *istam* is added above the line by the first hand. A (together with VaH) gives *pestem* without *istam*. It is odd that a copyist so eager to adopt alterations and corrections in C as the writer of A according to Dr. Peterson's view should have neglected the addition. The same phenomenon occurs in two other passages in the immediate context, viz.

§ 3. *et grave* is added in C above the line by the first hand, but omitted by AV.

§ 4. *verum* C with *tamen* above the line: AVaH omit *tamen*.

I add the following:

§ 1. *furor iste tuns nos eludet* C, *om. nos A*, and *Julius Victor*. The omission by A may be due to accident, but the agreement of Julius Victor is curious. (For the absolute sense of *eludo* cf. Verr. iii. 9, Pis. 82, Mil. 32.)

§ 3. *Catilinam vero* C: *om. vero AVa* and Quintilian VIII. 4. 3. Here again the agreement of Quintilian is against the theory of accidental omission.

(5) Passages where A has a gloss seem to postulate something between A and C. To take a striking case, Cat. 1. 22 *dunt C*: *donent A*. In the copy from which A was taken must have been ^{donent} *dunt*.

Dr. Peterson has a stronger case with regard to H in the Orations Caesarianae, since H even more closely resembles C than A does. But similar difficulties exist here also, e.g.

(1) H has the pro Marcello, and the tradition of this speech in it seems precisely similar to that of the other two speeches.

(2) There are objections on the ground of orthography. I take e.g. the abbreviation Q. for *quae*. This survives in C in Catil. ii.

11, (266, 6), viz. ^{uae} Q—the addition *sup. lin.* being made by the corrector—and must be a survival from the archetype. I find four places in the pro rege Deiot. (Bait. Halm 1209, 3; 1214, 3; 1217, 26; 1220, 23) where H gives Q. but C has *quae*. Is it credible that the writer of H, finding *quae* in his original, would *suo Marte* alter to Q. ? Also, H has stray capitals surviving from the archetype, where C has minuscules e.g. Deiot. 19 RE (re C) *illo tempore non perfecta*; faulty divisions not found in C e.g. Lig. 22, *quam aliquem C, quae mali quem H*: Deiot. 30 in *lucem evocavit C*, in *lucem me vocavit H*: 36 *hoc se Deiotarus C, hoc sed iotarus H*; and archaic spellings

e.g. Deiot. 27 vacabat C: vocabat H (cf. Munro on Lucr. 1, 520), 26 hae C: haec H (cf. Neue, Formenl. ii³, p. 417, Landgraf on Rose. Am. 67).

(3) I draw attention to the following variants.

Deiot. 19 illuc isti] illuc istum isti C: istum illuc isti H. In the archetype must

illuc have been *istum isti*. Dr. Peterson explains the variety by saying that in C *istum* is subpunctuated. This would explain the omission of *istum* in a copy taken from C, but not a variety in the collocation.

Lig. 24, in Africam in provinciam C *pr. scr.*: in provinciam in Africam H: in Africam provinciam C *corr.*, βγ. In the archetype Africam there must have been *in provinciam*.

I would further note that the differences between A and H in these speeches and the general agreement of C with H as against A make it improbable that they are both directly copied from C, even if, which I do not myself believe, this were true of H.

In the case of the Verrines Dr. Peterson argues with learning and ingenuity that C is the Fabricianus, Metellianus, and Nannianus all in one, and appears to make his contention extremely probable. It is a familiar phenomenon for an important MS. to have had various names given to it by different persons who have used it. Thus Harl. 2682 has been known as Basilicanus, Hittorplanus, Coloniensis, and in the Catilinarrians as Graevii secundus. Graevius indeed frequently quotes 'Colon. et Graevii secundus' together, though he had the MS. at the time in his keeping. On the other hand the MSS., (or MS.), used by the scholars in question may have been XV century copies of C resembling Lag. 42, or one or more of them may have been Lag. 42 itself. Professor Ellis acutely pointed out to me that none of the three dwell upon the age of the MS. which they used: while if their *codex* had been of the IX century they would probably have termed it *vetustissimus*.

In January last I re-examined Lag. 42 in Florence, collating it with Dr. Peterson's variants. Owing to other occupations and interests I was not able to go through all these myself, but Professor Richardson of Princeton University with singular kindness volunteered to complete the task for me. Most of the discrepancies are of a very trivial character, being mainly due to the fact that the orthography of Lag. 42 is more modern. The second hand in C is

generally followed in Lag. 42, but the reading of C is often preserved. I instance a few cases in which Lag. 42 preserves the reading of C, against the correction recorded by Dr. Peterson as due to the second hand, e.g., 200 11 venerit, 13 dicendum, 14 possem, 203 1, quae, 18 utrius, 29 diceret, 205 1, plurimos, 35 existimare, 206 3, in aliā, 22 existimatis, etc. etc. In the large majority of cases however, Lag. 42 follows C². In many of these, a correction followed by Lag. 42 has been erased from C but is still legible: e.g. 202 30, iniuriis] 'iniuris, i suprascer. eras.' (Peterson): iniuriis Lag. 206 10, primariis] 'primaris, i suprascer. eras.': primariis Lag. There remains a block of cases in which Lag. 42 differs from C, but the erased correction above C is illegible, e.g. 203 12. At] 'ad, corr. del.': at Lag. 206 14 stragulae] 'stagula corr. del.': stragule Lag., 16 venisset] 'venissent corr. del.': venisset Lag. 208 2, discederent] 'discerent corr. del.': discederent Lag., 12 equis] 'equis corr. del.': et quis Lag., 16 ullum] 'ullam corr. del.': nonullum Lag. 257 33 classibusque] 'classique corr. del.': classibusque Lag., 259 22 vento] 'venio corr. del.': nemo Lag.

In view of the regularity with which a difference of reading in Lag. 42, appears where at one time there was a correction now illegible in C, it cannot be doubted that the erased correction was the reading now found in Lag. 42. This causes a difficulty in the way of supposing that Lag. 42 was, as Dr. Peterson holds, and as otherwise appears very likely, directly copied from C. As Lag. 42 is a fifteenth century MS., if it is copied from C, then either the correction now illegible must have been legible in the fifteenth century, or it must have been erased after Lag. 42 was copied from it. The latter alternative is not likely. All the erasures appear to have been made at a very early date (cf. Dr. Peterson's description of them pp. xiii, xiv.) The excellent condition of the MS., which has not suffered from damp in any way, and the durability of the ink employed, make it difficult to suppose that anything which was legible in the fifteenth century has faded or become illegible since. I am, therefore, conscious of a certain difficulty in the way of the hypothesis of direct copying.

The only discrepancies of any importance apart from these are:

201. 1 iudices om C: indices Lag.

206. 13 nobilissimarum equarum C: nobilissimorum equorum Lag.

240. 3 huius C: eius Lag.

259. 21 statua...esset C: statuae...essent Lag.

266. 11 mensum C: mensuum Lag.

I omit mere errors e.g. 265. 26 cognita C, incognita Lag.: ib. abdite C, obedire Lag.: 36 dein C, domi Lag.

It may at first sight appear disappointing that C has not yielded a large number of new readings. This is due to the fact that most of its good readings have already become known from allied MSS., i.e., in the Catilinarians from Aa, in the pro Ligario and pro rege Deiotaro from AH, and in Verr. ii from Lag 42. Its chief function is, as Dr. Peterson puts it, to 'certify with the authority of a ninth century *codex*' readings only known previously from later MSS. In the speeches against Catiline its most notable contributions are 1. 22 *duint*, a reading only known previously from a *cod. Cujacii* (duent a, dent H, donent AV, donarent βγ), and iv. 13 where, although it gives *electissimae* with all other MSS., the corrector has obelised *e* (lectissimae *edd.*)

The most valuable new reading of C appears to me to be in Deiot. 17. Other MSS. read here—

cum, inquit, in castellum Luceium venisses.

The accuser says that Deiotarus tried to murder Caesar on two occasions. The first was on the day of Caesar's arrival. When this failed a fresh plot was made for the next day in a different place. The MSS. however, call this place *Luceium* also, reading in § 21. In posterum diem, inquit, distulit ut, cum in castellum Luceium ventum esset, ibi cogitata perficeret. *Non video causam loci mutandi.*

As Cicero expressly speaks of 'changing the place,' editors generally read *Reiurum* in § 21, and in § 17 correct *Luceium* to *Blucium* from Strabo xii. 5. 2.

C has in § 21 the same reading as the other MSS., viz., in castellum Luceium, but in § 19 gives cum inquit Luceium venisses, omitting in castellum. The sequence of events is now clear. The first plot is at Blucium, the royal residence, on the night of the arrival: the second on the next day at a castellum. We should read with C in § 19, and in § 21 strike out *Luceium*. A marginal note in castellum taken from § 21 has in § 19 got into all MSS. except C, and another marginal note *Luceium* taken from § 19 has in § 21 invaded C also.

I note the following interesting reading in Verr. ii.

§ 20. greges nobilissimorum equorum abactos.

No *v.l.* for *equorum* is here quoted by editors. The same incident is described in 1.28.

greges equarum eius istum abigendos eurasse.

So all MSS. except the first hand of Lag. 42, which (Bait. Halm p. 451, Zumpt p. 1014) gives *equorum*.

Those editors, e.g., Jordan and Müller, whose respect for the MSS. leads them to excuse the change of sex on the part of the animals, give *equorum* in 1.28 and *equarum* in ii. 20. Old editors had given *equarum* in ii. 20. Halm preferred the masc. in both cases, quoting Lag. 42 in 1.28, and is followed by Kayser. It is interesting that C has *equarum* in ii. 20 (*equorum* Lag. 42), so it may be regarded as settled that Dio possessed not horses, but mares.

I add the following notes which may be useful to the reader of Dr. Peterson's volume, being verifications of the readings of Aa and Lag. 42, in cases where they were uncertain or wrongly recorded.

P. ix. on 284. 19. The reading of *a* is conflagrare, sed *se* in hac urbe neque hanc urbem florere voluerunt.

P. xi. *n* on 250. 15. According to an Appendix in Nohl's second edition of the Catilinarians A has *huiusce* not *eius*. Dr. Ceriani informs me that A gives *eius*, as quoted by Dr. Peterson.

Page xv. on 263. 36. A, *teste* Ceriani, has *qui* with the other MSS. not *quod*.

P. xxvii. C and Lag. 42 are said to have an omission in 265. 18. They have a variant *esse* for *et*, but no omission. Also, Lag. 42 does not omit *iudices* 200. 1, and is not quoted, as far as I can discover, as doing so. It does omit *tantis opibus* 263. 17; *parsimonia summa* 202. 12, *sive pecuniariorum* 205. 15, and *ac pudētissimi* 207. 9.

P. xxviii. Lag. 42 has, according to my notes, *nostrae matre nutricem* 201. 21, *supeditado* 206. 16, *quod ego id in paucis* 204. 18.

P. xxix. Both C and Lag. 42 give *scriptum* for *sciri tum*. These readings have been accidentally inverted by Dr. Peterson. In 240. 23, Lag. 42, has *videŕe* with C. In 258. 25 *istius*, the conjecture of Jordan, is wrongly ascribed to C. As will be seen from the collation C gives *illius* with Lag. 42 and other MSS.

P. xxx. Lag. 42 has *laudantes* 240. 31, *hec quo* 257. 23, and omits *daret satis* 264. 11.

I would note with reference to the symbol K (= Kaput), which occurs twice in C (Cat.

1, 22, 26), and is discussed by Dr. Peterson on p. xii, that it is quite frequent in MSS. of Cicero, e.g., Rab. perd. 4, 13, Phil. 1. 31, in Sall. 4. There can be no doubt that it stands for *Kaput*. I regard it as likely that in Cat. ii. 14 in praetexta calumnia, the corrupt *calumnia* has been developed from a marginal *K*, just as in Phil. 1. 31 we find tuus] *K* tuus *ent*, carissimus tuus *g*.

I have found very few errata. On p. x. (265. 28) Hay should be read for Hay.

P. xxxiii. *n* cololocandum is a misprint: p. lv. for Cat. § 13 should be read Cat. iv, § 13. In the collation 292, 13 for populo Romano] P.R. purgabo *abest* should be

populo Romano] P.R.
purgabo *abest*.

Dr. Peterson kindly allowed me to collate the MS. for my own purposes while it was lent to him and I have since been able to look at it again while lent to Professor Ellis. I may, therefore, be allowed to give my testimony to the extraordinary minuteness and accuracy of his collation. The only variant omitted by him in the Catilinarians, so far as I noticed, is 266. 21 where C gives *enim est* (*est enim*, Müller). Other points are the merest trifles, e.g., C gives 270. 29 vicin 284. 3 suspicium, 291, 36 deprendis se. In a few cases his eagerness to record everything has led him to, as I venture to think, unduly refine. Thus he quotes C as reading p. 293, 30 *vere amini* (cf., p. xv.). *Vere* ends a line in C and *amini* begins another, but this is hardly worth quoting. On p. xxxiii, he notes on l. 22, that 'while *unquam* does not occur after *pudor*, there is an erasure, and the following *a* is in the hand of the 'corrector.' There is a small erasure, but the word erased was certainly not *unquam*.

Lord Leicester is to be congratulated upon the possession of so valuable a MS. and to be thanked for the liberality with which he has put it at the disposal of scholars. Dr.

Peterson is no less warmly to be congratulated upon his good fortune and the excellent use which he has made of it. Those who have themselves laboured upon MSS. and have some knowledge of the difficulties involved will marvel most at the fact that the Principal of a Canadian University found it possible to compress so much work within a single Vacation.

I end this notice by remarking that the importance of Cluni as the home of Cicero MSS. has not been fully realised. In the old Cluni Catalogue are the two following entries of special interest.

492, libri epistolarum Ciceronis ad Atticum XVI.

496, Cicero pro Milone et pro Avito et pro Murena et pro quibusdam aliis.

The letters to Atticus are nowhere else expressly mentioned by name in the mediæval Catalogues—though it is inferred with reason by modern scholars that a MS. or MSS. described in the catalogue of Lorsch as containing Epistolæ Ciceronis contained the Letters to Atticus. It is a striking fact that the lost Tornaesianus (Z) first appeared at Lyons in the XVI century, in the neighbourhood of Cluni. The speech *pro Murena* was discovered by Poggio, together with the *pro Sexto Roscio*, in a Cluni MS., this being the only source from which our knowledge of these two speeches is derived. From evidence in my possession it is clear that the Cluniacensis of Poggio also contained the *pro Milone* and *pro Cluentio*, and was without doubt no. 496 in the Cluni catalogue. I cherish the conviction that the Tornaesianus, the Cluniacensis of Poggio and Lord Leicester's MS. were respectively nos. 492, 496, 498 in the old Cluni Catalogue, and reposed for centuries side by side. The first two of these great MSS. are lost, the third, thanks to Dr. Peterson's energy, has now emerged from darkness.

ALBERT C. CLARK.

SHILLETO'S GREEK AND LATIN COMPOSITIONS.

Greek and Latin Compositions. By RICHARD SHILLETO, M.A. Cambridge, University Press. 1901. P. 448. Price 7s. 6d.

EVERY middle-aged man, who has retained something of his classics, will be glad to see

a collection of the compositions of Richard Shilleto. There are here about seventy pieces of Greek verse and about fifty each of Greek prose, Latin verse and Latin prose. They evoke a pious memory which protects them from criticism, but it will perhaps not seem

ungrateful or irreverent to say that Shilleto excelled in Greek prose more than in the other styles, and that all his compositions savour a little of a method of teaching which is no longer in vogue. In ancient days, schoolboys used to learn from Arnold and Wilkins long lists of useful phrases, and the schoolmaster, when dictating one of Shilleto's fair copies, would direct his pupils to underline some four or five examples of little idioms neatly introduced. The elementary text-books of to-day and the work of living or recent composers are not so conspicuously furnished with 'tips.'

It is probable that Shilleto's verse is not nearly so familiar as his prose. He did not contribute to either of Holden's volumes of *Folia Silvulae*, and there were, in his time, many printed anthologies of verse suitable for school purposes, whereas there was hardly one of prose. His prose-pieces were therefore much in demand, and I have myself several copies, signed 'R.S.', which do not appear in this volume. About a dozen, which I have in MS., are here printed, but the printed copies, especially the Latin, differ a good deal from those that were given to me by a Cambridge scholar who took his degree in 1861. Sometimes a word is changed, sometimes a longer expression is substituted for a shorter, very often the order of words is slightly altered. I was in hopes that, in reading the archetypes from which my copies are descended, I should find some interesting examples of accidental change, but I think all the alterations are deliberate and made by Shilleto himself. It is natural that, in forty years' teaching, he should have revised his compositions many times.

The collection here printed represents, so to say, the stock-in-trade of a hard-worked classical coach, and though, of course, every translation contains many examples of words aptly chosen and phrases ingeniously turned, yet *lours de force* are hardly to be expected. In selecting a piece for quotation, therefore, I am inclined to turn rather to specimens of a style of composition which is now very rarely practised. In the middle of the last

century, every boy who reached a Classical Sixth was expected to write a few copies of Greek anapaests and the rules for anapaests were accordingly given in the usual text-book, Beatson's *Greek Iambic Verse*. Here are some anapaests of Shilleto's, translated from well-known lines in *Much Ado About Nothing* :

Done to death by slanderous tongues

Was the Hero that here lies :

Death, in guerdon of her wrongs,

Gives her fame which never dies.

So the life that died with shame

Lives in death with glorious fame.

Hang thou there upon the tomb,

Praising her when I am dumb.

SONG.

Pardon, goddess of the night,

Those that slew thy virgin knight ;

For the which, with songs of woe,

Round about her tomb they go.

Midnight, assist our moan ;

Help us to sigh and groan,

Heavily, heavily :

Graves, yawn and yield your dead,

Till death be uttered,

Heavily, heavily.

Ἄδε μὲν Ἡρώ γαῖα καλύπτει,
ψύθυραῖς Ἡρώ γλώσσαις φθιμένην
θάνατος δ' ἄχέων ποιῖνας μεγάλων
ἀντιδίδωσιν κλέος ἀθάνατον.
βιοτὰ δ' οὐτω θνήσκουσ' ἀκλεῶς
βίον εἴληχεν τὸν κλεινότετον.
δέλτος σὺ δέ μοι νῦν ἐπὶ τύμβῳ
τῷδε κρεμαστή
σιγῶντος ἐμοῦ νιν ἐπαίνει.

συνγνώθῃ θεᾷ, πότνια νυκτός,
σὴν κτείνασιν πάρθειον ἀδμήτ'
ἀνθ' ὃν τύμβους ἀμφιπολοῦμεν
λιγυροῖς θρήνοις ἐπιτυμβιδίους.
σὺ δὲ νῦν μεσάτῃ σύμμαχος ἡμῶν
μελέα μελέοις ἴσθι στοναχαῖς
ἐπάνω τύμβοι τ' ἐκπροϊέντες
χάσκετε νεκρούς, ἔστ' ἂν θάνατος
μέλεος μελέων
κεκῶν πλήρωμα κενώσῃ.

J. Gow.

BRIEFER NOTICES.

The Iliad of Homer: Books IX and X.
 Edited with Introduction and Notes, by
 J. C. LAWSON, M.A., Fellow of Pembroke
 College, Cambridge. Pp. xxx, 97. Cam-
 bridge, Pitt Press. 2s. 6d.

THIS edition of Books IX. and X. of the *Iliad* amply sustains the traditions of the Pitt Press Series. The Introduction contains a chapter on the Composition of the *Iliad* which shows that the Homeric question has been carefully studied. The language of the *Iliad*, grammatical forms, metre and quantity, and Homeric armour, are all ably treated. The text is based on that of the Teubner edition. The notes are commendably brief and to the point; Mr. Lawson's training in Archaeology and his knowledge of the language and customs of Modern Greece have given additional interest to his remarks, as for example on x. 7. There is a novel and possibly correct interpretation on ix. 122 (*ἀντρος* = 'hand-beaten,' as opposed to 'cast'). Other suggestions worthy of note will be found on x. 13 and x. 256.

It would not be gathered from the note on ix. 394 that there was any objection from a metrical point of view to γαμέσσεται: see Monro *H.G.* 2, 367 (2).

The printing is as usual excellent, and I have not noticed any errors.

J. ARBUTHNOT NAIRN.

Latin Passages for Translation. Selected by
 M. ALFORD. London: Macmillan & Co.
 1902. Pp. xiii. 250. Price 3s.

THE price of this little book is perhaps somewhat against it, otherwise we should think that it will receive an ungrudging welcome both in schools and by 'students working for pass degrees.' Miss Alford has chosen the 250 pieces contained in her book with care and judgment. Whether or not a few 'notes' would not have been a welcome addition is a matter on which there may be two opinions. The present reviewer is in favour of books of 'Unseens' being presented in two forms—the one a student's edition (plain text), the other a teacher's edition, duly equipped with hints and helps. Miss Alford contemplates a companion volume of 'versions,' for the use of 'teachers and private students.' Perhaps the subsidiary matter we suggest will be included there.

Good, on the whole, as the selection is, we should like to see a larger number of extracts from the less known writers—Lucan, Suetonius, Claudian, Ammianus Marcellinus, and the like. The present school and college 'Curriculum' is a highly restricted one, in any case; to widen that curriculum, and so enlarge the range of literary vision, is surely desirable.

E. H. BLAKENEY.

REPORTS.

PROCEEDINGS OF THE OXFORD PHILOLOGICAL SOCIETY.—SUMMER TERM, 1902.

ON May 16th. a paper was read by Professor BURNER, of St. Andrews University, on 'The criticism of the Platonic text in the light of the Petrie and Oxyrhynchus Papyri.'

The object of the paper was to show that the controversy as to the Platonic text raised by the discovery of the Petrie papyrus had been so bitter and fruitless mainly because the controversialists had not the facts before them. They all used the critical apparatus of Schanz, which does not at all represent the views held on the subject of the Platonic MSS. at the present day by Schanz himself or anyone else. The result is that the papyrus text has been compared only with that of the *Clarkianus* (B) and the 'learned MS.' written by Joannes Rhodus for Bessarion (E=Bekker's Ξ). Schanz's apparatus contains no collation of Ven. T, which is now admitted to be of almost equal authority with B, and still less of Vind. W, which is independent of both these sources. To judge the text of the

papyrus fairly, it is necessary to compare it with the *παράδοσις* as a whole, that is, with the text of the common archetype of BTW. For instance, it was claimed that the papyrus alone gave us the true form *αἰδῆς*, 'invisible' for the *αἰεδῆς* of our texts; but, as a matter of fact, *αἰδῆς* is the constant reading of T, as well as of the papyrus. A second defect of Schanz's apparatus is his habit of marking all the hands of B other than the first by the common *siglum* b. As these hands range from the 9th to the 16th century, this is most misleading. The readings of the original diorthotes (sometimes supposed to be Arethas himself) are of equal or superior authority to those of John the Calligrapher in the text. It is to be noticed, too, that in *Phaedo* 68 b, 4 the marginal reading of B, γρ. ἁλλοθι δυνάτον εἶναι καθαρῶς (which agrees with the papyrus) is written by the same hand that wrote the text. A third deficiency in Schanz's apparatus is the inadequate account given of the indirect tradi-

tion, which represents the 'ancient vulgate.' This can now be remedied by the help of the Wachsmuth-Hense Stobaeus and Pistelli's *Iamblichus*. As these agree to a great extent with the MSS. against the papyrus, it is absurd to speak of our Platonic text as 'mediaeval' or 'Byzantine.' Professor Burnet submitted a new *apparatus criticus* to those parts of the *Phaedo* contained in the Petrie papyrus. The readings of T were taken from photographs in his possession, which were exhibited, while those of W were taken from a collation kindly lent by Professor Joseph Král of Prag, whose work on the text of Plato was defended against the criticisms of Schanz. In the light of this apparatus, the text of several passages was discussed in detail, with the general result that the divergence between the traditional text and the papyrus was shown to be less than had been supposed, and that the papyrus, in spite of its early date, contained errors of precisely the same kind as are to be found in our best MSS. The inference seems to be that the mediaeval scribes copied with greater accuracy than was formerly believed, and that the errors to be found in our best texts go back to a period very near the life-time of the classical writers.

On May 30th papers were read by Mr. POWELL on 'Aesch. *Agam.* 286-289, 369, 1163, 1228-1230: and by Mr. Bailey on Lucretius I, 289: 2, 356: 2, 363: 2, 962.'

1. 288-9 L. is maintaining that the fact that the *primordia* cannot be perceived by the senses is no argument against their existence: there are other *corpora* which we cannot perceive but whose effects are perfectly evident. Foremost among these is wind, whose particles 'sweep away sea, earth, and the clouds of heaven' (278), just as a river in flood drives all before it. This comparison leads him into a long description of the action of the river, in the course of which occur the two lines under discussion:

dat sonitu magno stragem, volvitque sub undis
grandia saxa ruit qua quidquid fluctibus obstat. OQ.
The main point to be observed in considering the lines is the difference which Munro clearly showed between *quidquid* and *quicquid* in Lucretius, the former being the normal relative, the latter an archaism used in the indefinite sense='anything.' The emendations which would retain the MS. *quidquid* are 1. Lachmann's *ruitque ita quidquid*, where *ita* seems rather pointless and 2. Munro's earlier suggestion *ruitque aqua quidquid*, which is palaeographically ingenious, but the addition of *aqua* when there is a quite good, expressed subject in the *amnis* of the preceding line is not only unnecessary, but considerably weakens the passage. Apart from these suggestions we have Munro's later proposal to read *quicquid*, when the construction becomes, as he says in his note, equivalent to *qua aliquid fluctibus obstat, id ruit amnis*. Palaeographically this is satisfactory, but it must be admitted that grammatically the construction is very awkward, the evolution of an object to *ruit* from the relative clause *qua quicquid* being, to say the least of it, harsh.

All these versions agree in placing a stop after *grandia saxa* and finding the object to *ruit* in the end of line 289. I cannot help doubting whether this is the true construction: in line 292 he has returned from his comparison of the stream to the main subject of the winds and in describing their precisely parallel action he uses the phrase *tridunt res ante ruuntque*, a combination of two verbs, the second of which is *ruere*. Does not this make it

extremely probable that in 288-9 he used a similar combination? In other words that the phrase should run *volvitque sub undis grandia saxa ruitque*? In that case the line should end, I think, *et quidquid fluctibus obstat*. We then have only to suppose an alteration of one letter *qua* for *que* and the accidental omission of *et*, a fairly frequent error in the Lucretius MSS., for which one may quote iv. 1191, v. 614, 742, vi. 281.

2. 355-6. These lines occur in the famous description of the cow searching for its lost calf and the beginning of line 356 contains an obviously early corruption, which the MSS. represent variously: *non quit* O and the Italian MSS.; *oinquit* Q: *oinquid* the Gortorian fragment; *non quid* Niccoli. The *linguit* of the corrector of Q is clearly a mere guess and is not what is required, as the *vestigia* cannot be those of the cow, but those left by the calf. Nor is Bieger's *norit*, which Munro improved to *nosit* on the ground that Lucretius contrary to the custom of Latin prose prefers the use of the present tense, at all convincing or satisfactory. In the first place neither *norit* nor *nosit* would easily account for the present condition of the MS. texts, nor do they give the sense required. The cow does not 'recognise' its offspring's footsteps, but it is clearly either 'following them up' or 'looking for them.' I should like to hazard the suggestion that the true reading is *quaerit*.

I should then suppose that in a very early copy the middle letters of the word were obscured by a blot or tear, so that *qu...* it were all that could be deciphered. The reading of the archetype of our MSS. was, I take it, *non quit*, which might be accounted for in two ways (a) as a somewhat blundering attempt to complete the line and make some sort of sense out of the surviving *quit*, (b) more probably, as a conscientious attempt to deal with the corrupt *qu...* it: this, I take it, the scribe copied in his MS. as *quit* and then, conscious that this could not be a satisfactory rendering of the mutilated word, prefixed the note *non* 'it is not *quit*': a precisely similar corruption has occurred in Cicero, *Phil.* vi. I. § 3 where in the sentence *hodierno autem die spe nescio qua eis obiecta remissior senatus fuit*, the central words appear in the Vatican MS. as *dies non est pene scio*, the scribe having noticed that he had made a false division of words and inserted in the text his note *non est*. On this theory one would have to regard the variations of Q and G as accidental, due perhaps to an obscurity of the writing of *non* in our archetype and not indicative of a real variant.

2. 363.

neq. tenerae salices atque herbae rore vigentes
fluminaque illa queunt summis labentia ripis
oblectare animum subitaneum avertere curam.

Subitam has been the object of endless conjectural interpretations or emendations: in the face, as far as I know, of all modern editors, I wish to be audacious enough to argue not merely for the retention of the word, but of its natural interpretation 'sudden.' The objection to it rests, I take it, on the notion that since in the previous description the cow has apparently been for a long period seeking in vain for her calf, it is inappropriate that her grief should now be referred to as a *subita cura* 'a sudden anxiety.' Hence a variety of conjectures such as *solitam* Lachmann, *sumptam* Munro in his first edition, both surely very weak, and *subito* Bieger, which is more forcible, but is, I believe, unnecessary. Munro alone wishes to retain *subitam*, but he endeavours to assign to it the sense *quae subitil* 'which has come upon her.' In

his note he points out that other passive participles of compounds of *eo*, such as *interitus*, *obitus*, *exitus* and most commonly *præteritus* are used in an active sense: there is therefore no reason why *subitus* should not be employed with the meaning *quæc subitit*. But surely he misses the real difficulty of his own suggestion. Not only is there no reason why *subitus* should not be equivalent to *qui subitit*, but it certainly must have passed through that meaning in order to reach its normal sense of 'sudden': the fatal obstacle surely is that in every other place where it occurs in the language it does mean 'sudden,' and it is therefore incredible that the poet should have employed it here alone in an original sense which could not have occurred to the mind of the reader except after considerable reflection: it is more impossible surely than that Sophocles should, as Kennedy believed, have used *ἐκφωρὰ* in l. 49 of the *O.T.* in the sense of 'comparison.' Is it not possible to retain *subitam* in the sense of 'sudden'? All that is required is to understand *cura* not of the original shock which came with the first consciousness of her loss, but of the recurrent pang of grief on each occasion when it returned to her—not only does this suit *subitam* well, but it seems to me to fit better with the general drift of the passage and in particular with *avertere*, which I take to be rather inappropriate if it means to divert a pre-existing grief, but eminently suitable if it be to ward off one which threatens. I would therefore venture to render the passage 'nor can the tender willow-plants and the grass-blades freshened by the dew and the streams she knows gliding level with their banks bring pleasure to her mind or turn aside the sudden pang of care.'

On June 13th a paper was read by the Keeper of the Ashmolean Museum, Mr. ARTHUR EVANS, on 'New Comparative Materials for the Study of the Minoan Script of Crete.'

A brief account was given of the fresh deposits of linear tablets brought to light by this year's excavations. One series of these referred to percentages, others to the Palace granaries, others again to the armoury, containing representations of swords. Others exhibiting male figures were probably lists of persons.

Special interest attached to the discovery of sealings with characters of the pictographic class in magazines belonging to an earlier building beneath the foundations of the later Palace. The linear script

found in the strata above was not derived from this. Like several features in the later civilization of the site it seemed to be intrusive. Some Knossian linear signs on the other hand undoubtedly fitted on to those found in Melos.

Attention was called to the widening of the problem due to the discovery of inscribed sealings and tablets by the Italian mission at Phaestos and more recently at Hagia Triada near that place by Mr. Hogarth at Zakro and by Mr. Bosanquet at Palaekastro in Eastern Crete. Comparative light was also thrown on the subject by the signs on the stones of the Palaces at Knossos and Phaestos which could be shown to belong to an earlier and later class. The signs on the Minoan inlays of porcelain bone and ivory were also discussed, and in this case an Egyptian affiliation was demonstrated. But though Egyptian analogies may have helped in the evolution of the script proper, both pictographic and linear, their composition was quite independent and indigenous. The local variants of Minoan script facilitated the derivation of both the Phœnician and Cypriote systems from a Cretan source. The extraordinary diffusion and popularisation of writing in prehistoric Crete was illustrated by fresh discoveries of graffiti on common pottery and by two bowls recently found in the Palace at Knossos with ink inscriptions like those of Egyptian Ostraka. Vast masses of documents on parchment, and perhaps papyrus, had evidently disappeared, the seals originally attached to them alone remaining.

The collection and arrangement of the material must naturally precede any systematic attempt at interpretation. Certain documents in which the 'man' or 'woman' signs recurred appeared to contain lists of personal names, and it could be further shown that the terminal syllables of these underwent changes in different connexions, which pointed to the existence of case-endings. The signification of certain sign-groups such as those indicating 'total' was also evident and the value of the numerals clearly ascertained.

As an illustration of the advanced character of the Knossian linear script Mr. Evans exhibited a printed table of the signs prepared by the Clarendon Press in a larger and smaller *pica* type. These 'Minoan founts' would be used in his forthcoming work.

L. R. FARNELL.
Hon. Sec.

June 1902.

ARCHAEOLOGY

IS TRAGEDY THE GOAT-SONG?

Is it possible that the difficult word *τραγῳδία* may have originally meant not goat-song but spelt-song, or song of the drink made from spelt? The difficulties in the way of the goat-song are great. The attendants of Dionysos as figured on black-and red-figured vases, are in the very large majority of cases not goat-men but horse-men—they have horses' tails, and often have ears and hoofs. It is only in exceptional cases that goat-men occur, never, so

far as I know, on early black-figured vases, and when they do appear they are usually attendants on the birth, not of Dionysos but of an earth-goddess. These facts have of course been known, but so deeply rooted is the conviction that *τραγῳδία* is a goat-song, that archaeologists have actually been driven to take refuge in re-naming the horse-men and now insist that they shall be called Seilenoi not Satyrs, so as to leave the name Satyroi free for the occasional goat-men.

The argument, in fact, stands thus.

Assume that tragedy means goat-song; tragedy, i.e. the goat-song, gave rise to the Satyric drama, therefore the Satyrs are goats, therefore they are not horse-men. The attendants of Dionysos on vases *are* horsemen, therefore they are not Satyrs, therefore a new name must be found for them. Therefore they are Seilenoi. What an edifice to erect on an uncertain etymology! Nor is the mischief ended. Herodotus in the well-known passage (v. 67) about Cleisthenes and Adrastus speaks of *τραγικοὶ χοροί*. Assuming that *τραγωδία* means goat-song we proceed to the 'historical certainty' that there were goat-men choruses in the 6th century B.C. These were handed over by Cleisthenes to Adrastus and hence we are told that (Wernicke, *Bockschöre und Satyrdrama* Hermes 1897 p. 292: the previous literature of the controversy is cited by Wernicke) there is a *contaminatio* of the primitive Arcadian or Peloponnesian goat-man Satyr with the horse-man of Dionysos. This view has now filtered even into handbooks.

I should like to suggest a simpler development.

The attendants of Dionysos of black- and red-figured vase-paintings are horse-demons: they are not spirits of the spring, but as Dr. Head (Hist. Num. p. 176) has suggested simply Satrae (Herod. vii. 111) in common parlance Satyroi real, primitive, mountain-men Orescii Bessi and the like. On coins of Lete dating before 500 B.C. is represented what Dr. Head, in deference to the now orthodox view, calls a naked 'Silenos' with horses' feet, ears, and tail, seizing a woman. Surely he belongs to the *γένος οἰτιδανῶν Σατύρων καὶ ἀμυχανοεργῶν* of Hesiod (Erg. cxxix). He is in intent a Centaur or *φύρ* and like the Centaurs (v. Prof. Ridgeway, *Early Age of Greece*, p. 177) ill bears the taste of wine. If Hesiod had had the vase-paintings before him he could not better have described the worthless horsemen. These primitive Satrae—Satyroi are the servants of Bromios,¹ god of the 'wine made of barley.' They may also have served Sabazios the beer-god (Schrader, *Real-Lexicon*, s. v. Bier. Sabaja = malt-liquor). May they not have sung a *τραγωδία* or

spelt-song at the time of the fermenting of their primitive beer, and have danced a *tragic* dance in chorus, a dance called *Σίκυρις*? A horse-tailed Satyr appears on a red-figured vase-painting inscribed with this name (Strena Helbigiana, p. 111).

But it will be urged, have we not the evidence of Aeschylus, *Erg.* 176 to show that a Satyr was a goat?

Τράγος γέειον ἄρα πενήσεις σύ γε.

Is it conceivable that Prometheus addressed the Satyr as a goat if he was a horse? How the mummings in the Satyric drama were dressed we do not know; it is I think *quite* conceivable that any one burning his beard for love of the Fire-Maiden should be called a goat, for fun. But this explanation is not necessary. After the battle of Marathon the worship of Pan, the goat-god, was introduced at Athens and soon rose to popularity. He half ousted Hermes and the primitive Charites from their cave on the Acropolis and henceforth on votive reliefs they must dance to his piping. With him came his goat-men the Panes. On red-figured vase-paintings they appear sporadically but for the most part are attendant on Pan or Pandora: they never oust the real servants of Dionysos the horse-men. But it seems at least possible that they lent to the word *τραγωδία* its false goat-etymology.

JANE E. HARRISON.

POSTSCRIPT.

In the Paean of the Dionysos recently discovered at Delphi (H. Weil, *Bull. de Corr. Hell.* xix. p. 401) occurs an unexplained epithet of Dionysos, the word *βραῦρα* which may possibly point to a drink made of a cereal.

[Δεῖρ' ἄνα Δ.] θύραμβε Βάκχ-
-ε[ῦτε θυροτή]pes, Βραῦ-
ρα, Βρόμι(ε) ἡρινα[ῖς ἱκοῦ
ταῖσδ(ε)] ἱεπαῖς ἐν ὤραις :

Dr. Weil suggests 'Faut-il le rattacher à *Frail* = *raïw* et l'expliquer 'celui qui frappe et qui brise'?' There appears to be no doubt about the reading, but 'celui qui frappe' is scarcely a happy epithet for the god invoked at the coming of spring. Could the enigmatic *βραῦρα* be connected with the same root as the late Latin *Braiscim* Grana ad conficiendam *Braiscum cerevesiam praeprata* (Ducange s.v.)? *Βραῦρα* would then be the practical equivalent of *Βρόμιε* and *Σαβάλλιε*, all three pointing to a cereal drink.

J. E. H.

¹ In a recent number of the *Classical Review* (Feb. 1901, p. 23) Mr. Headlam drew attention to the epigram of the Emperor Julian on 'Wine made from barley.' Both Mr. Headlam and (before him) Hehn see in the Epigram two puns *βρόμιον βρόμον πυριγενή πυρογενή*. Stephanos (s.v. *τράγος*) rightly noted a third, in *τράγον*—non *hirum* sed ex *olyra* et *tritico confectum panem intelligebat*. I would suggest *vinum confectum*.

RICHTER'S *TOPOGRAPHY OF ROME*.

Handbuch der klassischen Altertumswissenschaft. Herausgegeben von Dr. IWAN VON MÜLLER. Dritter Band, 3. Abteilung, 2. Hälfte. *Topographie der Stadt Rom.* Von Prof. Dr. OTTO RICHTER. Zweite vermehrte und verbesserte Auflage. München, 1901. C. H. Beck'sche Verlags-Buchhandlung. Pp. x., 412. 15 M.

THE book before us is not merely a revision of the first edition which appeared in 1889. Though, as is pointed out in the preface, certain portions were reprinted with but trifling alterations, the greater part of the book has been necessarily rewritten and enlarged to such an extent that the second edition has precisely double the number of pages of the first. The illustrations have also been very greatly increased, and are for the most part well chosen and adequately reproduced. It is a pity, however, that the more important plans are not so arranged as to be in view while the book is being read; and the sewing of the volume leaves much to be desired.

The first edition of the book attained a well deserved reputation for the convenient way in which the important points of Roman topography were summarized, and the information given by classical writers and the results of more recent investigations put before the reader in an accessible form. The present edition, containing as it does far more material, clearly arranged and fully indexed, would certainly be the best existing handbook to a really scientific study of the subject, were it not for a very considerable number of inaccuracies in detail, and more especially in the references to modern books and periodical publications. (The citations from classical authors are, as a rule, correct). The defect which I have indicated is a considerable one, in a book which, being a thoroughly scientific and technical work, must be judged by the highest standards. In the matter of accuracy it certainly falls far short of what we have been accustomed to expect from German archaeologists and historians. And, further, as the book is one which in other respects is eminently fitted for use as a textbook, the existence of this defect means that its utility is seriously impaired, if not destroyed.

An assertion such as I have just made needs adequate proof, considering the favour with which the book has been received in Germany.

Detlefsen in the *Wochenschrift für klassische Philologie*, 1902, 45 ff. says, 'Auf

Einzelheiten einzugehen, scheint mir hier unnötig; man mag jeden beliebigen Teil aufschlagen und wird überall an der Fülle des Stoffes, der Gewissenhaftigkeit, und, *wie es scheint*, [the italics are mine] Vollständigkeit der Quellenangaben sowie an der Übersichtlichkeit der Behandlung seine Freude finden.' To justify my own criticism of the book I will now proceed to quote a few of the mistakes in detail to which I allude.

On p. 55, l. 12, Prof. Richter states that the Aqua Julia joined the Tepula and Marcia at the Templum Spei Veteris, *i.e.*, in the neighbourhood of the Porta Maggiore—an error repeated from the first edition. It must be confessed that on p. 317, l. 32, he states the facts correctly—that their junction took place near the 6th or 7th milestone of the Via Latina.

On the same page (n. 5) in speaking of the Pons Mulvius, he adopts the form Molvius, which is not found before the fourth century, when it occurs in the *Curiosum Urbis*. The same is the case on p. 68, whereas on p. 69 the classical form Mulvius is used. The distance of this bridge from the Porta del Popolo is given as 3 miles (p. 69, l. 19), clearly a misprint for 2 miles.

On p. 69, l. 22, we find an instance of an actual mistake in arithmetic. In copying Lanciani's measure of the width (19 mètres) of the strip of land occupied by the fortifications of Aurelian (from *Bull. Com.* 1892, 87 *sqq.*) Prof. Richter has entirely forgotten to allow for the thickness of the wall. The result is, that whereas Lanciani allows 5 mètres for the road inside the wall, 4 mètres for the wall itself, and 10 mètres for a strip of land left free of buildings outside, Prof. Richter gives 9 mètres to the inner road and 10 to the outer. A somewhat similar error will be found on p. 272, l. 19, where the distance between the Porta Portuensis of the Aurelian wall and the modern Porta Portese is by implication given as 800 mètres, whereas it is in reality not more than 500. Again, on p. 335, l. 29, we find the difference between 13, 43 m. and 21, 52 m. given as 7, 09 m. instead of 8, 09 m.—an error repeated from the first edition. On p. 80 n. 1 we are told that the gardens of Praetextatus were discovered in 1817; the real date is 1873-74, as a reference to the passage cited in Lanciani's *Ruins and Excavations* (p. 294) will show.

On p. 100, l. 25, the Sacra Via of the Republic is described as entering the Forum 'between the Regia and the temple of Faustina through the arch of the Fabii'—a statement, which, though easily understood, contains a somewhat startling anachronism.

On p. 107, l. 34, Aemilia is an obvious mistake for Julia.

On p. 151, n. 4, Prof. Richter attributes Lanciani's restoration of the interior of the Aedes Divi Augusti to conjecture, whereas it rests upon the authority of a plan and sketch by Pirro Ligorio (*Bodleian MS. f. 13*) published by Middleton in *Archaeologia*, vol. ii. (1888), p. 494, Fig. 4, and in *Remains of Ancient Rome* I., p. 275, Fig. 35. This disregard of the evidence afforded by the drawings of mediaeval architects has led to error in Prof. Richter's plan of this building (Taf. 12, G), where the buttresses projecting into the interior on the north-east side are entirely incorrect, while the walls at the south-west end, which are indicated by Lanciani (*Forma Urbis*, 29) from a drawing by Sallustio Peruzzi (*Not. Scav.* 1882, tav. xvi.), are omitted. In both cases the substantial correctness of the sixteenth century drawings has been proved by the excavations now in progress (*C.R.* 1902, 95).

It is hardly true to say as Prof. Richter does (p. 166, l. 36) that the W. apse of the Temple of Venus and Rome is built into the church of S. Francesca Romana, as it lies behind the cloister of the monastery, some 45 mètres behind the apse of the church. Nor is it accurate to state (p. 198 *fin.*) that the Horrea of Nerva lay 'in the neighbourhood' of the great group of Horrea at the foot of the Aventine, when the remains of them, as we are told a few lines above, were found near La Nunziatella, quite two miles outside the wall of Aurelian. Prof. Richter seems, in fact, somewhat unfamiliar with the present condition of Rome. The statement that the nymphaeum of the Horti Sallustiani is 'jetzt verschüttet' (p. 268, l. 15) is quite untrue—the level of the ground has been raised all round it, but the building is still accessible. The fact that the Porta Pinciana has been open since 1888 (p. 70, l. 17) might have been learnt from any guide-book; but it would seem from the preface that Prof. Richter has been in Rome as late as 1895 or 1896.

A lack of familiarity with the results of the most recent excavations in the Forum cannot be wondered at—for those on the spot they present problems far more than enough—but greater accuracy in points of fact might have been attained.

Thus, the so-called Rostra of Caesar (p. 356, l. 18—an identification which I quite agree with Prof. Richter in refusing to accept, see *C.R.* 1901, 87) have not, in front of them and in the chambers themselves, a pavement of 'Ziegeln' (bricks or tiles) but of small fragments of brick, never more

than an inch square: nor are the voussoirs of the arches of peperino. Again, it is surely incorrect to speak (p. 359, l. 21) of S. Maria Antiqua as 'an old basilica built into the imperial palace,' when it is, as a matter of fact, a building of unknown name and use, dating from the second century, and adapted to its later use in the sixth. A more adequate account of the inscription, the discovery of which put an end to the controversy as to the name of this basilica, might also have been given.

The description of the discoveries in the Comitium is clear and good, but the pavement of black marble (*C.R.* 1899, 233) is surrounded not by vertical slabs of travertine, but by slabs of marble, the lower edges of which are fitted into blocks of travertine.

I now turn to what may seem to be a small point—the many mistakes made in giving references to other works and to periodical publications. I will again, in order to justify my charges, give a certain number of instances. A full list would prove too long—further selections will be found in my review of the same work in the *Archivio della Società Romana di Storia Patria*.

P. 14, l. 26: 439 should be 437.

P. 45, l. 13: xx. should be xix.

P. 51, l. 31: 495 should be 475, 8 should be 6.

P. 67, n. 1: 1889, p. 541 should be either 1886, p. 341 or 1889, p. 17.

P. 102, l. 10: Taf. 5b should be Taf. 4; *ib.* n. 3: 1885 should be 1884.

P. 115, n. 1: 104 should be 108.

P. 164, l. 18: 1883 should be 1882.

P. 195, n. 4: 1892 should be 1872.

P. 197, l. 13: 1898 should be 1897.

P. 228, n. 2: *Bull. Com.* should be *Röm. Mitth.*

P. 231, n. 2: 9 should be 119. *ib.* n. 3: 12 should be 128.

P. 233, n. 1: 23 should be 136.

P. 276, l. 13: 1990, 1991 should be 9990, 9991.

P. 293, l. 16: 1898 should be 1897.

P. 329, l. 12: 193, n. 3 should be 192, n. 3.

The references to classical authors are as a rule correct, but mention may be made of the following errors. P. 82, l. 3: Plin. *N.H.* xxiv. 25 should be xxxiv. 24. P. 110, l. 15: Plin. *N.H.* xxv. 156 should be xxxv. 156. P. 151, l. 36: Dio. Cass. iv. 4 should be lxx. 4. P. 299, l. 24: Mart. x. 11 should be x. 58, 10.

A lack of care and of uniformity in the actual method of giving the references is also to be noticed.

In the preliminary bibliography Lanciani's

Ruins and Excavations of Ancient Rome is not mentioned—not even in the *Nachträge*—though constantly cited in the text.

On p. 6, n. 1, we find the following reference: *Dissertazioni dell' Accademia Pontificia* S. 208. The date (1896) or the number of the volume (Ser. ii. vol. vi.) should have been added. In the same note Hülsen's *Top. Jahresbericht* is cited, without a word to inform the student that the year and page are those of the volume of the *Römische Mittheilungen* in which it is to be found.

On p. 45 l. 20 Lanciani's *Itin. Einsiedl.* is cited according to the paging of the separate reprint of the article, whereas eight lines further down it is quoted by the pages of the volume of the *Monumenti dei Lincei* in which it occurs, as Lanciani *Itin.* p. 536, and on p. 165, n. 1, simply as Lanciani, *Mon. dei Lincei* I. 551. Of these three modes of citation the last is probably the best, and should have been adopted throughout.

On p. 78, l. 22, R. Lanciani, *L'atrio di Vesta*, 1884 is merely a reprint from *Not. Scav.* 1883, 434 *sqq.* and should be so cited.

On pp. 118–122, references to *Hermes* are given sometimes according to the number of the volume in the series, sometimes according to the year; and we are not told that 1883 is the same volume as xvii. This lack of uniformity has led to mistakes—thus on p. 122, n. 2, *Hermes* xviii. p. 21 should be xxii. (1887) p. 19, and on p. 128, n. 4, 1882 should be 1883.

On p. 126, n. 2, we find the following citations—*Mitt. d. Inst.* 1888 p. 150 ff. and *Röm. Mitt.* 1890 p. 252 ff.—as though two different publications were referred to, whereas they are of course identical. On p. 197, l. 28, the same publication is cited as *Bull. d. Inst.* 1886, p. 62.

On p. 175, l. 43, Suetonius' *Life of Julius Caesar* is quoted as *Suet. Caes.* 39, on p. 175, n. 1, as *Suet. D. Jul.* 39, and on p. 188 we note a similar diversity, when in the text (l. 23) we find a reference to *Mon. d. Inst.* 1854, p. 28 ff., whereas in the note (p. 187, n. 3) the same passage is cited as *Ann. d. Inst.* 1854, p. 28 ff. As a fact, during the years 1854–56 the *Monumenti* and *Annali* (and in 1854–55 the *Bullettino* as well) were published together in folio volumes, instead of separately; but to one who did not know this, the distinction might seem to imply some difference, which it really does not.

On p. 254, n. 1, we find a reference to Middleton, *Ancient Rome*, p. 385, which should have been made to the edition in two volumes (vol. ii. p. 209) published so far back as 1892.

On p. 339, l. 36, Prof. Richter in referring to the Roman house under the church of SS. Giovanni e Paolo, says 'Plan bei Lanciani.' The last work of Lanciani's referred to is, however, the *Itin. Eins.*, and when this was published the house had not yet been discovered. The citation should be either *Forma Urbis*, 35, or *Ruins and Excavations of Ancient Rome*, p. 350, fig. 131.

The index is copious, and for the most part correct. I have noted a few errors—*Aedicula Aesculapii et Hygieae*, 345 should be 346; *Basilica Aemilia*, 86 should be 95; *Pons Mulvius*, 367 should be 375 or 379; *Templum Isidis* in der iii. Region, 230 should be 330.

Of actual misprints there are few apart from the inaccuracies in quotation to which I have alluded. On p. 47, n. 1, the last half of the word auszufüllen has fallen out. On p. 65, l. 7, Chivica is a misprint for Chiavica. On page 88, n. 1, Hirschfeld is an obvious mistake for Hirschfeld. On p. 106, n. 1, the last part of the word Altertum is missing. On p. 114, l. 31, Dupeiracsche should surely be Duperacsche, and dell' antichità should certainly be dell' antichità. On p. 160, l. 25, we find Palatin for Palatins, on p. 203, n. 1, topographischeu for topographischen, on p. 306, l. 37, Plasterreste for Pfasterreste, on p. 325, l. 22, zunächst for zunächst.

It may seem that I have insisted too much on small imperfections, and have shut my eyes to the real merits of the book. I can only repeat that the inaccuracies of which I have spoken form a most serious obstacle to the adoption of the book as a textbook, for which it would otherwise be admirably fitted. I do not speak without experience, for, even with a copy of *C.I.L.* vi. and complete sets of the *Bullettino Comunale* and *Notizie degli Scavi* at my elbow, I have had considerable difficulty in verifying many of the references; and I can well imagine that to a student working in a public library, and able to order only a few volumes at a time, such errors would occasion serious inconvenience and annoyance.

A few words in conclusion as to some of Prof. Richter's topographical views. One of the most important of his theories, is that which supposes the existence of an Italic foot of 0.278 m. up to the fourth century, B.C., when the Roman foot of 0.296 m. was introduced (p. 43).

This foot as existing in Rome (in Pompeii the case is different), is deduced from the length of the short side of the temple of Jupiter Capitolinus, which exactly corresponds with that given by Dionysius if we

suppose that he is giving the measurement in Italic feet. But whether Dionysius had ever heard of Italic feet is very doubtful: and the argument, in view of the fact that only the core of the temple was found, *i.e.* that the thickness of the facing must be added (p. 123 l. 11), seems a somewhat weak one to support the weight of a theory which involves us in considerable practical difficulties.

For mainly upon it Prof. Richter goes on to base his assertion (p. 31), that the wall of the Palatine city is, as it stands, hardly older than the fourth century B.C., to which date he attributes the so-called Servian wall (but see the very just remarks of Mommsen, *Roman History*, i. 70, 141. Hermes xxi (1886), 421). It is difficult to see what could have been the object of rebuilding the fortifications of the Palatine in the fourth century B.C., unless the hill were regarded as the arx of Rome, which it certainly was not: and it seems curious that, on this hypothesis, the fortifications of the Septimontium and of the 'Vierregionenstadt,' which occupied an intermediate position, both in time and in place, between the wall of the Palatine and the Servian wall, should have absolutely disappeared, though, on p. 303, l. 25, the latter is spoken of as if its line was quite well known, instead of which, its very existence is uncertain.

The view as to the date of the so-called Graecostasis (p. 82), is not a new one, and has always been held by Prof. Richter. I must confess, however, that the grounds for it seem to me insufficient, and that I cannot but agree with Nichols, *Notizie dei Rostrì* (pp. 38-45), in maintaining that it is earlier than the Rostra of opus quadratum.

The excavations now in progress have shown that the temple of Jupiter Stator cannot have stood where Prof. Richter places it, W. of the arch of Titus (p. 139). Whether he is right (p. 161) in identifying the temple to the E. of the arch with the Aedes Larum, or whether this is the temple of Jupiter Stator (Lanciani, *Ruins and Excavations of Ancient Rome*, 200) need not be discussed here.

There is a good deal to be said for Prof. Richter's theory (p. 138), that the ancient temple on the Palatine, generally known as that of the Magna Mater, is more probably the Aedes Victoriae, which was, as far as we know, never restored in Imperial times, whereas Augustus, who rebuilt (fecit) the temple of the Magna Mater, would hardly have retained the archaic style of construction, which we see in the existing remains of this temple.

The expression sacer clivus, when used as

it is by Martial (i. 70, 5, iv. 78, 7: see *C.R.* 1902, 96) in close connexion with the Palatine, surely refers to the ascent from the Arch of Titus to the Palatine, whereas, when Horace (*Carm.* iv. 2, 34) says, 'quandoque trahet feroces per sacrum clivum merita decorus fronde Sigambros,' the reference is clearly to the ascent of the Sacra Via to the Capitol. Prof. Richter (p. 160 n. 1) refers all three passages to the ascent from the Forum to the ridge of the Velia, on which the Arch of Titus stood. The apparent awkwardness of the use of the same expression in two different senses may, however, be easily got over; for the use of the word 'sacer' of the imperial house was unknown in the time of Horace, whereas in that of Martial it was quite common, so that the ascent to the sacrum palatium would naturally be called clivus sacer (Gilbert, *Topographie*, iii., 423).

With regard to the Naumachia Augusti (p. 276) it is to be noted that the figure of Neptune of which Bartoli (*mem.* 59) speaks, was only one of many other figures, and was not 14 feet, but 14 palms (about 10½ feet) high. A drawing of it is given in *Picturae Antiquae Cryptarum Romanarum* (1738) p. 69, tab. xvi, and on p. 71, tab. xvii. there is an illustration of another part of the same pavement, with the figure of a Nereid riding on a sea horse.

In speaking of the aqueduct of the Anio Vetus (p. 316) Prof. Richter does not allude to the difficulty raised by Lanciani (*Acque*, p. 44), that, whereas Frontinus gives the total length of the aqueduct at 43 miles, the cippi discovered in the neighbourhood of Galicano (nos. 626, 645, 659, 669¹—see *Bull. Com.* 1899, 37, *C.I.L.* xiv. 4083, 4084) make the distance from Rome at that point already so great (almost exactly 30 miles from cippus no. 626), that, even if it had run in a straight line from this point to the springs, there would have been an excess of two miles at least over the measure as given by Frontinus.

I can only close this notice with a hope that, when another edition of this book is called for, its real merits will not be obscured and its utility impaired by the blemishes of which I have spoken. They might easily be removed by careful revision: and, apart from them, Prof. Richter has undoubtedly made a very valuable contribution to the scientific literature of Roman topography.

THOMAS ASHBY, JUNR.

¹ Whether the last two cippi belong to the Anio Vetus or to the Marcia is doubtful: but on the first (No. 626) the name of the aqueduct can be clearly read, and the second, from its position, must belong to the same aqueduct.

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NOTES ON SOPHOCLES *OEDIPUS TYRANNUS*.

44-5 :

ὥς τοῖσιν ἐμπείροισι καὶ τὰς συμφορὰς
ζώσας ὁρῶ μάλιστα τῶν βουλευμάτων.

I find what appears to be the key to this much discussed passage, in pressing the exact sense of συμφορὰ viz: an accidental result.

Hesychius gives συμφορὰ: συντυχία. Herodotus, i. 32 πᾶν ἐστὶ ἄνθρωπος συμφορή.

But, much more important, is Aristotle's account of ἐμπειρία *Metaph.* 981 a. 14. It is derived from repeated μνήμαι. καὶ δοκεῖ σχεδὸν ἐπιστήμη καὶ τέχνη ὅμοιον εἶναι ἢ ἐμπειρία πρὸς μὲν οὖν τὸ πράττειν ἐμπειρία τέχνης οὐδὲν δοκεῖ διαφέρειν, ἀλλὰ καὶ μάλλον ἐπιτυγχάνοντας ὁρῶμεν τοὺς ἐμπείρους τῶν ἀνεν τῆς ἐμπειρίας λόγον ἔχόντων. The ἐμπειρος succeeds by what seems to be a fluke: συμφορὰ is Oedipus' fluke, which might succeed here as his mother-wit succeeded (γνώμη κυρήσας 398) with the Riddle of the Sphinx.

Lastly, cf. Arist. *Eccles.* 475, for the more precise sense of συμφέρειν = to turn out accidentally.

Λόγος γέ τοι τις ἔστι τῶν γεραιτέρων,
ὅς' ἂν ἀνόητ' ἢ μῶρα βουλευσάμεθα,
ἀπαντ' ἐπὶ τὸ βέλτιον ἡμῖν συμφέρειν.

Render thus: 'For, with men of experience, I see that even the accidental issues of their counsel have a peculiar virtue.' By this version καὶ is explained; all the others leave it more or less otiose.

198: τέλει γὰρ εἴ τι νῆξ ἀφῆ
τοῦτ' ἐπ' ἡμᾶρ ἔχρεται.

I believe the MS. reading is sound, and venture to propose for τέλει the sense of

'tale,' 'fixed or destined number,' 'completion.' 'If Night remit (or forgo) anything to the tale of victims, Day falls upon that.' Such a sense appears to be the common idea which connects all the various usages—e.g. the military, and the financial.

That (with ἀφιέναι in the sense of remit or forgo) we have τέλει not τέλους is explained if we consider that the debt and the debtors are the same—the people of Thebes; therefore it is indifferent whether you say 'make any abatement for the tale of victims' or 'of the tale of victims.'

457: φανήσεται δὲ παισὶ τοῖς αὐτοῦ ξυνὼν
ἀδελφός

I do not recollect ever seeing this favourite Sophoclean idiom stated. Where the plain verb εἶναι would be grammatically sufficient he improves its significance by compounding it with such preposition as indicates the general idea of the sentence.

O.C. 7: ὁ χρόνος ξυνὼν
μακρός

O.C. 773: πόλιν τέ μοι
ξυνούσαν εἵνον

O.C. 946: ὅτ' ἂν γάμοι
ξυνόντες ἡγρέθησαν . . .

(So also παρῇ for ᾗ in O.C. 498).

Ajax 267: κοινὸς ἐν κοινοῖσι λυπεῖσθαι ξυνὼν.

Ajax 338: τοῖς πάλα
νοσήμασι ξυνούσι λυπεῖσθαι παρών.

(So also ξυνήλθον for ἤλθον in *Ajax* 491).

Ajax 610: ξυνεστὶν ἔφεδρος = ἐφεδρεύει.

Ajax 855: κακέϊ προσανδήσω ξυνὼν

= κακέϊ ὦν προσανδήσω

cf. also ἀπεστὶν in Philoct. 161.

In *O.T.* 863: εἰ μοι ξυνείη φέροντι

Μοῖρα

I am inclined to believe that we have this same intensive compounding with ξυν-, and that the words simply = εἰ μοι μοῖρα εἶη φέρειν. Participle for infinitive is another favourite Sophoclean variation.

And lastly Antigone's

οὐ τοι συνεχθὲν ἀλλὰ συμφιλεῖν ἔφην
exhibits the same trick of language.

779 φοιτᾷ γὰρ ὑπ' ἀγριάν
ἵλαν ἀνά τ' ἄντρα καί
πετραῖος δὲ ταῦρος.

So the first hand in L.

Mr. Whitelaw makes a complete defence for πετραῖος = ἀνὰ πέτρας. But the employment of the article in this pregnant sense is also defensible. From examples like *Agamemnon* 833

φίλον τὸν εὐτεχούντ' ἄνεν φθόνου σίβειν

(= one who unites the characters of a friend and a lucky man).

and *O.T.* 1153

μὴ . . . τὸν γέροντά μ' αἰκίσῃ
(= old age as represented by me)

and *Arist. Eg.* 1024

σφύζεσθαι με τὸν κύνα

(= me as representing the dog),

we may pass to the usage of the article throughout the description of the marionettes in *Xen. Symp.* ix. where ὁ Διόνυσος and ἡ Ἀριάδνη mean throughout 'the one who represented' D. and A. respectively. And finally two very strong cases in the Atticists:

Aeschines Epist. x. (p. 39 Hercher)

ἐκθορὼν ἐκ τῶν θάμνων ὁ Σκάμανδρος Κίμων.

i.e. 'Scamander represented by Cimon';

Lucian, Alexander 39.

ἐδαδούχει δὲ καὶ ἱεροφάντει ὁ Ἐνδυμίων
Ἀλέξανδρος.

i.e. *Endymion represented by Alexander.*

Given this idiom of the pregnant use of the article, I think we may retain L's reading and render: 'He roams about the wild-wood and the caverns, and upon the rocks, playing bull,' the bull being a type of a moping seclusion—ὁ δὲ ταῦρος ἐβόσκετο μόνος ἀπ' ἄλλων.

624-5:

CR. ὅταν προδείξῃς οἷόν ἐστι τὸ φθονεῖν.

OED. ὡς οὐχ ὑπέβλεπον οὐδὲ πιστεύσων λέγει;

CR. Not till you have made plain the quality of your grudge.

OED. You speak in defiance and refusal to obey?

CR. Yes, for etc., etc.

Jebb's emendation of ὅταν τοῦ ὡς ἄν, transference of 624 to Oedipus, and consequent supposition of a lacuna between 625-6 seem needlessly violent measures.

φθόνος can be used of a particular grudge not merely of envy in general: e.g. *Aesch. Eum.* 686:

Θησέως κατὰ φθόνον

στρατηλατοῦσαι

And what might appear to be an even more necessarily general expression, the infinitive as noun, is used by Herodotus ix. 79 in a particular application

τὸ μὲν εὐνοεῖν καὶ τὸ προορᾶν ἀγαμαί σου.

Oedipus threatens instant death; Creon retorts 'You are bound first to show the quality (or nature) of your grudge'—which to Oedipus is 'defiance and insubordination.'

As for πιστεύειν = to obey, even apart from the passages in *Trach.* 1228 and 1251, when we consider how Sophocles played upon the the philological ambiguity in ἀπειθής, ἀπιστος, ἀπειθεῖν, ἀπιστεῖν (fr. *Aethiopes* 30, fr. 45) and even *Aeschylus*' ἀπιστεῖν for ἀπειθεῖν (*P.V.* 640), we are hardly justified in declaring it impossible.

694-6:

ὅς τ' ἐμὰν γὰρ φίλαν . . .

οὐρίσας,

τανὼν τ' εὐπομπος εἰ δύναιο γενοῦ.

L (o add. Σ.)

γενοῦ is a gloss. The unsupported εἰ δύναιο might perhaps be defended by a form of sentence like *Plato Laches* 179 E

καὶ ὑμᾶς συμπαλαβεῖν ἅμα μὲν συνθεατάς, ἅμα δὲ συμβούλους τε καὶ κοινόνους ἐὰν βούλησθε.

880: τὸ καλῶς δ' ἔχον

πόλει πάλαισμα μήποτε λύσαι θεὸν αἰτοῦμαι

"But I pray that the god never quell such rivalry as benefits the State."—Jebb.

I cannot satisfy myself that the singular neuter verbal noun will bear this abstract general sense; and would therefore take πάλαισμα as the *bout* or *ordeal* which Oedipus happily won in overthrowing the Sphinx and render

'But I pray God may never undo the triumph gained (by Oedipus) in his national ordeal.'

1276-80: φοίνιαι δ' ὁμοῦ

γλήναι γένει' ἔτεγγον οὐδ' ἀνέσαν
φόνου μυθώσας σταγόνας, ἀλλ' ὁμοῦ μέλας
ὄμβρος χαλάζης αἱματοῦς ἐτέγγετο.

Surely Sophocles could not have written ὄμοῦ . . . ὁμοῦ and not meant them to correspond, as in *O.T.* 4, 5. Give to οὐδ' ἀνέειπεν the sense of 'and relaxed not' (cf. *Eur. I.T.* 318) and render. 'All the while bloody eyeballs bedewed his beard with

slimy beads and relaxed not; all the while, etc.

1350: νομάδ' may be vindicated by Suidas: νομαδῆτης ὁ ἰδιώτης βίος. In *Eur. Cycl.* 120 the connotation seems not to be 'roaming' but 'living wild.' J. S. PHILLIMORE.

REMARKS ON THE CULEX.

THE authors of the *Culex* and *Ciris* and *Aetna* were mediocre poets, and worse; and the gods and men and booksellers whom they affronted by existing allotted them for transcription to worse than mediocre scribes. The *Ciris* was indited by a twaddler, and the *Culex* and *Aetna* by stutterers: but what they stuttered and twaddled was Latin, not double-Dutch; and great part of it is now double-Dutch, and Latin no more. The deep corruption of the MSS is certified not merely by the jargon which they offer us, but by other and external proofs. For 150 verses of the *Aetna* we have the fragmentum Gyrardinum, and it reveals, for instance, that the MSS on which we depend for the bulk of the poem have altered u. 227 'ingenium sacrare caputque attollere caelo' into 'sacra per ingentem capitique attollere caelum.' For 100 verses of the *Ciris* we have the codex Bruxellensis, and it tells us that the other MSS have substituted *secum heu* for *ehu* at 469 and *uezaruit et aegros* for *uezarier undis* at 481. In the *Culex* the MS on which we chiefly rely can here and there be tested by other authorities, and they prove that it has corrupted *Zanclaea* to *metuenda* at 332 and *cui cessit Lydi timefacta* to *legitime cessit cui facta* at 366. Such are the scribes, and that is half the difficulty: then there are the poets. Just as it is hard to tell, in Statius or Valerius Flaccus, whether this or that absurd expression is due to mis-copying or to the divine afflatus of the bard, so in the *Culex* and *Ciris* and *Aetna* it is for ever to be borne in mind that they are the work of poetasters. Many a time it is impossible to say for certain where the badness of the author ends and the badness of the scribe begins. And many a time, when the guilt is firmly saddled on the copyist, there is no more to be done except sit down and sigh; because in such corruptions as *metuenda* for *Zanclaea* all vestige of the truth has vanished: etiam periuri ruinae.

Here then, between poets capable of much and copyists capable of anything, is a pro-

misgiving field for the exercise of tact and caution: a prudent editor will be slow to emend the text and slow to defend it, and his page will bristle with the obelus. But alas, it is not for specimens of tact and caution that one resorts to the editors of the *Culex*; it is rather to fill one's bosom with sheaves of improbable corrections and impossible explanations. In particular the editions of Baehrens in 1880 and of Leo in 1891 are patterns of insobriety.

Witness one piece of precipitate blundering, which I select from many others, not because it is more flagrant than the rest, but because there is no denying it; it is convicted not merely by sense and reason, which are easily set aside, but by *euentus*, *stultorum magister*. The MS text of 365 sq. stood as follows:

Mucius et prudens ardorem corpore passus,
legitime cessit cui facta potentia regis.

Baehrens took 367 'hic Curius clarae socius uirtutis et ille' and placed it after 365; he took 368 'Flaminius deuota dedit qui corpora flammae,' threw away the last five words and altered the sole survivor to *Fabricius* with Heyne; struck off *legitime* from 366, clapped *Fabricius* in its stead, changed *facta* with the old editors to *fracta*; and behold—

Mucius et prudens ardorem corpore passus;
hic Curius clarae socius uirtutis et ille
Fabricius, cessit cui fracta potentia regis.

Mr Leo retained the MS text with the one change of *facta* to *fracta*, and wrote this note: 'potentia regis legitime, i.e. iure cessit uirtuti omni ui ac potentia destituta, legitimum scilicet in regiam potestatem imperium uirtus exercuit. qui uocabuli usus licet, si lexicis fides, exemplis careat, tam apte quadrat ad ipsam rem et uocabuli naturam, ut de ueritate lectionis nullus dubitem.'

The cod. Corsinianus discovered by Mr. Ellis gives in 366 *cui cessit lidithime*; that is *cui cessit Lydi timefacta potentia regis*.

En hic declarat quales sitis iudices. But it is not because they happen to be proved wrong that I condemn these treatments of the passage, for even prudent criticism may be wrong: it is because they are not prudent; because they exhibit confidence and credulity where everything counselled hesitation and scepticism.

Of the MSS of the Culex, B, cod. Bembinus saec. ix, is not only much the oldest but also in general the most trustworthy. But there are two others, later and on the whole less faithful, which in certain passages far excel it: Γ, cod. Corsinianus saec. xiv uel xv, and V, cod. Vossianus saec. xv. I will cite the most important readings of both, premising that some of them may be only conjectural emendations, but that others of them must be genuine and all of them may.

Γ. 15 *asterie* Γ, *astrigeri* B. 192 *detraxit ab arbore truncum* Γ, *truncum detraxit ab ore* B. 210 *quis inquit* quid inquit Γ, inquit quid B. 337 *Troia ruenti* troias uenti Γ, *troia furenti* B. 352 *laetans* laetam Γ, *laetum* B. 362 *moritura camilli* Γ, *mora melli* B. 366 *cui cessit lidithime* Γ, *legitime cessit cui* B.

V. 60 *spretis* V, *pretiis* B. 93 *liget* V, *licet* B. 237 *tue...ire* V, *tuas...iras* B. 249 *uocordem* V, *ui cordam* B. 304 *talis...* belli V, *tali...bellis* B. 330 *ipse* V, om. B. 332 *Zanclaea* ranolea V, *metuenda* B. 340 *ne quisquam* V, *neque* B. 343 *Argea* argoa V, *argore* B. 378 *mali nec* V, *malignae* B. 390 *propter* V, *praeter* B.

Γ and V. 2 *orsum* ΓV, *ursum* B. 10 *poliantur* ΓV, *spoliantur* B. 311 *uiridantibus* (=feridantibus) feritatis ab ΓV, *feritatis et* B. 312 *Ida* ΓV, *daque* B. 355 *egea* ΓV, *erea* B. 357 *omnis in aequoreo fluitat* ΓV, *fluctuat omnis in aequoreo* B. 399 *pudibunda ruborem* ΓV, *rubibunda terrorem* B.

Mark that B, at 192, 210, 312, 332, 357, 366, is proven guilty of gross and deliberate interpolation; and that B is the best MS. *ρᾶφε καὶ μέμνασ' ἀπιστεῖν*.

94, 95.

o pecudes, o Panes, et o gratissima tempe fontis Hamadryadum.

'tempe fontis' is naught; 'gratissima fontis' (propter fontem) is almost incredible; either construction is further encumbered by the second genitive 'Hamadryadum'; and no such change as Heinsius' 'frondis'

¹ For *uir* and *fer* confused see Prop. ii 6 24, Ou. her. ix 141.

will be any help. I expect some noun in apposition with 'tempe' and signifying 'abode' or 'resort': Mr Leo's 'hortus' is well enough; but since the model of these verses is Verg. georg. ii 469 'frigida tempe' I propose

gratissima tempe,
frigus Hamadryadum.

That is 'sedes frigida': Mart. iv 64 14 'quodcumque iacet sub urbe frigus'.

FRIGVS = FRIQVS and frious = fnotis. Lest this progress in error should seem at all unlikely, let us pursue the adventures of the word *Zanclaea* in 332. The archetype had *zanclaea*: *z=r* and *c=o*, so in V appears *ranolea*. But also *z=t*, *a=u*, *cl=d*, and hence arose *tundea* (see Sil. i 662 *Zanclen* corrupted to *tandem* and *tandes*), which was altered by transposing one letter to the nearest Latin word *tuenda* (so *fnotis*, *fontis*), and then enlarged for metre's sake to *me-tuenda*, which is in B. Then the *m* was absorbed in the *m* preceding it, and (*m*)*etuenda*, since *n=ri*, appears in Γ as *et uerida*.

137, 138.

hic magnum Argoae naui decus edita pinus
proceros decorat siluas hirsuta per artus.

edita B, *adita* V, *addita* Γ as Heinsius and Schrader had conjectured. *addita* may of course be right (Schrader lib. emend. p. 24 quotes Verg. Aen. viii 301 and Stat. Theb. i 22), but the *edita* of B will yield unimpeachable sense, provided you avoid the blunders of Heyne and Mr Leo, who explain '*edita*, excelsa (cf. inf. 170)' and '*naui edita pinus* dictum est ut u. 171 *cui crista superne edita*.' *naui decus edita* means *genita ad nauem decorandam*. Compare on the one hand 401 'Cilici crocus *editus* aruo,' and on the other Ou. amor. ii 5 4 'ei mihi perpetuum nata puella malum,' Hes. op. 804 "Ορκον...τὸν Ἐρις τέκε πῆμ' ἐπιόρκους, hymn Hom. Merc. 160 sq. *μεγάλην σε πατὴρ ἐφύτ-ευσε μέρμναν | θνητοῖς ἀνθρώποισι*, and finally cul. 265-267

ecce Ithaci coniunx semper decus Icarioris
femineum concepta decus manet et procul
illam

turba ferox iuuenum telis confixa procorum.

illam BΓ, *illa* V et edd. On these verses there is not one blot but two: it is fruitless to remove the ungrammatical *illam* (into which *illa* would hardly have been altered) without removing also the ridiculous repetition of *decus*. *manet* too, as the words now stand, is a trifle foolish. The phrase

'concepta decus femineum,' as Ribbeck has seen, signifies 'ideo concepta ut feminarum decus esset': the second *decus* must give place to something which will render *illam* grammatical; and the form of the sentence may be thus restored:

ecce Ithaci coniunx semper decus Icarioris
femineum concepta manet, <pauet> et
procul illam
turba ferox iuuenum telis confixa procorum.

Of course I cannot answer for the verb, which may have been *timet* or *cauet* or *fugit* or *uidet*. The construction is 'Icarioris, decus femineum concepta, semper manet Ithaci coniunx.'

178—189.

naturae comparat arma :
ardet mente, furit stridoribus, insonat
ore,
flexibus euersis torquetur corporis
orbis, 180
manant sanguineae per tractus undique
guttae,
spiritibus rumpit fauces. cui cuncta
parantur,
paruulus hunc prior umoris conterret
alumnus
et mortem uitare monet per acumina ;
namque,
qua diducta genas pandebant lumina
gemmis, 185
hac senioris erat naturae pupula telo
icta leui, cum prosiluit furibundus et
illum
obtritum morti misit; cui dissitus
omnis
spiritus et cessit sensus. tum cet.

182 *parant* scripsi, *paranti* libri. *cui* refers to the following *hunc*: 'eum, cui cuncta parantur, prior conterret culex': so 410 sq. 'et, quoscumque nouant uernantia tempora flores, | his tumulus super inseritur.' Scaliger wrote '*quo* cuncta *parante*,' and certainly the dative *cui* (serpenti) *paranti*, which Mr Leo makes to depend on *prior*, is unaccountable: but even with this change the *hunc* of 183, referring to *ducem gregis* far away in 175, remains very poor and bare.

189 *et cessit* scripsi, *excessit* libri. *cessit* ἀπό κοινού, 'cessit spiritus et sensus,' as 170 sq. 'attollit nitidis pectus fulgoribus et se | sublimi ceruice caput,' i.e. 'attollit se pectus et caput,' and 328 'Rhesi uictorque Dolonis.' See Lucr. iii 356 'at dimissa anima corpus caret undique sensu.' *excessit sensus* is said to mean 'excessit e sensibus': and pray what may be the meaning of 'spiritus excessit e sensibus'?

192—197.

ualidum dextra detraxit ab arbore
truncum
(qui casus sociarit opem numenue
deorum
prodere sit dubium, ualuit sed uincere
tales
horrida squamosi uoluentia membra
draconis) 195
atque reluctantis crebris foedeque
petentis
ictibus ossa ferit, cingunt qua tempora
eristae.

The MS reading of 193 *qui...numenue*, retained by Heyne, is defensible and means 'dubium sit prodere qui casus quodum numen sociarit': see Ou. met. xiv 162 'qui te casusue deusue | seruat, Achaemenide?' Scaliger proposed *cui* for *qui*, and this gross solecism, excusable in the 16th century (though even then Lambinus knew better), is repeated in the 19th by Haupt and Mr Leo. The *numenne* of V will make Latin of it, and may be right, since 'sociarit' is all the better for having a dative; but it is awkward here to designate the shepherd by the relative pronoun, so we had best content ourselves with the text of B.

194 *tales* BF, *tali* V. When Sillig and the subsequent editors write *talis* (qualis, qualeso!) they are only erasing a vestige of the truth: the corruption is in *horrida*. Propertius, and Horace in his satires (for Verg. Aen. xi 309 is no parallel), are the only poets between Lucretius and Prudentius who are known to admit such corruptions as 'horridā squamosi'; and the diction of 'horrida uoluentia membra' is equally ἐπὶ ὄνυχον, horridum. In Virgil's 'tardae Eleusinae matris uoluentia plaustra' *tarda* adheres adverbially to *uoluentia*, which *horrida* cannot: uoluentia actio tarda esse potest, horrida non item. *tales* survives to tell us what manner of word stood once in *horrida*'s stead: it was a spondaic acc. plur. substantive, 'ualuit uincere squamosi draconis membra tales — uoluentia': the order of the words is quite legitimate in any poet, let alone a poet who writes 205 'in fessos requiem dare comparat artus' for 'dare fessos artus in requiem'. The sense is satisfied by *orbes*: I know no suitable word which could easily be mistaken for *horrida*, but here is one which could easily be lost before *squamosi*:

ualuit sed uincere tales
<spiras> squamosi uoluentia membra
draconis.

i.e. *squassquamosi*. Verg. georg. ii 153 sq. 'tanto | *squameus* in *spiram* tractu se colligit anguis'.

I have made a similar correction in 266 (on 137 above); and here are others: 292—296.

sed tu crudelis, crudelis tu magis, Orpheu,
oscula cara petens rupisti iussa deorum:
dignus amor uenia, <ueniam> si Tartara
nossent.

peccatum meminisse grauest.

This is one of the few places in the culex where Baehrens has distinguished himself: he has restored *ueniam* for *gratum*. The emendation is as certain as Bentley's *Parin Paris* for *Parin creat* in Verg. Aen. x 705: with Virgil's 'ignoscenda quidem, scirent si ignoscere manes' before his eyes it was impossible for the poet to write otherwise.

385—391.

hunc ubi sollicitum dimisit inertia
uitae,

quantumcumque sibi uires tribuere
seniles, 388

conformare locum capit impiger.

sibi uires BΓ, *uires sibi* V. The use of *sibi* for *ei*, though incorrect, is not unexampled; but this unmetrical variant of V points to

sibi
uires in the archetype, and I conjecture

quantumcumque <uiro> uires tribuere
seniles.

Compare moret. 107 'saepe uiri nares' &c.

216—221.

praeda Charontis agor: uidi ut flagrantia
taedis

lumina, cum lucent in festis omnia
templis.

obuia Tisiphone, serpentibus undique
compta,

et flammās et saeua quatit mihi uerbera;
pone

Cerberus est, diris flagrans latratibus ora, 220

anguibus hinc atque hinc horrent cui
colla reflexis.

217 in festis scripsi, infestis libri. 219
pone Haupt, pone est iam Peerlkamp, poenae
libri. 220 est scripsi, et libri. flagrans
Scaliger, flagrant libri. nolo conicere
'Cerberus et diris flagrat latratibus Orthrus.'

For the elision 'uidi ut' see 288 'dirae
exorabile'; for 'ut' in the sense of 'tam-

quam' see 2 'atque ut araneoli tenuem
formauimus orsum,' i.e. formauimus orsum
tamquam araneoli orsum. The meaning is
'uidi lumina eius tamquam lumina taedis
flagrantia cum omnia lucent in festis
templis,' 'I have beheld his eyes, as it were
the flaming light of torches when temples
are all ablaze with festival.' Virgil Aen. vi
300 says of Charon 'stant lumina flamma'
and Seneca H. f. 767 'concauae lucent
genae.' The phrase 'flagrantia taedis |
lumina' is imitated from Aen. vi 593 sq.
'fumea taedis | lumina.'¹

243—253.

quid, saxum procul aduerso qui monte
reuoluit,
contempsisse dolor quem numina uincit
acerbus?

otia quae rentem frustra bitis? ite, 245
puellae,

ite, quibus taedas accendit tristes Erinys.
sic in, 'Hymen' praefata, dedit co-
nubia Mortis?

atque alias alio densas super agmine
turmas,
impietate fera uercedem Colchida
matrem,

anxia sollicitis meditantem uolnera 250
natis;

iam Pandionias miserandi prole
puellas,

quarum uox Ityn edit Ityn, quo Bisto-
nius rex

orbis epops maeret uolucres euectus in
auras.

245 *frustrabit is ite* scripsi, *frustra sibilite*
B (*sublite* Γ), *frustra ceu uite* V. The easiest
change from B is Heinsius' 'acerbus | otia
quaerentem frustra sibi? ite,' and the hiatus
can be defended by Verg. Aen. i 405. But
the addition of 'otia' etc. weakens rather
than strengthens what has been said of
Sisyphus, and I assent to Mr Leo that we
have here a phrase like 258 'eheu mutandus
numquam labor' and Verg. Aen. vi 845
'quo fessum rapitis, Fabii?' referring to
the gnat itself and preparing the transition

¹ I subjoin for comparison the readings of Baehr-
ens and Leo.

Baehrens:

praeda Charontis agor uigilis. flagrantia taedis
lumina tum lucent inferni obdita templis.
obuia Tisiphone cet.

Leo:

praeda Charontis agor. uiden ut flagrantia taedis
lumina collucent? infestis obuia templis,
obuia Tisiphone cet.

from the men to the women of the underworld. Mr Leo conjectures *sinite, ite*: I think that *frustrabitis* is better in itself and better explains the variation of the MSS; for no one can pretend that such nonsense as *ceu uite* is an attempt to emend *siblite*.¹ This is one of several places where B and V have corrupted in different ways the reading of their common source: compare 249 *Colchida*] *conchida* B, *colchita* V, 269 *poenane*] *poenaeque* B, *pene* V, and especially 334 *generamen prolis*, where V preserves *generamen* but corrupts *prolis* to *probis*, I preserves *prolis* but corrupts *generamen* to *gener ante*, B corrupts both words, but only to the slightest extent, *generam plis* to *gener amplis*. So here the *siblite* of B arises from the transposition *frustra sibi ite*, the *ceu uite* of V from the omission *frustra(itis)ite* = *frustra uite*.

247 *sicin scripsi, sicut libri: idem error* Prop. iii 6 9. '*sicut Hymen praefata*' can be construed; but then the verses 246 and 247 are *harena sine calce* and want tying together with an *et* or a *quae*. With the interrogation compare Catull. 64 28 '*tene Thetis tenuit*' etc.

251 *miserandi scripsi, miserandas* BV, *miseranda* I, both of which are utterly absurd. Itys, *ἡ τῆς Ἀἰγιοῦ παθεῖν*, was not the offspring of Procne and Philomela. The only editor of the culex who seems to be aware of this is Heinsius, who proposes *miseranda sorte*: I have thought it safer to follow the MSS where they coincide and abandon them where they differ. *miserandi* agrees with the genitive contained in *Pandionias*: the construction is like Ou. amor. i 8 108 '*mea defunctae ossa*' or Liu. ii 53 1 '*Veiens bellum, quibus Sabini arma coniunxerant*', but the scribes knew not what to make of it. Pandion was '*miserandus prole*', αἰνόςκος: Ou. met. vi 675 sq. '*hic dolor ante diem longaeque extrema senectae | tempora Tartareas Pandiona misit ad umbras*'.

But now I come to the central difficulty of the passage, the verse 248 and the sentence to which it belongs. The accusatives *turmas, Colchida, puellas* have no construction; the apposition of *Colchida* with *turmas* is ridiculous; the word *turmas* is no name for companies of heroines unless they happen to be Amazons; and the phrase *alias alio super agmine turmas* is nonsense. The idiom *alius...alius* is employed in Latin with a single substantive for the purpose of

dividing a whole into parts: '*alias ex aliis fingendo moras*', 'delay after delay'. Two substantives are never used in this idiom (*moras alias ex aliis cunctationibus*), because there is then no whole to be divided: the division has been made already, and the superaddition of *alius...alius* is not merely unexampled but unimaginable. The employment of *alius...alius* with a couple of substantives gives quite a different sense, and apporions the one to the other: '*legiones aliae alia in parte resistent*', 'some legions in one spot, others in another'. The phrase *alias alio super agmine turmas* will not mean the same as *turmas alias super aliis*, 'troops upon troops': it will mean 'some troops upon one troop, others upon another'; which is nonsense, whatever language you write it in.

Therefore the passage is not simply corrupt, as most editors think, nor simply defective, as Mr Leo thinks, but both. The following is the irreducible minimum of correction:

<iam prope conspicio, uestram quae uertice
turbam>
atque alias alto densas super eminent
umbras,
impietate fera uecordem Colchida matrem,
anxia sollicitis meditantem uolnera natis;
iam Pandionias cet.

The corruption sprang from *aemine turbas*; and the verse above may have fallen out through the likeness of *turmas* (*turbas* V) and *turbam*. For the distribution of *uertice* and *alto* on either side of the conjunction compare 12 '*Phoebus erit nostri princeps et carminis auctor*' and 196 sq. '*reluctantis crebris foedeque petentis | ictibus ossa ferit*'. The confusion of *alto* with *alio* is common, and was here helped by the presence of *alias*: I will cite a perfect parallel from Manil. v 44. The man born under the constellation Argo, says Manilius, will become a seafarer,

totumque uolet transnare profundum
classibus, atque alios menses aliumque
uidere
Phasin, et.....Tiphyn superare.

I agree with Lachmann at Prop. i 1 12 that *alios menses* is quite sound and means 'new seasons', 'an unfamiliar climate,' and that Val. Fl. vi 324 quoted by Bentley, where a Scythian says to an Argonaut '*alium hic miser aspicias annum*', is a complete defence of the reading. Bentley, who denies this, says nothing in support of his denial; but

¹ Baehrens' '*otia quarenti frustra ceruice puellas*' incurs the similar objection that it does not account for the reading of B.

his bad¹ conjecture *Minyas* for *menses*—quasi uero *uiderint* Argonautae *Minyas* ac non ipsi *Minyae* fuerint—shows that he perceived a difficulty which Lachmann overlooked. It is intolerable that *alios menses* should mean 'alios atque ipse adhuc uidit' when *alium Phasin* means 'alium ac uiderunt Argonautae.' Therefore one of the two must be altered, and that one is *alium Phasin*; cur enim *alium* potius quam eundem? Phasis is the eastern bourn of sailors as Gades and Atlas and Erythea are the western, Strab. p. 497 εἰς Φάσιν, ἐνθα ναυτὶν ἔσχατος ὁρίμος, (this is why fifteen years ago I transposed Prop. iii 22 15 sq. to stand before 7, κυφοῖς αὐτῶν): it is to Phasis, the same and not another, that the born mariner will sail: 'suo Colechum propellet remige Phasin | Peliacaeque trabis totum iter ipse leget.' Write then 'alios menses altum que uidere | Phasin': Val. Fl. iii 501 'Phasidis alti.'

296—324.

hic et uterque
Aeacides (Peleus namque et Telamonia
uirtus
per secura patris laetantur numina,
quorum
conubiis Venus et uirtus iniunxit hon-
orem :
hunc rapuit seruata, illum Nereis
amauit) 300
adsidet, hic iuuenes, sociatae gloria
sortis :
alter in ore ferens expressum a
nauibz ignis
Argolicis Phrygios torua feritate re-
pulsos—
(o quis non referat..... 304
.....depellere nauibus instat) 321
—hos erat Aeacides uultu laetatus
honores ;
Dardaniaeque alter fuso quod sanguine
campis
Hector lustrauit deuicto corpore Troiam.

300 *seruata* (=feritata) scripsi, *ferit* ast BF, *feritas* V. The easiest conjecture is *Bembus* *serua* *ast*, which has not enough relevance to the 'Virtus' of 299; the most appropriate is Mr Leo's *praeda* *ast*: I have tried to combine as well as may be the merits of the two. Telamona rapuit Hesione, quam ipse seruauerat: Hyg. fab. 89 'cum...Hesiones sors exisset et petris religata esset, Hercules et Telamon...eodem

uenerunt et cetum interfecerunt.' Compare also Ou. met. xi 216 sqq. 'nec pars militiae Telamon sine honore recessit, | Hesioneque data potitur. nam coniuge Peleus | clarus erat diua.'

301 *hic* Baehrens, *ha* V, *hac* BF, fortasse <et>. *iuuenes* scripsi, *iuuenis* libri. 'hic adsidet et uterque Aeacides (Peleus et Telamon) et iuuenes (Achilles et Aiax).' If Baehrens' conjecture is right, *hic* et...*hic* is an example of the idiom '*redit et* Virgo, *redeunt* Saturnia regna': certainly neither *hac* nor *ac* is defensible. *iuuenes* was doomed by the neighbourhood of *adsidet* to become *iuuenis*. The parenthesis 297–300 has a parallel in 169–173, 'iam magis atque magis corpus reuolubile uoluens | attollit... here come four verses...flammarum) lumine toruo | metabat sese circum loca.' Now, after the mention of the 'iuuenes,' he begins 'alter' (i.e. Aiax), wanders off into a still longer parenthesis, and involves himself in an anacoluthon: 'alter' (Achilles) at length arrives in 323.

302 *ore ferens expssum* scripsi, *excissum* referens B (*excisum* Γ, *exclsum* V). Since *alter in* referens *excissum* was unmetrical, the words were transposed with as little scruple as when *detraxit ab (arb)ore truncum* 192 was altered to *truncum detraxit ab ore*, or *quid inquit* 210 to *inquit quid*, or *omnis in aequeore fluctuat* 357 to *fluctuat omnis in aequeore*, or *cui cessit legitime* 366 to *legitime cessit cui*. The construction of *expressum* with *ignes a nauibus repulsos (esse)* is the same as Verg. Aen. ix 92 '*prosit nostris in montibus ortas*'. The elision occurs in 73, 279, and, I do not doubt, 272, where Messrs. Birt, Leo, and Ribbeck, with dismal superstition, retain '*nec timuit Phlegethonta, furens, ardentibus undis*' instead of writing *furent*. My correction of 302 defends and is defended by the MS reading of 322 'hos erat Aeacides uultu laetatus honores', where the poet, at the end of his parenthesis, returns to what he said at the beginning. It is useless to discuss the proceedings of the editors.

In 324 I have taken *Hector* from V (*Hectora* BF) and *deuicto* from the cod. Helmstadiensis (*uictor* de BTV). Most editors read with *Bembus* *Hectoreo uictor lustrauit*; but see Ou. Ib. 333 sq. 'uel qui, quae fuerat tutatus moenia saepe, | corpore lustrauit non diuturna suo'.

342—346.

ibat in altum
uis Argea petens patriam ditataque
praeda

¹ 'male Benteleium *Minyas* reposuisse patet' Lachmann.

arcis Eriethoniae; comes huic erat aura
secunda
per placidum cursu pelagus; Nereis ad
undas 345
signa dabat pars inflexis super iacta
carinis.

ad undas in 345 is impossible, and modern editors read with Paldam *ab unda*. But how to explain the corruption? Thus:

comes huic erat aura secundans
per placidum cursu pelagus; Nereis ab
unda . . .

-undās and *unda* were transposed. To write *cursus* (acc. plur.) for *cursu* in the next line would be a further improvement; but the absolute use of 'secundo' is well established, and 'currimus aequor' will justify 'placidum cursu pelagus' in the sense of 'smooth to sail over'. The *secundis* of Γ may indicate *ab undis* rather than *ab unda*.

In 346 the MSS vary thus: *pars inflexis* BV, *passim flexis* Γ; *iacta* B, *icta* IV, *acta* codd. dett. et edd. The words 'pars inflexis super acta carinis' are supposed to mean 'pars Nereidum (though *Nereis*, not *Nereides*, has preceded) acta super inflexis carinis', and 'carinis' is supposed to mean 'curribus'. From the reading of Γ there at once emerges *passim flexis*, and I conjecture

signa dabat passim flexis super alta
carinis.

'flexis super alta', steered over the sea: *carinis* is dative. Both *iacta* and *icta* may come from *acta*.

362—371.

hic et fama vetus numquam moritura
Camilli,
Curtius et, mediis quem quondam sedi-
bus urbis
deuotum bellis consumpsit gurgis in
unda,
Mucius et prudens ardorem corpore
passus, 365
cui cessit Lydi timefacta potentia regis;
hic Curtius clarae socius uirtutis et ille
flamminius deuota dedit qui corpora
flammae.
iure igitur talis sedes pietatis honores
istarum piadasque duces, quorum deuota
triumphis 370
moenia rapidis Libycae Karthaginis
horrent.

364. Heyne's *gurgitis unda* is an improvement and possibly right; but this is a poor

poet and we must not ask too much of him. *bellis* is plainly corrupt, and I think the easiest and aptest correction is *liuens* (= *libells*): see Catull. 17 10 sq. 'totius ut lacus putidaeque paludis | *liuidissima* maximeque est profunda uorago', Verg. Aen. vi 320 'uada *liuida* uerrunt'.

In Stat. silu. ii 6 38—44 are these words:

non tibi femineum uultu decus oraque supra
mollis honos, quales dubiae discrimina formae
de sexu transire iubent; toruorque uirilīs
gratia, nec petulans acies, blandique seuerō
igne oculi, qualis, *bellis* iam casside, uisu
Parthenopaeus erat; simplexque horrore de-
cōro
crinis.

Most editors alter *iam*, which is very appropriate, and retain *bellis*, which is at best superfluous beside *casside*; Messrs. Krohn and Koltz have seen that an adjective should be restored, but they adopt Adrianus' frightful conjecture *bellus*; Baehrens' *liber* spoils the sense by laying stress on the placidity of this boy's looks when Statius is laying stress on their manliness. Write *liuens iam casside*, 'with the bruise of the helmet on his brow': Hor. carn. i 8 10 sq. '*liuida* gestat armis | brachia.'

368. Nothing is known of any such *Flaminius*: Nicolaus Loensis proposed *Caecilius*, and further, since the words as they stand are no description of Metellus' exploit in rescuing the Palladium, *lumina* for *corpora*. I offer this:

graminibus deuincta gerit qui tempora
Flamma.

He imitates Verg. Aen. vi 772 'umbrata gerunt ciuili tempora quercu': see also Lygd. 6 2 'hedera tempora uincta geras' and Tib. ii 5 5 'triumphali deuinctus tempora lauro.' The confusion of *tempora* with *corpora* is common, as Ou. met. vii 429, her. ix 140, fast. iv 143: *deuotum* occurred in 364 and *deuota* will occur in 370, so we can dispense with it here: *dedit* for *gerit* was probably a deliberate alteration consequent on the other changes. I should not wonder if a verse¹ beginning with *Fabricius* had been lost between 367 and 368, and *Flaminius* were a mixture of *Fabricius* and *graminibus*.

Plin. n. h. xxii 11 'praeter hos contigit eius (i.e. gramineae) coronae honos M. Calpurnio Flammae tribuno militum in Sicilia,' Flor. i 18 13 'trepidatum est semel circa Camerin-

¹ Such as 'Fabricius, ducibusque aequata laude tribunus.'

ensium saltum, sed eximia uirtute Calpurni Flammae tribuni militum euasimus, quilecta trecentorum manu insessum ab hostibus tumultum occupauit atque moratus hostes est, dum exercitus omnis euaderet. ac sic pulcherrimo exitu Thermopylarum et Leonidae famam adaequauit. Ampel. 20 (qui pro p. R. salute se optulerunt) 5 'trecenti sub Calpurnio Flamma contra Poenos, qui in Siciliensi saltu morte sua exercitum p. R. liberauerunt, ut plane ccc Lacedaemoniorum apud Thermopylas gloriam adaequarent.' Liu. xxii 60 11 'si, ut nobis adolescentibus priore Punico bello Calpurnius Flamma trecentis uoluntariis, cum ad tumultum eos capiendum situm inter medios duceret hostes, dixit "moriatur, milites, et morte nostra eripiamus ex obsidione circumdatas legiones," si hoc P. Sempronius diceret, nec uiros equidem nec Romanos uos ducerem, si nemo tantae uirtutis exstisset comes.'

Six words in the verse, and I have altered five of them; so willkürlich, so unmethodisch, so subjektiv-ästhetisch is my criticism.

370 *istarum piadasque* B, *Scipiadasque* V, *Scipiatosque* I. Editors fling *istarum* to the winds, adopt Bembus' arbitrary change of acc. to nom., and in 369 Heyne's *tales for talis*, and write the verses thus:

flammae
(iure igitur tales sedes pietatis honores),
Scipiadaeque duces, quorum cet.

This is no way to deal with a passage where the metre has a word too many and the syntax a word too few: far shrewder is Naëke, who says at Val. Cat. p. 293 'uersus excidit unus, cuius residuum in uoce *istarum* latet.' I believe that from this relic almost the very words of the author can be recovered:

iure igitur talis sedes pietatis honores
i n s t a u r a t < pia sic meritis. te, Regule,
cerno
Sci>piadasque duces, quorum cet.

The scribe glanced from the first to the second *pia. talis* is acc. plur., and *talis honores* refers to 358 sq. 'hic alii se dant pariles uirtutis honore | heroes mediisque siti sunt sedibus': *sedes pia* occurs in 39 and 375, *pietatis honores* in 225, *instaurat*

honores in Verg. Aen. v 94, where however the verb has the special force of 'denuo instaurat.' The construction then is 'iure igitur (ob pietatem uersibus 361-8 significatam) sedes pia instaurat tales pietatis honores uiris tam bene meritis.'

371 *rapidis* B, *romanis* IV interpolate. The sense required was first pointed out by Naëke l.c. p. 294, who conjectured *harundinibus*; Haupt *uepretis*, which is what the poetaster ought to have written; Ribbeck *rapinis*, 'turnip fields', which perhaps he was not incapable of writing. That turnips were grown in the province of Africa appears from the fact that Vespasian was pelted with them at Hadrumetum in his proconsulship, Suet. Vesp. 4. Even closer to *rapidis* would be *rapiciis*, 'turnip leaves', Plin. n.h. xviii 127, which of course has its antepenultimate short like *tribunicius*, though Georges marks both of them long. But bad as this poet indisputably is, these scribes are worse, and I suspect that they had more hand than he in sowing turnips on the site of Carthage.

401—403.

hic Cilici crocus editus aruo
laurus item Phoebe decus surgens, hic rhododaphne
liliaque.

In 1897, in the Journal of Philology vol. xxv p. 244, I wrote

I will take the opportunity of emending 402, which is usually reduced to metre by reading *surgens decus*, an arrangement the scribes were not likely to disturb. Write *decus ingens*: *ingens* becomes *urgens* (Stat. Theb. vi 827 *ingentibus* and *urgentibus* MSS), the s of *decus* adheres and makes *surgens* (Stat. Theb. i 357 *gelidas surgens* and *gelidas urgens* MSS).

For the rhythm see 381 'digredior numquam rediturus. tu cole fontes': so in 173 sq. I should punctuate 'aspectuque micat flammaram) lumine toruo | metabat sese circum loca'.

Mr Vollmer in 1900, in the Rheinisches Museum vol. lv p. 521, writes

u. 402 legendum puto per oxymoron *laurus item Phoebe decus urgens*, nempe *Daphne* amore urget deum.

At me litterulas stulti docuere parentes.

A. E. HOUSMAN.

A LATIN TRIBUTE FROM DEAN VINCENT TO WARREN HASTINGS.

In a copy of Dean Vincent's *Voyage of Nearchus*, translated (Oxford 1809) lately given to University College, Sheffield, by Professor J. E. B. Mayor of Cambridge, the appended verses by Vincent and his letter enclosing them are inserted.

The letter is addressed to Mr. James Boswell (1778-1822) second son of Johnson's biographer, a barrister at law and, as an old Westminster boy, probably a former pupil of Vincent's. The book itself no doubt belonged to Boswell, (it is a gift 'from the author') and no doubt it was he who pasted in it Vincent's verses on the eighty-fourth birthday of Warren Hastings.

These verses written by a famous scholar in honour of a great builder of the empire have no little interest at the present time.

The 'Impey' mentioned in the letter is not Sir Elijah Impey, Hastings' contemporary and schoolfellow, who had died in 1809, but one of his sons, probably Elijah Barwell Impey, who like his father and Hastings himself had been educated at Westminster. It is noteworthy that Gleig's *Memoirs of Warren Hastings* (vol. iii. p. 500), gives a letter from Hastings to Elijah Barwell Impey dated 'Daylesford House [Worcestershire] 19th Dec. 1816,' which begins 'Yesterday was my 84th birthday.' The day which Dean Vincent honoured by his verses was therefore the 18th December 1816.

The *Dictionary of National Biography* while stating that Warren Hastings was born in 1732 gives the date of his birth as the 6th December. If that is not an error, we must suppose that in his later years Hastings in commemorating his birthday took account of the change from Old to New Style.

G. C. MOORE SMITH.

[ENCLOSING LETTER].

DEAR BOSWELL,

If you had not been in a hurry, you might have had the enclosed yesterday. I trust to your honour that it be not seen till the principal has got his copy: in that copy I have unfortunately written auspice where it ought to have been omine. Can Impey correct it?

Yours truly,
W. V.

Dec. 16.

MR. BOSWELL,
GARDEN COURT, TEMPLE.

GUARRENO HASTINGS, AET^s. 84.

O decus imperii, cui Ganges paruit ingens,
Cujusque auspiciis Belli flagrante procella,
Res stetit Angligenum, fracti cessere
Marattae,—

Intima Mysoreus repetens sua regna
Tyrannus

Delituit, versis doluitque inglorius armis.
Nec tumidae valuereminae, nec Martius ardor
Gallorum, insidiaeque Indos ad bella cientes.

Vivis adhuc, Venerande Senex, rurisque
recessu

Contemplare tuo quae gesseris omine,—
quosque

Tentandos aliis promoveris ante triumphos.

Namque per Oceanum qui lambit littora
Sinæ,

Et patet ad fines tellus ubi prominet Afra,
Post acies terrâ, post classes aequore victas,
Vexillum imperii jam sola Britannia pandit.

His frui: at meritis si patria parca
favorem

Abneget, et justae suspendat praemia
laudis,—

Esto: sed egregias constanti in pectore vires,
Justitiam, purasque manus, mentemque
capacem

His saltem accumulem donis,—nec munera
Musæ

Respue, Pierias nam tu colis ipse sorores.

REVIEWS.

TUCKER'S *CHOEPHORI* OF AESCHYLUS.

The Choephoroi of Aeschylus with Critical Notes, Commentary, Translation, and a Recension of the Scholia, by T. G. TUCKER Litt. D., Professor of Classical Philology in the University of Melbourne. Cam-

bridge, at the University Press. 1901. 8vo. pp. civ, 318. 12s. 6d.

THIS edition, excellently printed, is arranged on the same plan as Sir Richard

Jebb's of Sophocles; it is dedicated to him, and has made good use of his admirable introduction to the *Electra*. Mr. Tucker's edition of the *Supplices* was ably reviewed in these columns by Prof. Housman,¹ and a great deal of that criticism is applicable still, but with a certain difference in detail. In 1084 lines of the *Supplices* Mr. Tucker introduced some 200 conjectures of his own, among which Mr. Housman considered 4 quite certain; I gladly adopted more like 12 in my prose version: but hardly one stone was left upon another, and many of them had hardly any relation to the MS. Mr. Tucker now claims it as a merit that his text is exceptionally conservative, faithful to the MS. Perhaps it may prove to be a merit; but there is much loose thinking and loose language on this point. If the MS. is good, it is a merit to maintain it; if the MS. is bad, it is a fault: to assume it as a merit without proving the correctness of the MS. is to beg the question. Mr. Tucker does not acknowledge any modification of his critical principles, merely holding that the *Supplices* was desperately corrupted, whereas the text of the *Choephori* is much sounder than is usually supposed. But the truth appears to be that in the interval he has come under the influence of Dr. Verrall, with whom he avows having found himself habitually in agreement. Now Dr. Verrall's method is well-known: he treats almost every reading in any MS. he happens to be dealing with as true if only we knew how to interpret it; and having more faith in the elastic power of the Greek tongue, moves easily what we had thought were mountains. Mr. Tucker's belief in this elasticity is not so great, but it is a very different thing from what it was.

To my mind the most satisfactory part of the work is the translation. Prose can never represent such verse aesthetically, and ought frankly to be prose, content if it can explain without offence how the Greek is to be construed. If Mr. Tucker's renderings are often incorrect, they are nearly always good and vigorous English.

We are not likely, I think, to get much forwarder with Aeschylus without new illustration and more study of ideas. Verbal emendations we may make, and every true thing helps; but they do not greatly matter now unless they give us new significances, literary and artistic. I will take one passage to show doubly what I mean by an idea. The most familiar attributes of

Justice were her *balance* and her *all-regarding eye*: Δίκας ῥέπει τάλαντον Bacchyl. xvi. 25, *Agam.* 261; she was the personification of τὸ ἴσον, τὸ ἰσόρροπον, and the *inconnivens iustitiae oculus* (Amm. Marc. xxix. 2. 20), Δίκης ὀφθαλμός, πάνσκοπον ὄμμα Δίκης A.P. vii. 580, was an even commoner conception, so that an epithet applied to her, or to her servant Νέμεσις, was ἐπίσκοπος, Plat. *Legg.* 717 D, 872 E, Periclyona Stob. *Flor.* 79. 50. When therefore in *Cho.* 59 we find ῥοπή δ' ἐπισκοπεῖ Δίκας² ταχεῖα τοὺς³ μὲν ἐν φάει.... it is reasonable to see a combination of these two,—not a confusion, for ἐπισκοπή means ἐκδίκησις. Now in our latest editions there is no dream of either; Dr. Verrall thinks 'the figure suggested is that of a bird of prey,' while in Prof. Tucker's interpretation neither ῥοπή nor ἐπισκοπεῖ are even attributes of Δίκη: he retains the corrupted text δίκαν and explains it 'The turn of events looks to justice.' Further, Plutarch *de sera nuntinis vindicta* 22 p. 564 E relates how a ψυχή informed Aridaeus in his vision that Adrasteia, daughter of Ἀνάγκη and Zeus, employs three ministers to deal with three classes of offenders, none of whom escape; the first are punished in their flesh at once (εὐθὺς ἐν σώματι, ἐν τῷ βίῳ) by Ποινή ταχεῖα, with treatment comparatively mild; the second who require more drastic remedies, are handed over by ὁ δαίμων³ after death to Δίκη: while the utterly incurable, whom Δίκη quite rejects, are chased and worried by Erinyes, the most savage, till she has plunged them into utter darkness, ἡφάνισε καὶ κατέδυεν εἰς τὸ ἄρρητον καὶ ἄορατον. *Cho.* 59 is to this effect:

ῥοπή δ' ἐπισκοπεῖ Δίκας
ταχεῖα τοὺς μὲν ἐν φάει,
τὰ δ' ἐν μεταίχμιῳ σκότῳ
μένει χρονίζοντι⁴ βρύει,
τοὺς δ' ἄκρατος⁵ ἔχει νύξ.

'But the scale of Justice visiteth sinners either in the light of day, or else in twilight teems with wrath deferred, or else they are immersed in utter night.' The Twilight is the intermediate Purgatory between the light of life and the utter darkness of Hell: the longer punishment is deferred, the worse it grows, εἰ δὲ Δίκη σε παρπὸδα μὴ τιμωρὸς ἐτίματο, δις τὸσον αἰθὺς ἔσσειται ἐν πλεόνεσσι παλίσκοτος:⁶ hence implacable enemies prayed that the

² The reading of the schol.

³ Plat. *Phaedo* 107 D.

⁴ M. Schmidt; χρονίζουσα (Schuetz) or χρονίζοντα come to the same thing.

⁵ Schuetz for ἄκρατος.

⁶ Quoted by Suid. s.v. παρπὸδα.

¹ C.R., 1890 p. 105.

wicked might continue in their wickedness, and this is what Ἀτῆ suffers them to do in 66 sqq. I cannot think that any one who will compare the language of Aeschylus and Plutarch will deny that the three classes are the same in both; and when those two are considered together with the numerous Platonic passages upon the subject, it is reasonable to refer them all to a common Orphic or Pythagorean source. But for anything of this kind we shall look in vain to Mr. Tucker: religious or philosophical ideas which meant so much to Aeschylus have little interest for him; he is more at home in discussing the ἀναγνώρισις from Aristotle's point of view. His version of *Cho.* 59 is:

ῥοπή δ' ἐπισκοπεῖ δίκαν
ταχεία τοῖς μὲν ἐν φάει,
τὰ δ' ἐν μεταίχμιῳ σκότου
μένει χρονίζοντα βῆρει
τοὺς δ' ἄκραντος ἔχει νύξ.

which he explains to mean 'The fall of the scale looks to justice for its cue: where it *sees clearly*, the fall is swift; where it *dimly discerns*, it lingers ('βᾶρει i.e. in the falling scale'); where darkness quite conceals, it is baffled.' To say nothing of the Greek, the meaning, I submit, is ludicrous; the whole point is that Justice is never baffled, that the sinners never do escape; and indeed Mr. Tucker feels this should be so, but in his view it was superfluous to express it; you are to supply '(though the time of punishment will come after all)', and this rather important reservation, unexpressed, is to serve as a connection with the following sentence, 'the connection being "(punishment comes at last)", and'.—I quoted Plutarch's passage to explain the Aeschylean in the *Journal of Philology*, 1895, p. 313, but Mr. Tucker is not a reader of our English journals; my last paper in the *Classical Review* (May, 1900) was not available much more than a year before he dates his preface, and he is good enough to mention it with regret that it appeared too late for him to use; but other papers of mine he gives no sign of having seen.

He has made, however, excellent emendations in his time, and I should like to welcome two outside this play, προσέφατο in *Agam.* 770 and βάλλεται γὰρ ὅσσοις Διόθεν κάρανα (for κερανός) in 476. In the *Choeph.* the following seem to me the best of the new readings: on 811 πολλὰ δ' ἄλλα φανεί χρονίζων κρυπτά one schol., τὰ δὲ κρυπτά νῦν φανερώσει, is evidently written on φανεί or ἀμφανεῖ, but there is another, θέλων πολλὰ

κρυπτά εἰρίσκει, which T. points out is an explanation (it is the regular one) of ἀλφάνει. Which is genuine is another matter; either in itself might well be said of Hermes: here I am still inclined to think that ἀμφανεῖ is right, in opposition to the sentence following, especially since I suspect that ἐπιφορώματος should be ἐπεὶ τορώματος.—70 πόροι τε πάντες ἐκ μίας δοδῶ | <φοι>βαίνοντες τὸν | χερομυσῇ corresponding to αἰανὴς ἅτα | διαφέει, the καθαίροντες which follows now in 72 being a gloss; it is the regular explanatory word, as in the *Et. Mag.* 797. 6 (for φοιβαίνω is not preserved by Hesychius alone) παρὰ τὸ φοιβαῖναι, τὸ καθάσαι, ὡς τὸ 'φοιβανᾶτω δέ τις ἀσάμνθον'. The passage is too much mutilated for one to feel sure of this conjecture, but it gains probability with me from having occurred to two minds independently, for I have made the same proposal.¹—835 τὸν αἴτιον δ' ἐξαπόλλυε σπύρον 'utterly destroy the germ of guilt', for ἐξαπολλύσμορον, is the sort of sense I had been seeking, but I had thought of nothing better myself than ἐξαπόλλυν' ἱμερον.—692 καὶ νῦν Ὀρέστης—ἦν γὰρ εὐβούλως ἔχειν ἔξω νομίζων ὀλεθρίου πηλοῦ πόδα.—'And now Orestes . . . for he was fancying (ἦν νομίζων) that he was shrewdly keeping his foot out of the mire', where the vulgate is ἦν γὰρ εὐβούλως ἔχων ἔξω κομίζων (the schol.'s reading) . . . 'for he was in prudent case, in extricating his foot', as though it were εὐβουλος ἦν κομίζων . . . It is not easy to decide, but Mr. Tucker's view may very well be right.—196 ἀλλ' ἐν σαφ' ἦναι for εἶ.—415 θάρσaea (plural of θάρσος) where Turnebus' θρασεία is not admitted by the metre.—926 πατὴρ γὰρ αἶσα τόνδ' ἐσουρίζει μόρον 'Thy father's fate wafts events to this slaying'.—611 ἀλλα δ' ἦν τιν' ἐν λόγοις στυγεῖν, φονία σκύλαξ (a play on the name Σκύλλα) for ἀλλα δὴ τιν' . . . σκύλλαν is an ingenious notion, but will hardly be convincing until Mr. Tucker can produce a parallel to the expression ἦν τιν' ἐν λόγοις στυγεῖν, which he explains 'and there was another for (= to help) men to utter abhorrence'.—1017 οὕτως . . . διὰ πάντ' <ἀγ>άμτος ἀμείψει, μόχθος δ' ὁ μὲν αὐτίχ' ὁ δ' ἤξει: but μόχθος should be the antithesis to something like ἀνατος or ἀχειμος.—639 sqq. he interprets 'For unrighteousness doth not lie trodden under heel, and leave us to trespass with lawfulness on all that Zeus makes holy', reading τὸ πᾶν Διὸς σέβας παρεκβάντ' ἐὰ θεμίστως for παρεκβάντεσσι οὐ θεμίστως (altered from ἀθεμίστως). Surely Aeschylus would have said Righteousness, not unrighteousness. But

¹ *Camb. Univ. Reporter* Dec. 4, 1900.

παρεκβάντ' I suspect is part of the truth; my notion was 'But the sword of Justice wounds him that transgresses, trampled under foot, the holiness of Zeus and turns aside unto unrighteousness', *λὰς πέδοι πατούμενον τὸ πᾶν Διὸς σέβας παρεκβάντ' ἐς οὐ θεμιστά* (the last word having been supposed adverbial with *παρεκβάντες*, and glossed in the usual way by *ἀθεμίστως* or *οὐ θεμιστῶς*), like *A.P.* xvi. 243 *ἦν δὲ παρεκβαίης ἐς ἃ μὴ θέμις*.—In another place a conjecture of Mr. Tucker's helps, I think, towards the restoration of the true reading: 388 *τί γὰρ κεύθω φρέν'*, ὁ θεῖον ἔμπας ποτάται; (for *φρενοσθεῖον*) 'Why hide the heaven-sent presage—for 'tis none else—that visits me?' For several reasons I cannot think this right; they don't say *κεύθειν φρένα* but *ἐνὶ φρεσὶ, μὴ κεύθε νόψ, μὴ κεύθετ' ἔνδον καρδίας*; if we had *φρενί*, I could understand the grammar of it; but I do not see the force of *θεῖον* here: the Chorus cannot hide their hatred, but how is it a presage, and why should they ascribe their feeling to the inspiration of divinity? I had been trying, on account of the figure, to read *σεῖον*, and had thought of *φρένα σεῖον*: but this did not account for *φρενός*, and there was nothing for the neuter participle to agree with: *ΦΡΕΝΟΘΕΙΟΝ* will account for everything; *τί γὰρ κεύθω φρέν' ὁ σεῖον ἔμπας ποτάται*; 'for how can I hide what still keeps quivering my breast?'—442 *κλύειν*.—577 *ξύν' οὖν*.—569–71 *εἰ δ' οὖν ἀμείψω . . .*,

τάπερ ὁ Λοξίας ὁ Παρνασίος
μέγαν ἔχων μυχὸν χθονὸς ἐπωρθίαξ-
εν ἀδόλως δόλι' ἐν χρόνους
θεῖσ' ἄγαν ἐποίχεται.

5 κρατεῖ τῷδε πως τὸ θεῖον, παρὰ τὸ μὴ
6 ἱπουργεῖν κακὰ κακοῖς,
ἵσον δ' οὐρανοῦχον ἀρχὰν σέβειν.

In a piece of Paemonic and dochmiac 152—63 he introduces this, 157 *σέβας ὧ δέσποτα τὰξ ἀμυνρᾶς φρενός*, and alters the concluding line *σχέδιά τ' αὐτόκωπα*¹ *νωμῶν βέλη* (two dochmiacs) to *σχέδιά τ' αὐτόκωπα νομῶν* 'which, besides making the best sense, is more rhythmical.' *σχέδιά τ' αὐτόκωπα νομῶν* by itself is *epitrite*, which has no sort of relation to the rest. It is the same with a pair of epitrites introduced into cretic metre at 605 *πυρδαῖτιν<δὴ>πρόνοιαν*, where *οἷ* is 'demanded by the sense as well as by the metre.'

¹ This he explains in the old way, and accounts for *Κυκλικὰ βέλη* by the remark that 'the Scythian police (τοξόται) had been established at Athens from B.C. 480.' Possibly; but would Aeschylus make his Chorus cry for the police?

ἦ καὶ μολὼν ἔπειτά μοι κατὰ στόμα, 'But if I cross . . ., or should he afterwards come', would be better for a parallel to the construction and for some explanation of *ἔπειτα*.—So would 479 *χρεῖαν ἔχω φυγεῖν μέγαν πραθείσαν Αἰγίσθω <ψόγον>* 'To escape the great reproach—"Sold to Aegisthus!"' an ingenious thought, but we have only his word as yet that 'the accus. is the proper exegesis of *ψόγον*, i.e. *φυγεῖν μέγαν ψόγον, ὅτι ἐπράθην*.'

New interpretations that seem most worth mentioning are 601 *ἴστω δ' ὅστις οὐχ ὑπόπτερος φροντισὶν* not 'flighty' here but 'hedged with thought', i.e. quick of wit.—587 *πεδάιχμοι λαμπάδες πεδάμαροι* not 'meteors' but 'lightning'.—154 *πρὸς ἔνυμα τόδε κτέ*.

Many of the conjectures are out of court, because they are not metrical. Greek lyric metre cannot be learnt without an ear to start from, and an ear for metre is a gift from God; but to lack it is a misfortune especially in dealing with so great a lyric poet. I know one serious student of Aeschylus who refrains entirely from the lyrics on this ground; that perhaps is over-diffident, but it would certainly be more agreeable to have the lyrics in all the corruption of the MS. than as Mr. Tucker gives them. In the *Supplices* his one study was to equalize the corresponding lines, and that is still the only condition he seems conscious of; even that is not always successfully achieved; 952=963

τάχα δὲ παντελὴς χρόνος ἀμείψεται
πρόθυρα δωμαίων ὅταν ἀφ' ἐστίας
μύσος ἅπαν ἐλάσῃ καθαρ-
μοῖς ἀρὰν λυτήριον.

5 τύχαι δ' εὐπροσωποκοῦται τὸ πᾶν
6 ἰδεῖν ἀκοῦσαι τ' ἐρομένοις
μέτοικοι δόμων πρᾶσσονται πάλιν.

622 *πόνων, ἀκρῶσαι δεῖ δυσφιλὲς γαμή-*
= 630 *λόγῳ, γοῶται δ' ἀδήποθ' ἐν κατὰπτ-*
815 *καὶ τότ' ἤδη πῶν τὸν (οἱ πλοῦτον)*

δομάτων λυτήριον
790 *ἴσθι δ' ἀνδρὸς φίλον πῶλον εὐ-*
νιν ζυγύντ' ἐν ἄρματι
πημάτων ἐν οἱ δρόμῳ προστιθεῖς
μέτρον τὸ τις ἂν σφῆζόμενον ῥυθμὸν
θεῖτ' ἰδεῖν δι' ἅπεδον
ἀνομένων βαμάτων ὄρεγμα,

'And set thou before him such a measure to be run as one might shew a steady pace unbroken o'er the level,' which seems to me unintelligible in two languages, even with the explanation that the inserted *τὸ* in 793 '=*δ*' ('over which') the accus. of extent.' These will be enough to show what rhythm is

preserved in the sort of measure Mr. Tucker sets before us.

The method might with advantage have owed more to Prof. Jebb's example. Every one knows how carefully he deals with various opinions, and speaking for myself, it is very rarely that I do not acquiesce in his judicial summing-up. In Dr. Verrall and Prof. Tucker we have rather the special pleader than the judge; they seldom give us more than one side of the argument, and Mr. Tucker is very apt not to discuss or not to mention views that have been thought to have at least a reasonable case. For instance in 730 Αἰγισθὸν ἢ κρατοῦσα τοῖς ξένοις καλεῖν ἄνωγεν all critics except V. and T. now read τοῖς ξένοις 'The mistress (*Trach.* 405) bids call Aegisthus for the guests' (*Dr. Av.* 80 τὸν δεσπότην ἡμῖν κάλεσον, *Lys.* 701 τοῖσι παισὶ τὴν ἐταῖραν ἐκάλεσα, 871 σὺ δ' ἐμὲ τοῦτω μὴ κάλει, *Eur. El.* 499, 789), and think τοῖς ξένοις was an easy inadvertence for a scribe: neither V. nor T. quotes anything in favour of this reading, and T. ignores it, giving us his own conjecture ἢ κρατοῦσα τοῦ στέγους.—In 277 T. reads τὰ μὲν γὰρ ἐκ γῆς δυσφρόνων μελίγματα βροτοῖς πιφαύσκων εἶπε τὰς γενεῶν νόσους: neither V. nor T. mentions Lobbeck's *μηνίματα* which seems to me unquestionably right; T. does mention Hermann's *τάσδ' αἰνῶν νόσους*, 'The correction is technically good, but the word *αἰνῶν* is unconvincing and the general sense unsatisfactory.' On what grounds? I still believe it to be true, and my ignorance is not enlightened.—In 1038 we get a natural sentence if with Blomfield we transpose two lines, καὶ μαρτυρεῖν μὲν ὡς (or πῶς) ἐπορσύνθη κακά | τὰδ' ἐν χρόνῳ μοι πάντας 'Αργείους λέγω' ἐγὼ δέ... (μαρτυρεῖν μενέως MS): thus μὲν marks a contrast with ἐγὼ δέ, the pronoun, as T. observes, being antithetic to 'Αργείους. The antithesis however is with him no argument for μὲν, nor does he mention Blomfield's view, but reads τὰ δ' ἐν χρόνῳ μοι πάντας 'Αργείους λέγω καὶ μαρτυρεῖν μὴ νηλεῶς <πορεῖν μ' ὅσα ἐς τὴν τεκοῦσαν μέλει> ἐπορσύνθη κακά, 'And, as for that fell work

(τὰ δ'), let every Argive in time to come e'en bear me witness (καὶ μαρτυρεῖν) that I wrought it not ruthlessly.' And is that the defence which the witness of all Argos is to plead, 'He murdered his mother, it is true; but he was not ruthless'? Is not that rather in the style of Mr. Gilbert? Hitherto we have supposed with Cicero de *invent. rhet.* I. xii. 18 *Orestes, si accusetur matricidii, nisi hoc dicat 'Iure feci, illa enim patrem meum occiderat,' non habet defensionem.* The whole case turns on the question whether it was justifiable homicide, whether it was done δικαίως, *Eum.* 471, 615, 618; that is the plea that he himself desires a witness for (*Cho.* 985), nor so long as he retains his senses (1024) does he dream of any other.

Much of the originality is now displayed in championing long-exploded readings: 14 ἢ πατρὶ τῶμῳ τάσδ' ἐπεικάσας τύχῳ χῶας φερούσας νεπέροις μελίγμασιν; was corrected by Casanbon to μελίγματα, as *Pers.* 613 χῶας φέρονσ', ἅπερ νεκροῖσι μελικτήρια. Dr. Verrall maintains the MS. text, as meaning 'Shall I liken the bringing of offerings by these women to a subsequent (νεπέροις) propitiation of my father?' while Mr. Tucker takes νεπέροις μελίγμασιν in apposition to πατρὶ τῶμῳ, the plural implying 'one who is wont to be appeased.'—The corrected reading of 32 is τορὸς γὰρ ὀρθόθριξ φόβος δόμον ὀνειρόμαντις (ὁ σαφὴς φόβος δι' ὀνείρων μαντενόμενος schol.), to which Orestes refers in 928 ἢ κάρτα μάντις οὐξ ὀνειράτων φόβος. Since the terms describing this dream-terror are throughout the terms applied to prophecy, φοῖβος was an easy error for a scribe; Dr. Verrall keeps his version, τορὸς γὰρ Φοῖβος ὀρθόθριξ, but Mr. Tucker avoids the false quantity by reading τορὸς γε Φοῖβος ὀρθόθριξ (which would mean 'Phoebus was clear!'): Φοῖβος they hold stands for 'an inspiring power', 'divining spirit,' which it never does, and the word would be particularly inappropriate here, since terrifying dreams did not come from Phoebus but from his very opposite, the powers of Earth and Darkness. In 42 most people read with Elmsley

τοιάνδε¹ χάριν | ἀχάριτον | ἀπότροπον κακῶν
= 53 σέβας δ' ἄμαχον | ἀδάματον | ἀπόλεμον τὸ πρὶν

as *Phoen.* 1757 χάριν ἀχάριτον ἐς θεοὺς διδοῦσα. Mr. Tucker, prudently omitting this illustration which other commentators quote, says 'The reading ἀχάριτον is unhappy, weakening a form of antithesis much affected by the Greeks,' and inserts with Hartung δὲ after τοιάνδε, which is not in accordance

with Greek usage. Dr. Verrall scans ἀπότροπον, 'but it is altogether more probable,' says T., 'that ἀπότροπον exactly answers metrically to ἀπόλεμον.' Yet that is precisely the ground on which Elmsley's ἀχάριτον has been generally approved.—In 69 οἴγοντι δ' οὔτι νυμφικῶν ἐδωλίων ἄκος, the correction of Stephanus and Scaliger, θιγόντι, is accepted by every one except V. and T. It is a

¹ I think with Schuetz it ought to be τοιάνδε.

technical word in this connexion and has every other argument in its favour, the schol. (τῷ ἐπιβάντι νυμφικῆς κλίνης), the rhythm, the tense, and the construction; but 'θιγόντι,' says V., 'could scarcely be accepted even if it were given by the MS.'; T. follows; 'it is unsuited to ἐδωλίων'—as though ἀθικτος were not used in prose and verse alike of inviolable places—and reduces the contents of the expression.—In 404 other critics adopt the correction of Bamberger and Paley ποῖοι δᾶ, νερότων τυραννίδες (or ποιοῖ δᾶ), the same exclamation that Cassandra uses; V., keeping the MS. ποῖ ποῖ¹ δῆ, translates it '*How long then?*', T. '*Of what avail are . . . ?*' But ποῖ δῆ; means 'Where are you going?' ὦ φίλε Φαίδρε, ποῖ δῆ καὶ πόθεν; T. has curious notions of its meaning: 881 ποῖ Κλυταμῆστρα; 'Where has Clytemnestra gone to?' (as Ar. Eccl. 311) he translates '*What keepeth Clytemnestra?*' and 728 ποῖ δῆ πατεῖς . . . πύλας; '*How comest thou to set foot in the gates?*' That would be πῶς in Greek, not ποῖ.—In 534 ἀνῆλθον ἐκτυφλωθέντες σκότῳ λαμπτήρες other critics read ἀνῆλθον (αἶθω being regularly explained by λάμπω): no aorist-form of αἶθω was in use, but we have the imperfect in *Ajux* 286 λαμπτήρες οὐκέτ' ἦθον where also there is a *v.l.* ἤλθον. V. boldly says 'ἀνέλαμψαν was not written upon ἀνῆλθον,' and tells us that ἀνῆλθον means 'recovered their health,' an intransitive verb from the same root as ἀλθαίνω: T. thinks that lamps 'came up' like the sun from beneath the earth.—551 τοῖς δ' ἐν τι ποιεῖν τοὺς δὲ μὴ τι δρᾶν λέγων MS. and V., τοῖς δ' ἐν τι T.; τοὺς μὲν τι Stanley.—711 αἰνῶ δὲ πράσσειν ὡς ὑπευθύνῳ τάδε Turnebus; scholl. ὑποδίκω and ὡς δώσουσι δίκην (δίκας ὀφείλων schol. *Pers.* 213): ὡς ἐπευθύνῳ cod. M. and V., ὡς ἐπ' εὐθύνῳ T. (as cod. Guelf., which has the gloss ὑποδίκω).—738 ἦ δὲ κλίων ἐκείνος εὐφρανεῖ νόον, εὐτ' ἂν πύθηται μῦθον Robertelli; ἐκείνον MS., '*that cruel mind of his*' T.; 'ἐκείνον i.e. τὸν μῦθον' V.—841 ἄχθος αἰματοσταγῆς Portus; δειματοσταγῆς (ΔΙΜ for ΑΙΜ) MS., '*a drop-weight formidable to the old sore*' V., '*a burden dripping with dread*' T.—242 πιστὸς δ' ἀδελφὸς ἦσθ' ἐμοὶ σίβας φέρων μόνος κράτος τε καὶ δίκη . . . συγγενιστό μοι V. and T. with the MS.: 'τε and so, not to be joined with καὶ' V., but T. holds that 'The asyndeton and abrupt prayer impart a dramatic touch which is ruined by the prosaic conjecture

μόνον.'—451 τὰ μὲν γὰρ οὕτως ἔχει τὰ δ' αὐτὸς ὄργα μαθεῖν 'one bout hath ended thus: be stubborn to try the next.' ὄργα² does not mean 'be stubborn' (τόλμα, τλήθι, καρτέρει); it means 'be passionately desirous'; but little words that won't mean what they ought to mean must be made to mean it.—In 882 εἶκε νῦν αὐτῆς ἐπὶ ξυροῦ πέλας αὐχὴν πεσεῖσθαι πρὸς δίκην πεπληγμένους, if ἐπὶ ξυροῦ were genuine, we should have to understand εἶναι with εἶκεν and take the future πεσεῖσθαι as depending on ἐπὶ ξυροῦ (εἶναι): but the conjecture of Abresch, ἐπιξήνον πέλας, allows πεσεῖσθαι to depend on εἶκεν and makes everything quite plain. Mr. Tucker does not discuss this or any other conjecture, but from the MS. text obtains this meaning, '*Her own neck now, nigh to the razor's edge, bids fair to fall by rights beneath its stroke.*' Let Mr. Tucker try to strike any one's head off with a razor; he has more patience than I credit him with if he does not presently substitute an axe.

This ἐπιξήνον has been one of the small arguments in favour of the view that an axe was Clytemnestra's weapon. I am inclined to think that Aeschylus left it purposely to the imagination, and that elsewhere he has intentionally left external details vague; but Mr. Tucker, p. 263-6, differing from the opinion held by the late Mr. G. C. Warr,³ is positive that she used nothing but a sword. It may be so; but his evidence is only partial, and not always soundly treated; with regard to ἀμφιτόμῳ βελέμῳ for example in *Ag.* 1497 he argues that 'the insistence on the "double edge" agrees better with the notion of a thrusting sword. As applied to an axe the adjective would be otiose, since she could not turn the weapon round.' It would at least be no more otiose than in the many places where ἀμφίτομος and similar epithets describe an axe (βουπλήξ, πέλεκυς, δίρεννις).

His fidelity to the MS. is by no means proof, however, against over 60 conjectures of his own, some of which seduce him rather easily. In 1019 he rejects the correction ἀλλ' ὡς ἂν εἰδῇτ'—οὐ γὰρ οἶδ' ὅπῃ τελεῖ, in favour of ἀλλ' ὡς ἂν εἰδῇτ', οὐ γὰρ οἶδ' ὅπῃ τελεῖ ὥσπερ σὺν ἵπποις ἡνιοστρόφου δρόμον (sic) telling us that this accounts better for the MS. εἰ δὲ τοῦτ' ἄρ . . . In 805 sense and metre⁴ are restored by reading καὶ νιν ἐλευθερίως | λαμπρὸν ἰδεῖν φίλοις | ὅμασι <ν

¹ The corruption is of a common type, as παῖ παῖ for παπαῖ in Eur. *Alc.* 226.

² τὰ δ' αὐτὸς ὄργα M, but altered from αὐτοῖς: I still think it should be τὰ δ' αὐτὸς τις ὄργῃ μαθεῖν.

³ C. R. 1898 p. 348.

⁴ The same consecution as in *Supp.* 857-9=867-9, *Ag.* 993-5=1007-9.

ἐκ>δνοφερῶς καλύπτρας: but neither V. nor T. will have anything to say to this insertion; V. renders ἐλευθερίως—λαμπρὸν—καλύπτρας 'bright with liberation from the gloomy veil,' while T., retaining λαμπρῶς, holds that 'We can hardly retain ὄμμασι,' and so reads οἴμμασι, 'look brightly forth through kindly openings of the murky veil.' He had made the same alteration before in *Ag.* 525, ἧ που, πύλαι, παιδροῖσι τοισὶδ' οἴμμασι or τοῖς διοίμμασι δέξασθε, 'with your openings bright and cheerful'; the image apparently being such a smile as parts the face of Sir John Tenniel's Cheshire Cat.

For illustration he has put together what was collected by Blomfield, Paley, and others, and arrays it more agreeably in a literary dress. This is all to the good; but as in the *Supplices*, he contributes hardly any new, and is often at a loss where it was most required for language: e.g. for the use of πρὸς τὸ with infin. in 416 πρὸς τὸ φανίσαι καλῶς: for ἧ πῶς; in 763 'doubtless a conversational idiom'; doubtful, surely, until something like it can be found. 750 πρότω φρενός 'as well as we know how', 'in the style of one's judgement': this is also contrary to the order of the words, and so is 469 <οὐ>δῶμασιν ἔμμοτον τῶνδ' ἐκάς 'Except this way' (what way?) 'the house can find no stanching of its wound': that would be οὐ τῶνδ' ἄτερ ἔμμοτον δῶμασιν. He does not indeed insist quite so habitually as Dr. Verrall upon stressing the last word of a clause (the usual result of which is to italicise the least emphatic word), but he asserts it often. Greek is the opposite of English in this matter, and one of the consequences is that Greek can have a pause after an unemphatic word at the beginning of a verse, while English cannot.

In default of parallels Mr. Tucker seems to think—and I mention it because it is the way that schoolboys now are taught to think—that a construction is canonised when it has been labelled with a grammatical appellation. 724 should be, I think, τοῖσδ' ἐφορεῦσαι ξιφοδηλήτοιςιν ἀγῶσιν 'to act as ἐφόρος or ἐπόπτης (technical in this connexion, Poll. iii. 140) at this contest of the sword', exactly like the synonymous ἐποπτεῦσαι in 581 and 487. Mr. Tucker does not mention this reading of Heyse's, but understands the MS. ἐφοδεῦσαι (a purely prose word) to mean 'see to the watch on behalf of these encounters'. 'The dative is of behalf' is a formula which serves him to explain that difficult passage 319 χάριτες δ' ὁμοίως κέκληνται γῶος εὐκλείης προσθοδόμοις Ἀτρείδαις, which he renders 'When Atreidae stand before thy doors, is a lament of laud and honour still counted to

them for a deed of grace?' If doubts arise whether τοῦτο χάρις κέκληται αὐτοῖς could mean this, Mr. Tucker expects to quiet them by saying 'The dat. is of behalf: "Is it reckoned unto them?"' Again, in 565 the MS. gives us μενούμεν οὕτως ὥστ' ἐπεικάζειν τινὰ δόμοις παραστέχοντα καὶ τὰδ' ἐννέπειν Boissonade and Hermann reasonably thought it should be δόμοις, but Dr. Verrall takes δόμοις with ἐπεικάζειν 'conjecture at the house', and Mr. Tucker follows: 'δόμοις: dat. incomm. with ἐπεικάζειν directly, and indirectly with ἐπεικάζειν καὶ τὰδ' ἐννέπειν', translating it 'may make surmise and chide the house'.

So far as I see, there is no solecism which could not be defended on this plan; for example, τύπτω σοι I beat you, 'dativus incommodi'. But if a pupil were to offer that to Mr. Tucker, I believe—at least I hope—he would object. And why? Because the Greeks themselves happened always to say τύπτω σε. Exactly; the appeal would be at once to usage; did they speak this way or not?

He prints the Scholia at the end with notes, and has made a careful study of them which I am glad has not been fruitless; I have mentioned his recovery of a *v.l.* ἀλφάνει in 811. The note on μοι in 985 he refers to 975, reading ἐννώμοσάν μοι θάνατον ἀθλίως πατρί. I looked for some solution of 324 ἡ γνάθος συνήθης, ὥς ὁ κρημνὸς λέγει Πίνδαρος καὶ ἡ ἡχώ Σμυνίδης, but only find that it 'appears to be a note on genders'; I suspect it means 'as "the Rugged" says and "the Melodious."' T. suggests γναθὸς in the text. 842 οὐ παρακαλυφθέντι ἀλλ' αἰμνῆστω, which T. (p. xcvi) refers to ἐλκαίνοντι, was surely written on a *v.l.* δεδεγμένῳ (Abresch). 445 ἀφερκτος] κατὰκλειστος περὶ τὴν εἰρκτὴν he thinks points to the locative μνχοί, as though you could be shut up round about a prison; Abresch corrected it to κατὰκλειστος, παρὰ τὴν εἰρκτὴν. The value of scholia lies in their application, and here I cannot think that Mr. Tucker shows much tact: he has himself recovered from the scholia the reading ἀλφάνει and readily adopts it; but readings which other people have seen to be indicated by the scholia do not fare so fortunately (32, 59, 69, 250, 534, 645, 703, 711, 879). In 542 οὐφείσεσθαι σπαργανηπλείετο, like Conington and Paley, he observes the schol. ἐπιμελείας ἡξιοῦτο, and disregards it, because 'not much can be made of it,' reading οὔφει, ἃ παῖς ἄν, σπάργαν' ἡμφωπλίζετο, a picture rather of an embolstered Tweedledee than of a swaddled infant. His suggestions that the schol. on 350 may

have used the word *τηλωπόν*, and that *κτείνει* in 440 may have arisen from *θείναι* glossing *κτείνει* show that the dialect of scholia is still as much to learn as when he held that *μαινόλιν* and *ἀχέων* were glosses in the *Supplices*.

Elsewhere he appears too little sensitive to the difference between verse and prose; in 954 reading *ἐν χρόνους θέϊσα* to mean *χρόνους ἐμποιήσασα*, and in 687 suggesting *κατ' ἄκρας ἐνστάσεως πορθοῦμεθα*, a prose word in a novel sense, 'our last place of resistance'; printing however *εἶπας ὡς πορθοῦμεθα* which would mean 'you have stated that we are destroyed,' but in the sense 'your tale imports our ruin' is a usage I had pointed out has no support in Greek.¹ In 914 *διχῶς ἐπράθην ὦν ἐλευθέρου πατρός* he does not indeed, like Dr. Verrall, translate it as though it were *διπλῶς*, but *διχῶς* is a purely prose word of the prostest, most common in the language of grammar-

¹ The true reading, strange as it may look, I now believe to be M. Schmidt's *τηλεῶς*.

ians, *διχῶς*, *ἐξαχῶς*, *πολλαχῶς*, *λέγεται*, 'the word is used in 2, 6, many different senses;' and so far from Bothe's *αἰκῶς* being 'feeble' (V.), it seems to me to mark the point:—to be sold would be *οἰδὲν ἀεικὲς* for the slave-born; for the son of a free father it was *αἰκία*, a foul outrage.

While thinking, then, that in these 400 pages the professional scholar will not fail to find some gain, I also think that for a pupil there is a far larger balance of Aeschylus in the editions of Paley and Mr. Sidgwick, because for any step that Mr. Tucker has made forward he perversely makes so many backward. I do not think this work is worthy of him: perhaps too much Aristotle has allowed his natural instinct for the language to grow blunter; otherwise I cannot help feeling he must often do it violence. If he would foster it and give it freer play, I think he would do greater justice to his capabilities.

W. HEADLAM.

RECENT EDITIONS OF PLAYS OF ARISTOPHANES

1. *The Knights of Aristophanes*. Edited by R. A. NEIL. Cambridge, 1901. Pp. xiv. 229. 10s.
2. *Aristophanis Equites*. Cum prolegomenis et commentariis edidit J. VAN LEEUWEN, J. F. Lugduni Batavorum, MDCCCC. Pp. xviii. 246. 6 M.
3. *Aristophanis Acharnenses*. Cum prolegomenis et commentariis edidit J. VAN LEEUWEN, J. F. Lugduni Batavorum, MDCCCCI. Pp. xviii. 198. 5 M.
4. *The Comedies of Aristophanes*. Edited, translated, and explained by B. B. ROGERS. ix. The Frogs, x. The Ecclesiazusae. London: Bell & Sons. 1902. Pp. xlviii. 274 and xxxv. 238. Price 15s.

IN R. A. Neil Cambridge lost a true scholar. His premature death is also a real loss to the study of Aristophanes, for the book before us shows that he was in many ways admirably qualified for the work of a commentator on that fascinating but far from easy author. I should judge that Neil was not greatly interested in textual questions, for he dwells little on them and makes (I think), no valuable suggestion. Nor does his strength show itself in solving the riddle of very difficult passages and find-

ing a key to anything that has long been a mystery. It is to be found rather in two things. One is the care and the width of reading which he brings to bear on every ordinary point as it arises, calling the reader's attention to very many things that would probably escape him, and furnishing a neat and often convincing commentary on many little Aristophanic touches and matters of Attic life. The other is the nicety with which he often points out to us the proper sense, the special literary uses of individual words, helping us very greatly to take in their exact power and associations, a matter of extreme importance in the art of Aristophanes. A scholar of much ability and taste, with unusually wide interests and reading, who had for many years delighted in Attic comedy, sparing no pains in its study, and especially in the study of the *Knights*—this is the impression we carry away; and we regret that the knowledge and tact patiently acquired will not now be available for other plays.

Mr. Neil's death left his interesting Introduction apparently but half written, for about the *Knights* itself there is in it practically nothing. The notes however were virtually complete, and his two friends

(W. S. H. and L. W., Pembroke College, Cambridge), have had no occasion to add to them. If I miss anything in them, it is fuller statement and discussion of alternative readings and explanations. Mr. Neil is rather apt to limit himself too much to one view. An interesting feature of them is the occasional quotation of Shilleto's *adversaria*, hitherto as far as I know unpublished. It suggests the question whether, considering the great eminence of Shilleto as a scholar, some selection of notes from his own or his pupils' memoranda might not be made with gain and credit to English learning. It was implied above that the book offers few distinct novelties in text or interpretation, its characteristics being rather sobriety and thoroughness. I cannot say that the adoption of W. G. Clark's *βρετέρας* for *βρέτας* in 32, ascribed to 'nervousness and chattering of teeth' commends itself to me very much, nor in 21 Dr. Verrall's explanation of ὡδὶ ξυλλαβών, 'taking it' (the word μόλωμεν), 'as I do,' i.e. pronouncing not μόλωμεν but μολῶμεν, in anticipation of αὐτομολῶμεν which is coming. For one thing this seems to disregard ξυνεχές, of which the note offers no explanation at all. It is surely too much to suppose that in 203 ὁ Παφλαγῶν οὔτωσι means the real Cleon 'visible inside the house from the stage.' Again is Neil right in accepting the statement of lines 230-232 that Paphlagon (I am glad he calls him Paphlagon throughout), will not appear in a portrait-mask? This is the simple faith of most editors, but we are not always to take the comic poet at his word. I have always thought the exact opposite quite possible, as Mr. Van Leeuwen now points out that it is, namely that Paphlagon was one of the most speaking likenesses ever seen in the theatre of Dionysus. It is odd that, in mentioning here the old story that Aristophanes himself acted the part, Mr. Neil does not point out how the story is thought very plausibly to have arisen from the true statement that he brought out the play καθ' ἑαυτόν, in his own name. His explanation by the bye of this phrase where it occurs in 506, πειραθέντες καθ' ἑαυτούς is not more satisfactory than previous attempts to deal with it.¹

In his note on κωμωδοδιδάσκαλος and ποιη-

¹ Dr. Verrall's junction of καθ' ἑαυτούς with τοῖς ἀναπαίστοις, anapaests appearing in their own, i.e. the poet's own, name (this *Review* 16. 8) seems not only very forced but, as requiring <τοῖς> καθ' ἑαυτούς, impossible. Προσέχειν τὸν νοῦν τοῖς ἀναπαίστοις καθ' ἑαυτούς could surely mean nothing but 'attend to the parabasis in itself' i.e. think of nothing but the actual parabasis.

τής (507. 509) Neil misapprehends the words of Aristotle, οἱ λεγόμενοι αὐτῆς (i.e. τῆς κωμωδίας) ποιηταί, which imply no question whether comedy-writers are ποιηταί, but mean only *its list of poets*. In 536 he not only prefers παρὰ τῷ Διονύσῳ to παρὰ τῷ Διονύσῳ, but fails to give the explanation of the latter, which is the reading of all MSS., as meaning Dionysus' image placed in the theatre for the occasion. Is there not something in Blaydes' doubt whether the former reading would not at least require τῷ <τοῦ> Διονύσου? Are the editors, including Mr. Neil, justified in regarding the narrative (624-682) in which Agoracritus recounts the proceedings in the senate as burlesquing a tragic rhesis? If it were so, tragic rhythm would predominate throughout, and there would also be much mock-heroic language. In reality there is very little of either, and the speech does not to me suggest the narratives of tragedy at all, any more than (say) *Wasps* 85-135. It is only a lively story with a burlesque touch here and there. In 1130 ἄρας ἐπάταξα the general sense points clearly to making ἄρας mean 'raising my hand,' not 'hoisting him for a whipping. Why should Demos whip a προστάτης when gorged? He fells and despoils him. The note on 1112 brings δεδίασι κ.τ.λ. into relation with what Pericles and Cleon in Thucydides say (I would rather put it 'are made by Thucydides to say') about Athens being a τυραννίς. This ignores the distinction that in Thucydides the speakers are referring to the Athenian empire, while here it is mainly, if not exclusively, domestic dealings that are meant, as τὸν λέγοντα and other things show. πάντες ἄνθρωποι is hardly more than all Athenians.

It should be added that there are three excellent *excursus* at the end of the book; one a minute and instructive dissertation on the uses of γε: one on 'the political use of moral terms' (καλὸς κἀγαθός, ἀσφάλεια, σωφροσύνη, εἰνομία, ποιηρός and one or two more): and a third on tragic rhythm in comedy, which will make most readers of Aristophanes much more observant, if they bear it in mind.

Professor Van Leeuwen's two plays belong to the series in which he has already published *Clouds Wasps* and *Frogs*, and in which it is to be hoped that he will see his way to editing a complete Aristophanes. The *Acharnians* is an enlarged and Latinised revival of a small but useful edition with Dutch notes published in 1885. Both

volumes contain careful and very capable work. The critical part is better done than Mr. Neil's; the commentary contains less, though in its way excellent. The editor's mind is more open to novelties, and occasionally perhaps he is tempted into conjectures which are far from convincing. A few of the new suggestions may be set down here:

Ach. 46 οὐκ ἄρ' ἄστος for οὐκ ἄνθρωπος: 416 εὖ σοὶ μὲν εἴη for εὐδαιμονοίης: 504 καὶ ἐπὶ Ληναίω ἐστὶ νῦν for οὐτὶ Ληναίω τ' ἀγών: 717 σφαλῇ for φύγῃ: 1064 ποιητέ' ἐστί for ποιεῖτε τοῦτο: 1082 Γηρύνῳ τετραπτεῖ for Γηρύνῳ τετραπτῖλω: *Eg.* 220 χρόνοι τε συμβαίνουσι κατὰ τὸ Πυθικόν for χρησμοὶ τε συμβαίνουσι καὶ τὸ Πυθικόν: 325 τῆς Πυκνός for τῶν ῥητόρων *metri causa*: 555 ποντοπόροι for μισθοφόροι: 707 ἐπὶ τῷ μάλισθ' ἦδοιτ' ἄν for ἐπὶ τῷ φάγοις ἦδιστ' ἄν. One or two of these, e.g. the last in *Ach.*, are attractive, but most of them have no probability. In *Ach.* 541 I rather wonder that Mr. Van Leeuwen has abandoned the very plausible *εἰσπλεύσαν* (for *ἐκπλεύσας*) which appeared in his Dutch edition and has been conjectured independently by Dr. Blaydes. Keeping *τις ἐκπλεύσας σκάφει*, which he regards as a quotation from Euripides, he now reads *χρῆν' ἢ for φήνας* and suggests *ὑφέλετο* for *ἄπεδοτο*. It may be worth noting that he and Mr. Neil are agreed in thinking, as against the usual view, that at the end of the *Knights* there is nothing lost.

Mr. Van Leeuwen, like Mr. Neil, pays marked attention to Aristophanes' diction, and often calls our attention to a tragic or elevated expression which indicates parody, burlesque, or some other special purpose in the writer's mind. A novelty in notes is the division of them into three series or tiers, critical notes below the text, commentary below the critical notes, and below the commentary notes (mainly references) on the commentary itself. I am not sure that this refinement is to be commended. The volumes are admirably printed and most handsome in appearance, but so badly sewn that they split into fragments long before the reader has done with them.

All lovers of Aristophanes will welcome the appearance after a long interval of another volume from Mr. Rogers, containing this time two plays with commentary, copious critical notes, and, best of all, some more of his excellent verse translation; and our pleasure is increased when we learn that there is now every likelihood of his doing in this way the whole of the eleven plays. In

the present volume, as it happens, we have together what some will think the best and the weakest of the eleven. Certainly nothing of Aristophanes gives more pleasure than the *Frogs*. Whether the *Ecclesiazusae* falls below the *Peace* and the *Plutus* in comic force may be disputed, but the later part of it is at any rate somewhat repulsive reading. In dealing with this and other things in the plays Mr. Rogers has steered a judicious course, intermediate between offensive frankness and excessive delicacy. No one would wish that Aristophanes should be put into English verse just as he stands.

Mr. Rogers, like his original, is always at his best in the long lines, especially the long rolling anapaestic tetrameters; and this makes us regret, what he himself half apologises for, that he has not rendered into this sort of metre the corresponding parts of the *Ecclesiazusae*. Praxagora's communistic scheme would have gained a good deal in vigour and conviction by the change. On the other hand the famous passage of the *Frogs* in which Aeschylus sets forth his theory of tragic art is very well rendered, though I confess to thinking that certain passages of the *Wasps* are at present the high-water mark of Mr. Rogers' work.

Those who care less about the regular scholastic editions will find a good deal that is interesting, instructive, and judicious in the commentary. Mr. Rogers' judgment is always shrewd, and he has not read the poet all his life for nothing. In the *Frogs* for instance what he has to say about *μακάρων εὐωχίαν* (85) and the *καιὸν χρυσίον* (720), and at *Eccl.* 38 and elsewhere about the distribution of the women between stage and orchestra, &c., is very well worth attention. His argument that *ἐκεῖνος* in *Frogs*. 790 (*καὶ ἐκεῖνος ὑπεχώρησε κ.τ.λ.*) is Sophocles and his interpretation of *περὶ τῶν κρείων* (191) seem to me more disputable. In *Eccl.* 1090 again does not the point of the passage disappear, if *διαλελημμένον* only means 'in someone's grasp'? One person can *διαλαμβάνειν* another (*Knights* 262); whereas here the very point is that there are two. But both passages are difficult. He is certainly wrong in saying that *ἀγαθὸς ποιητής* (*Frogs* 84) cannot mean 'a good poet.'

Mr. Rogers, though as a rule very conservative, suggests a few alterations of the text. In the *Frogs* besides *περιπατεῖν* in 953 and *μελοφορεῖ* in 1301 (both of which I may perhaps say have occurred to me too) he suggests in 647 *ἔπτακον* (improbable, as

being poetical) and in 1028 τὸν θρῆνον ἀκούσας: in *Eccl.* 603 κἀν...ψευδορκήσῃ; 643 τὸν ἐκείνου: 802 ἦν δὲ κωλύσσει.

In the introduction to the *Eccl.* will be found an interesting argument to show that women were not present at comedies in

Aristophanes' time, and in that to the *Frogs* an able examination of the points which each of the two contending poets makes against the metres of his rival. The examination of 1261 to 1295 is particularly good.
HERBERT RICHARDS.

LODGE'S LEXICON PLAUTINUM I.

Lexicon Plautinum, conscripsit GONZALEZ LODGE. Vol. I, fasc. 1, A—ALIVS (Leipzig, Teubner, 1900). M. 7. 20.

THE appearance during the last two years of the first fascicles of two Plautine Lexica¹ indicates the progress of Plautine studies. Hitherto we have had to content ourselves with the *Lexica Plautina* of Pareus, published in 1634, and of Weise (Second Edition, 1886), both of which works, however useful in their own ways, are quite out of touch with modern criticism of the text. Nor was it possible before the publication of the *editio minor* of the text by Goetz and Schoell, which was commenced in 1893, to approach the task of writing an up to date lexicon of Plautus with any hope of success. The late Mr. J. H. Onions of Christ Church laid his hand to a Plautine lexicon in the early eighties, if I remember rightly; but he found the ground on which he had to work too insecure to proceed. Now the situation is changed, and we may hope to possess in the course of a few years not one but two lexica based on the results of modern Plautine scholarship. Not that the task is by any means an easy one even now. The text of Goetz and Schoell leaves countless passages unemended, and the writer of a lexicon has necessarily to rely largely upon the work of other editors, such as Leo. But it is, I believe, generally felt by Plautine scholars that the publication of a lexicon on the basis of the results hitherto attained will prove to be itself the best means of securing further progress in the future.

The work of Professor Lodge will therefore be welcomed by all editors and students of the text of Plautus. It is executed on scientific principles, and it must

have involved an amount of patient labour from which most scholars would shrink and for which they will be proportionately grateful to the author.

The method of basing such a work on the text of Goetz and Schoell alone was a weakness of the first fascicle of Professor Waltzing's lexicon, as he himself recognized in his Preface—a weakness which he apparently intends to remove. Professor Lodge has wisely decided to take account of all the chief editions of the present day. In another point, too, he has improved upon the work of his immediate predecessor; by means of a judicious economy of space he has kept down the size of his book as compared with Waltzing's, though it might have been still further reduced. Thus whereas Waltzing took up 151 pp. to cover the ground from *a* to *adeo*, Lodge gets this into about 46 pp.; on the other hand it must be remembered that Lodge's pages are larger and have somewhat smaller print (not too small however).

The strong and the weak points of such a work as this can be fully appreciated only after using it for a considerable time. But I will indicate a few points in the first fascicle which have struck me as open to improvement, though nothing would be more unfair than to expect in a book of this kind absolute immunity from error, and most of the defects which I have to point out will not seriously diminish its utility to students who understand how to use it aright. In the first place I am doubtful whether some of the matter might not have been abbreviated with advantage. For instance the heading III on p. 41 might have been greatly reduced by omissions: was it necessary to enumerate all the passages in which we find together with *ad* and the accusative another preposition with its case, etc? If this were to be done with every preposition (e.g. *ab*) it would swell

¹ The work under consideration and the *Lexique de Plaute* edited under the direction of Professor Waltzing of Liège (1900).

the book considerably and perhaps unnecessarily. Secondly I think that too much consideration is shown to conjectures which have had their day, and some of which ought to be buried and forgotten as soon as possible: e.g. on p. 9 under *abaeto* we find Schoell's baseless reading in Rud. 1243 solemnly quoted twice; on p. 42, under *adbuto*, his reading in Rud. 309; on p. 7 his reading in Cas. 935 (*ab ea*); on p. 13 Goetz' *picro's tu* in Mil. 438 (cf. under *adikos*, p. 48). On the other hand readings are sometimes marked as conjectures which are not such; e.g. on p. 39 *ad recuperatores*, Rud. 1282 (see CD), on p. 40 *ad uelitationem*, Rud. 525 (see A). I have a further bone to pick with Prof. Lodge about *abaeto*: why this spelling (inconsistent with *adbuto* and not supported by any of the MSS., except in one passage, Truc. 96, where B has the doubtful reading *abaetut*)? As for *abetis*, Bacch. 1172, that seems to be a misprint of Goetz and Schoell (for *abaetis*, Brugmann, or *abis*). At any rate there seems no reason why conjectural forms should not be marked with an asterisk,¹ under the heading of 'forma,' as they are under that of 'significatio.'

The following are passages in which improvements might be made under the head of 'significatio.' On p. 57 that rubric really contains nothing about the meaning of the word *adulescens*, but simply an enumeration of the passages in which its cases appear; nor is there much to say about meaning, except that the word is sometimes used without reference to age, just as the English 'old fellow,' 'old man' may be applied to one who is not old; cp. Most. 653, Rud. 941: and that it may be applied to a young woman (Mil. 966). On p. 82 *vi agis mecum*, Rud. 733, is not an instance of *agere* = *disputare*. On p. 41 under the rubric 'de tempore quo quicquam accidit' (which I suppose means 'relating to the time at which something happens'—read *aliquid* for *quicquam*), we find *ad annos sedecim*, Rud. 1422, but this phrase, whatever it may mean, cannot mean 'at sixteen years'; nor can *ad ludos Olympios* in Stich. 306 mean 'at the time of the Olympic games.'² It may be added

¹ E.g. *abitendi*, under *abaeto*, p. 9.

² As to the meaning of *ad ludos Olympios* Prof. Lodge does not seem to have made up his own mind;

that the rubric 'de tempore quousque actio continuatur' on p. 40 (last line) is not really adequate to some of the instances cited under it, e.g. *ad ravim* Aul. 336, *ad languorem*, Pseud. 216, etc. What we want is something like 'terminus ad quem'; in other words there is no essential difference between the instances cited here and those cited under C above (p. 39); the fact that some of the instances contain a noun denoting time (e.g. *ad uesperum*) makes no essential difference, or, if it does, then the rubric 'de tempore' ought to have been strictly limited to these instances.

I will add a brief reference to a few other passages in which there are mistakes or misprints: p. 19 *absentium*, Stich. 4, should not have the place of honour (P have *absentum*); p. 60 *aduorsus* does not occur 'post pron.' in Trin. 724, nor 'post subst.' in Poen. 725 (where it governs not *rem* but *leges*); p. 71 instances of the abl. and dat. of *aetas* are put under the heading 'nom. vel acc.'; p. 41 r, l. 19 Capt. 575 should be 573; p. 47, l. 25 *manum* should be *manus*; p. 31, l. 54 *quem* should be *quam*; p. 9, l. 4 the reference should have been to p. 8 of Brugmann's treatise. A slip of a more serious character occurs on p. 73, where *adfectam*, Rud. 418 is cited under *adfecto* instead of under *adfacio*, p. 75. On p. 83 under *age sis* might now be added Rud. 481 (as a conjecture, see my ed. min. of this play).

Possibly Prof. Lodge may be able to take account of some of the points of view indicated above in future fascicles; he will at any rate agree with me in wishing to secure that so laborious and important a book should make its appearance in as correct a form as possible. I should also have preferred to see the spellings *adfecto*, *adfero*, *adfutim*, *adpotus*, *adprime*, etc., which he adopts in the citations, reproduced in the headings under which these words are ranged (instead of *affecto*, *affero*, etc.). But it is too late now to consider this point.

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July 12th, 1902.

for he puts it under the head of 'vi finali' (2, b, p. 40) as well as under the head referred to above. The real meaning, I take it, is 'after the fashion of the Olympic games'; i.e. the instance ought to come under 'vi comparativa' (G, p. 40).

OGILVIE'S *HORAE LATINAE*.

Horae Latinae: Studies in Synonyms and Syntax. By the late ROBERT OGILVIE, M.A., LL.D. Edited by ALEXANDER SOUTER, M.A. Longmans, Green, & Co. 1901. Pp. xxiii. and 339. 12s. 6d. net.

In the British Isles, where classical composition is reputed to flourish, the theoretical study of synonyms has been neglected, and there is room for such a book as this. Dr. Ogilvie's work is clearly the outcome of long and loving studies in the best period of Latin prose—in Cicero, Caesar, Sallust, Nepos, and Livy. The results are here given in a series of about five hundred articles arranged in the alphabetical order of English words and expressions, e.g. honour, hope, horse, on horseback, host, hour, how. The method may best be shewn by an example. Under *Hope* first 'sperare' and 'optare' are distinguished, with four illustrations; then the constructions with the future infinitive, with 'posse' and 'velle,' with the present or the perfect infinitive, the use of 'ut spero' and 'non spero,' and the constructions of 'optare,' are explained and illustrated in turn; and the whole article takes up about a page and a half.

The faults of the book will appear from the following first harvest of criticisms on pages 1–100.

A or *an*.—The author seems to imply that 'he sold the book for a denar' *must* be translated by 'uno denario.' What of Cato's saying 'quod non opus est asse carum est'? The rule by which 'unum' is to be added to 'diem' but not to 'annum' is not absolute: see Cic. in Verr. ii. 52. 129 'eximi iubet non diem ex mense sed ex anno unum dimidiatumque mensem.' 'Here,' says Dr. Ogilvie, '*diem* is sufficiently defined by the context; besides, *non unum diem* would mean more than one day.' This is special pleading: there would have been no ambiguity of the kind. In the quotation from Livy xli. 28. 1 'unum' is omitted—a vital mistake. Cic. in Cat. iv. 11. 24 'habetis eum consulem qui parere non dubitet' is translated 'would not hesitate to obey.' In the quotation from Cic. de off. i. 27 the punctuation is at fault.

Abandon.—The distinction between 'desero' and 'destituo' is overdrawn. Cic. Phil. ii. 46. 118 'defendi rem publicam

adulescens, non deseram senex: contempsi Catilinae gladios, non pertimescam tuos.' Were the swords of Antony not a 'threatening' but only a 'possible' danger? Kühner on Tusc. ii. 14. 33 has chosen the better part: '*deserere est nostrum in Stiche lassen, ...idemque fere valet quod destituere.*'

Accompany.—The examples shew, what might have been said, that 'prosequi' means to see the last of a man.

Accuse.—'*Insimulare*' does not necessarily imply *false* accusation: see Cic. in Caecin. 1. 3, J. H. H. Schmidt, *Lat. u. gr. Synonymik*, § 10. 5.

Across.—The article might seem to be written and the examples chosen with a view to condemning, e.g. 'copias trans fluvium duxit.' But see Livy xxi. 26. 6 'omnibus ferme suis trans Rhodanum traiecit,' Cic. pro Quinct. 3. 12, etc.

After.—'When post quam and postea quam go with the subjunctive, it is for some collateral reason.' This neglects a considerable number of passages in Cicero: see Dräger, *Hist. Syntax*, ii. p. 591. 'Post is often omitted after an ablative of time, always after postero die, postridie.' 'Post' in some form precedes the 'quam' in all the examples given save Livy vi. 29: 'die vicensimo quam creatus erat.' This idiom does not seem to occur before Livy. On the other hand no notice is taken of the usage seen in Cic. pro Rosc. Am. 7. 20: 'quatrduo quo haec gesta sunt.'

Although.—'*Licet*...followed by the subjunctive with *ut* omitted = one may.' Is not this omission of 'ut' a figment? It may be remarked in passing that Lewis and Short's only instance of '*licet ut*,' Cic. p. Mur. 4. 8, is false: the 'ut' clause depends on '*est integrum*': see Heitland's note.

Angry.—In Sen. Dial. 3. 4, 'iracundus non potest aliquando iratus non esse,' the first 'non' should clearly be cut out.

Any.—Cic. ad Fam. iii. 10. 6: 'ubi cuiquam legationi fui impedimento?' It is rash to call this an example of a *masculine* form of 'quisquam' with a feminine substantive. Caes. b. c. iii. 73. 3: 'habendam Fortunae gratiam, quod Italiam sine aliquo vulnere cepissent.' This difficult use of the adjective should not be quoted (p. 22), or at least should be explained.

Appear.—Among the examples of change from the personal to the impersonal construction with '*videtur*' is Cic. Ac. ii. 23.

74: 'furere tibi Empedocles videtur, at mihi dignissimum rebus eis, de quibus loquitur.' Cicero could never have written this. Reference to an edition shews that 'sonitum fundere' is omitted after 'loquitur' and that the passage has no business here.

As.—Cic. ad Att. iv. 18. 4: 'id ego puto ut multa eiusdem ad nihil recasurum.' This use of 'ut' is out of place in a list of such things as Cic. Ac. ii. 31: 'homo acutus ut Poenus.'

As far as.—To quote here Cic. Brut. 68, 'quod scire possum' is an error in principle as well as in fact.

Assembly.—'Concilium, an assembly which accepts or refuses the proposals of one or more chief speakers; consilium, an assembly where each member gives his opinion.' 'Concilium' has no sense so special as this.

Attain.—The examples of 'persequi,' in both of which the word means 'enumerate,' are out of place.

Deny.—Cic. in Verr. iv (which should be v). 21. 52: 'dices frumentum Mamertinos non debere.' This illustrates neither 'nego' nor 'non dico,' and needs a note. In § 3 the personal construction with 'negor' should not be mentioned without a warning. It is never used by Caesar, and apparently once only by Cicero, p. Caecin. 15. 44, where it is palliated by the context.

Divide.—The rules for 'divido' and 'distribuo' need modification. No account is taken of such things as 'quadragena milia nummum in singulos iudices distributa' (Cic. p. Clu. 27. 74) or 'quos...circum familias conventus Campaniae...distribuit' (Caes. b. c. i. 14. 5). The reference to Livy xxi. 27 is wrong.

Drink.—This article must be corrected

from pp. 113–5 of the *Classical Review*. No allowance is made for the approximation of the meanings of 'bibo' and 'poto' in the continuous tenses, and 'potatum' is said to be 'used instead of bibitum.'

Each other.—No distinction is drawn between e.g. 'inter sese aspiciebant' (Cic. in Cat. iii. 5) and 'ingens certamen tribunis et inter se ipsos et cum consule fuit' (Livy xxxix. 39).

It should now be clear that scientific precision is not Dr. Ogilvie's strong point. But inaccuracy, and still more incompleteness, is to be pardoned in a work which covers so much ground as this. The worst fault of the book as a whole is the lack of a complete index of English words. If Dr. Ogilvie's principal object was, as the editor tells us, to aid the composer of Latin prose, it should be made easy for the composer of Latin prose to find the place where Dr. Ogilvie discusses each English word. The table of contents (pp. xix—xxiii) merely repeats the headings of the articles. Take for instance the word 'continuo.' If the composer wants a Latin word for 'necessarily,' what is to guide him to the article on 'continue'? If he wants a phrase for 'on purpose,' why should he look at 'diligence'? Dr. Ogilvie's articles in fact are arranged partly by English and partly by Latin groups, and his literary executors have not corrected this ambiguity.

Composers, and especially teachers of composition, will do well to buy this book; but it will not be easy to get all that is good out of it, and it will not be hard to get bad with the good.

E. HARRISON.

GREENIDGE'S ROMAN PUBLIC LIFE.

Roman Public Life. By A. H. J. GREENIDGE. London: Macmillan & Co. Pp. 451. 10s. 6d.

AN apology is due to the author for the delay, now of nearly ten months, in the review of this important work. Circumstances combined to defeat earlier endeavour, and the task was not to be perfunctory. Now, the impressions of an attentive perusal can be summed up in one sentence: this must for many years be the standard manual for English students of the subject. This

is not to say that Mr. Greenidge has been equally successful everywhere. In the sketch of the earliest rudiments of Roman society the author has not escaped the lamentable dullness which always seems to attend every attempt made since Niebuhr to handle that period. The burden of correlating the detached facts left after manifold sifting, crushes the life and interest from the section: and the manual becomes a catalogue. The last section of the book—the account of the officials under the Principate—comes perilously near the same fate, but here there

is sufficient definiteness and certainty to save the situation. Apart from these two sections—and in a second edition the author might well follow J. R. Green's example, and rewrite them, resolved to make them interesting—the whole work exhibits a satisfying combination of French clarity and German thoroughness. If we regret the old-fashioned easiness and breadth of treatment which allowed more discursive comparison with modern instances—only on his last page does the author permit himself a reference to the 'new oecumenical church' which arose to overshadow the Empire—yet we may accept with abundant satisfaction the clear presentment of cause and effect, of growth and atrophy, of conflict and reconciliation in the various elements of Roman government, the wealth of facts duly mentioned, and the copious references to the ultimate authorities. The student, doubtless, in present opinion, can supply modern analogies and contrasts for himself. Certainly he need no longer weary himself with foreign handbooks: until he embarks on authorship this book may suffice him.

It is unnecessary to analyse the book: suffice it to say that beginning with an account of Rome's earliest constitution, the author traces its growth from its primitive elements with its family organisation and monarchy, through the developed Republic to the Principate in Rome, Italy, and the Provinces.

Worthy of special commendation are the pages in which the author indicates the results of the struggle between the orders (pp. 128–131), and above all the chapter on the Senate in the developed Republic, which reveals a sureness of touch and an enthusiasm of interest that leave nothing to desire. Scarcely less stimulating is the chapter on the transition to the Principate: if Mr. Greenidge would leave nothing undone, he should, when the next edition is called for, devote a page to adumbrating the resemblances between that transition and the present instincts of our own people, and another to showing how the *consecratio capitis*, the power of the censors who performed the lustration, the distinction between election and the *lex curiata* find their counterparts in Christian excommunication, the struggles between King-Emperor and Church or Pope, and the distinction between the election and confirmation of bishops.

The maintenance of the Roman Senate at a normal strength of 600 by the annual addition of 20 ex-quaestors might with advantage be compared to the repletion of

the Areopagus from the ex-archons. The Roman life-expectation as it appears from these figures is all but identical with modern actuaries' tables; it is fair therefore to suppose that at Athens nearly the same was true. The Areopagus then, would be some 270 in number—a body large enough to supply several committees of 50 to try manslaughter cases at Phreatto, the Delphinium, and the Palladium. The name *ἐφέται* would thus find its explanation; while the sentence of Pollux, *κατεγέλασθη τὸ τῶν ἐφετῶν δικαστήριον* which has so exercised the student of Greek Antiquities, is nothing but an unverified echo, a confused recollection, from Thucydides iii. 83, *καὶ τὸ εὐθὺς καταγελασθὲν ἡφανίσθη*. (For the confusion *ἐφέτης* = *εὐθύης* through a late pronunciation of *υ* and *φ*, cf. the variants *ἐκκοφθήσεται* and *ἐκκαυθήσεται* in Plato, Rep. 361 E and Dr. Tucker's note.)

To increase the serviceability of the book, some obscurities might be removed in a second edition: p. 73, lines 4–6; p. 83 from 'The second power, on the other hand' (in p. 125, again, the use of the word 'formal' is far from clear);

p. 110, line 29, 'one of this character';

pp. 124, line 28, 126, line 13; (the author seems to waver as to the character of the Publilian law);

p. 136, lines 3–6 and note 1;

p. 159, line 21: (the difference between a *contio populi* and *plebis* is not kept clear);

p. 204, line 22, 'the appointment of a praetor';

p. 210, line 13, 'damage by wild beasts on the public roads';

p. 222, 'corporeal' and 'incorporeal';

p. 236, 'paucity of criminal judges';

p. 250, note 2, (Varro needs further consideration);

p. 409, line 18, ('since' is confusing. It seems a German substitution for 'after')

p. 410, note 7, (the subject of the sentence should be stated).

Occasionally we have inelegancies that are perhaps unnoticed misprints: p. 111, note 4, 'thus is described'; p. 259, last line, 'ferret out'; p. 264, 'to half complete'; p. 284, lines 15–16; p. 316, lines 21, 24, 'annex,' 'annexe'; p. 396, note 1, 'opposite.'

And, in some places, not merely questionable but improbable details need to be reconsidered.

p. 75, note 1, p. 79, note 2, see M. Bréal's *Semantics*, p. 111.

p. 95, ad fin. Evidence should be quoted.

p. 101, lines 4–7. The author is unnecessarily despondent. His suggestion, p. 102, lines 1–4 is clearly right. The object

of the change was to give weight to the independent peasants.

p. 105. The paraphrase of Tac, Ann. iii. 27, *finis aequi iuris* is shown to be wrong by Tacitus's next sentence.

p. 158, note 3. Was the plebiscitum merely to prevent a veto on the conferment by the Senate for one day of the imperium?

p. 177, line 6. Could the tribune use the intercession against the censor?

p. 177, last two lines. What is the evidence for this statement?

p. 210, note 7. (*quae iubet*.) Tyrrell interprets this law as referring to weights and measures (cf. p. 211, note 1).

p. 291, note 2. Insufficient weight seems to have been attached to the precise words of Polybius, *ἐπειδὴν ὁμόση δημοσίᾳ πίστει*. Livy describes this public oath only. In the author's translation of Polyb. 'only' might better be 'alone.'

p. 312, note 1. Appian's text should receive some further comment.

p. 350. No explanation occurs anywhere of the Papia-Poppaeian law.

p. 402. Are not all the authorities reconciled by distinguishing (1) *equites*, the class of *ingenui* who possessed the equestrian census and (2) *equites equo publico*? Freedmen, possessed of the census, tried to foist themselves into the first class, and to assume the gold ring which indicated that the wearer was not only wealthy, but *ingenius*.

Two matters Mr. Greenidge hardly seems to have probed sufficiently, the early forms of testament, and the Servian divisions (p. 70).

As to the first, a careful consideration of Gaius and the other authorities shows that *in procinctu* referred originally to the gathering in the Campus Martius prepara-

tory to marching out to battle: as campaigns extended, and armies marched further afield, the testamentary power extended also; a soldier sent to Spain might not anticipate fighting when he left Rome, and made his will *in procinctu* on discovering in Spain that battle was imminent. Again, reflexion shows that a testament made *calatis comitiis* would be in favour of an adopted heir before it was used to favour one or other of the testator's natural heirs; for since this testament was made in time of peace, the testator could, had he so wished, himself in his lifetime have made disposition of his property to some extent.

Of mere misprints there are not many: p. 60, note 2 (2 accents); p. 61, note 5, add 'cf. p. 77, note 2.'; p. 81, note 1 (*τῶ*); p. 156, note 2 (*erga duces*); p. 160, note 4 after 'see p. 61' add 'and p. 77, note 2.'; p. 169, note 7 (accent); p. 174, note 8 (*iret*); p. 186, note 5 (accent); p. 222, note 4 (*eorum*); p. 223, note 2 (*humillimorum*); p. 244, note 5 (accent); p. 253, note 2, the reading <equitum> before 'ita' should be mentioned; p. 257, note 2, p. 164 sqq.; p. 259, note 7, *apparitores*; p. 280, note 1 (*iudicaverat*); p. 286, note 4 (*τῶ*); p. 303, note 1 (*condicionis*): so p. 400, note 1; p. 320, note 2 after p. 231 add 'and p. 321'; p. 349, note 3 (*comitiis*); p. 351, note 7. The usual reference X. 8 should also be given for Pliny's letter. Is 'vacent' correct? p. 353, note 4 (accents); p. 370, note 6 (*tribunus*); p. 372, note 4 (accent); p. 392, line 7 (*retractatio*, note 4 (plus); p. 393, note 1 (*liberetur*?); p. 400, note 6 (accent); 418, note 1; 430, note 3; p. 418, note 4 (*Britanniae*?).

T. NICKLIN.

BRENNAN'S TRANSLATIONS INTO LATIN VERSE.

Terra Paterna Vale. By the Rev. N. J. BRENNAN, C. S. Sp., B.A., President of Rockwell College, Dublin, Gill and Son. 1901. Pp. 8, 158. 2s.

THE appearance of Father Brennan's *Terra Paterna Vale* is noteworthy in more ways than one. The motive for its present publication, assigned in the preface as 'the prominence now given to the study of Latin verse in the new programme of Irish Intermediate education,' the devotion which it shows to a poet who was probably never less

read than he is in England to-day, and the freedom of its Latinity and versification, which indeed takes liberties not permitted to the stricter school of modern composers, are all interesting features.

A translation of a whole poem or a complete section of one, such as Merivale's of *Hyperion* and Lyttelton's of *Comus*, ought not to be judged by the same standard as the versions of shorter extracts carefully selected by their translators. In a long modern composition there must be much which defies translation and where the

amount of the failure is the only gauge of success. Allowing for this and for the difference of ideal already referred to, Father Brennan may be said to have produced a version which is somewhat more than meritorious. We may doubt if the stanzas of Childe Harold are readily translatable into Latin heroics. But what metre would have been more appropriate? Father Brennan is a faithful translator, and so the sombre sameness of the original is reflected in the version.

I quote one of the most successful of his renderings, the 19th Stanza, which will give an idea of the task and its performance :

The horrid crags, by toppling convent
crown'd,
The cork-trees hoar that clothe the shaggy
steep,
The mountain-moss by scorching skies
imbrown'd,
The sunken glen, whose sunless shrubs
must weep,
The tender azure of the unruffled deep,
The orange tints that gild the greenest
bough,
The torrents that from cliff to valley leap,
The vine on high, the willow branch below,
Mix'd in one mighty scene, with varied
beauty glow.

Horrida saxa quibus dominans supereminet
aedes,

canaque quae praeceps abruptum subera
velant,
montanus rapidis muscus fulgoribus ustus,
saltus, ubi sudant frutices sine sole, profundus,
caeruleum placidi purum sine momine ponti,
quique color ramos viridantes flavus inaurat,
spumeus in vallem saliens de rupibus
amnis,
infra lenta salix, supra vindemia pinguis,
conspectu grandi vario splendore coruscant.

Father Brennan's elegiacs and lyrics are inferior to his hexameters. But one of his pentameters deserves quoting for itself

dira lues vitae mens memor ipsa sui.

It is in my judgment much superior to the original

'The blight of life—the Demon Thought.'

The author asks for corrections of mistakes : I have noticed *vidēretur, caeli* (plural), *peredit* (ind. pres., see *C.R.* March 1902, p. 110), *rudens* for 'shrieking,' *diffugiens* of a single person.

The booklet includes a few original poems in Latin which, especially one dealing with a football match in the Vale of Clonmel, suggest that their author might turn his thoughts to the Hoeufftian competitions.

J. P. P.

PERRY'S *SANCTA PAULA*.

Sancta Paula; a Romance of the Fourth Century, A.D. By WALTER COPLAND PERRY. London: Swan Sonnenschein and Co., 1902. 6s.

WHAT reception this book will receive from the general public we may see by and bye. In the meantime one may be permitted to doubt whether it will be popular. The author has amassed an immense quantity of facts bearing on the fourth century, and works them into his story, or, more truly, twines his story through them, with great enthusiasm. Unfortunately, his knowledge is hardly accurate enough to make his book a work of reference, nor is his story strong enough to wear its weight of learning like a flower.

The author, running short of authorities, has tried to patch the fourth century with the Augustan period in a most disconcerting

way. Paula's maids all come out of Horace, Chloe, Pyrrha, Leuconoe, Canidia, and so forth, and seem uncertain to which period they belong. Canidia, for example, dabbles in magic—not without reminiscences of Horace's *Satires*. Neaera becomes the *agapeta* of a priest. One of Paula's suitors is Telephus. After Paula's marriage (on the lines of the Prayer Book), an Anacreontic ode is sung on her arrival at home (p. 85). (It is a little surprising to find so much Greek in Rome at the time.) Toxotius is hailed in the streets—'*Ave! Ave! clarus Anchisae Venerisque sanguis*' (p. 79). We know from Ammianus and Jerome what sort of things the Roman mob did call out (*per te ille discat*, for example), but Horace was surely not so familiar. The 'staid Christian widow, Corinna' (p. 137), and the 'rich Marcus Croesus (not the triumvir)' (p. 7) are also a little astonishing. Then we hear a

good deal in the novel of the Emperor Valentinian being at Rome. History seems to show that he never was there. Nor was Ausonius. Claudian too seems not to have appeared in Rome till about a quarter of a century after Mr. Perry's characters quote him. Indeed I am not clear that Valentinian was even Emperor at all when Paula married. Let the author have the benefit of the doubt.

Ammianus laughs at the Roman fancy for new-fangled names, citing or inventing Reburus. Cinara (one of Paula's Horatian maids) points out Marius Maecius Maemius Furius Balburius Caecilianus Placidus, who is happily shortened to 'Marius Maecius etcetera.' The menu at the marriage suggests the first rather than the fourth century. Mr. Perry quotes Macrobius on fourth century feasting, so that it is odd that Paula's family should go back to the Satirists. It is indeed a 'dubious feast' (p. 91). The 'ball' too, is rather indeterminate; is it British, or does it lean to Herodias' daughter

and the *ambubaiae*? I do not think either would have won Damasus' blessing. 'Patrician' is a word of various meanings—it means one thing in early Roman history, another in Gibbon, and a third—let us say—in Disraeli; what it means in this book, I do not know. Nor do I know any authority for the statement (p. 15) that the 'common herd of plebeians,' the '*colluvies gentium*,' 'could still bestow consulships, provinces, and legions.' Nor am I clear as to Toxotius' real feelings when his wife 'put off the *toga praetextata* of maidenhood and assumed the *toga recta* of the married woman' (p. 99).

Turning to the other side of the book, one may ask, will it do as a novel? It is full of Latin quotations—odd enough, some of them ('all the various noises that went to make up the *strepitumque Romae*' p. 78)—and I incline to think that these will militate against its success with any class of readers to whom the character-drawing and dialogue might appeal.

T. R. GLOVER.

CORRESPONDENCE.

LATIN AND THE UNIVERSITY OF BIRMINGHAM.

'LATIN [it is true] is an optional subject for matriculation at the University last founded in England.' This statement, made in the July number of the *Classical Review* of the present year, though true so far as it goes, nevertheless requires to be supplemented, if it is to represent accurately the situation in the University of Birmingham. Latin is an optional subject for matriculation in the Faculties of Science and Commerce at Birmingham, but not for matriculation in the Faculties of Arts and Medicine. In other words, Arts students and Medical students must pass in Latin at the Birmingham matriculation examination, but Science and Commerce students need not. The Birmingham solution of the question of Latin at the matriculation depends, therefore, on faculty differentiation; what is requisite as a preparation for a University course in one line of study is not, it is held, necessarily requisite for all lines of study. And in basing its scheme on the requirements of the several Faculties of the University, Birmingham at the same time recognises that there exist and should exist many different types of schools from which the

University may hope to draw students. At the recent matriculation examination, however, of 115 candidates over 100 offered Latin as one of their two foreign languages.

A word may be added on the character of the examination in Latin at the Birmingham matriculation. Each candidate has to offer a set book chosen by himself (subject to the approval of the University); but the examination on this set book is conducted *viva voce*. The written examination is limited to translation at sight, grammar, and composition. In this way, it is hoped, the difficulties connected with set books may be to some extent avoided; though, at the same time, the University has to face the new difficulty of examining all candidates *viva voce*—a difficulty which in the case of a University with a very large number of candidates for matriculation might prove insurmountable. But at any rate the Birmingham method of dealing with this question avoids embarrassing schools by prescribing a single book which they must all read, however unsuitable it may happen to be to the class in which it is studied; and it also avoids the peril of abolishing set

books altogether and so jeopardizing the literary element in classical study. The passages set for unseen translation are not all of them taken from classical authors. By setting (among other passages) one which has been specially written for the purpose of the examination, it is possible to provide a really easy piece of Latin, failure to translate which implies ignorance of the very elements of the language; and such passages may moreover be multiplied *ad infinitum*, so that there will be no difficulty in providing easy passages which are 'unseen' in fact as well as in name; whereas, if unseens had always to be taken from classical authors the stock of really easy passages would ultimately become exhausted, as was pointed out in the *Classical Review*. No doubt many scholars object to modern Latin, even though written in a classical style; but they may be willing to waive their objections in view of the positive advantage possessed by passages written or

adapted *ad hoc*—viz. simplicity or just such a degree of difficulty as is desired for the purpose of the examination.

E. A. SONNENSCHIEIN.

[We gladly insert Professor Sonnenschien's interesting communication. The remarks, however, which are quoted at the beginning of his letter were not intended to be a complete definition of the place of Latin in the matriculation scheme of Birmingham University, for which purpose they were of course inadequate, but to serve as part of a proof that the ancient languages were losing their commanding position of former days.

Since they were written, there have been more signs of the times. Latin is no longer a compulsory subject for cadetships in the Royal Navy, and Oxford is to be asked in the present term to make Greek optional in Responsions.—ED. C. R.]

ARCHAEOLOGY.

THE GOLDEN BOUGH AND THE REX NEMORENSIS.

The Golden Bough. A Study in Magic and Religion. By J. G. FRAZER, D.C.L., LL.D., Litt.D. Second Edition, revised and enlarged. Vols. I.—III. Macmillan & Co. 1900. 36s. net.

DR. FRAZER'S *Golden Bough* has grown apace. It now extends over three octavo volumes instead of the previous two. Nor is this all; for the thinnest of the new volumes is thicker than either of the old, and they are printed in a slightly smaller type with forty lines to a page instead of thirty-four. The second edition of the book is in fact considerably more than twice the size of the first. It may be worth while to suggest that, if a third edition is needed (and it will be), the long lists of customs and ceremonies on which the author bases his conclusions should be given, say, in brevier while the conclusions themselves are stated, as at present, in small pica. This would be doubly advantageous. It would save space. And it would enable—I will not say, the casual reader to skim the book—but the student, when he re-reads it, to pick out more readily the main lines of the argument.

Again, it is to be hoped that a future edition will be illustrated throughout. Illustrations in any work dealing with anthropological or ethnological questions are of real importance—a fact long since appreciated by the publishers of such periodicals as the *Zeitschrift des Vereins für Volkskunde* or *L'Anthropologie* or the *Journal of the Anthropological Institute*. Nor would it be difficult to get together typical representations of the various customs described in Dr. Frazer's work. Anthropologists and ethnologists rely for the most part on data supplied by ethnographers; and ethnographical books are nowadays almost always illustrated. Besides, folk-lore collections are springing up everywhere: museums, public and private, abound in objects of interest to the student of comparative religion. To give but a single instance—the one nearest to hand—our Cambridge Archaeological Museum possesses an interesting series of corn-mothers and corn-babies, including a beautifully plaited specimen from Greece originally obtained by Mr. W. H. D. Rouse¹ and deposited by the Folk Lore Society in 1898, and a 'harvest-maiden' from Perth presented by Dr.

¹ See Mr. Rouse's remarks in *Folk-Lore* vii. 147 and in his *Gk. Votive Offerings* p. 50, n. 1.

Frazer himself in 1889: several of these might well be photographed to illustrate vol. ii. p. 171 ff. of *The Golden Bough*. Our local collection has also a *corp-chrè* from Islay, Scotland, stuck full of pins, and a lemon and potato from Naples fairly bristling with pins and nails (cp. vol. i. p. 17f.); not to mention various samples of magical knots, etc. (vol. i. p. 392 ff.). As it is, Dr. Frazer has been content with two illustrations—a spray of mistletoe designed for the cover by the late Prof. J. H. Middleton, and the frontispiece, a reproduction of Turner's 'Golden Bough.' Both of these are beautiful rather than useful.

Passing from externals to internals, we note that the main plan of the work remains unaltered. It is still an attempt to account for the ritual of Diana Nemorensis by a thorough-going investigation of those principles, and those principles only, that bear upon her cult as conceived by the author. Failure to recognize Dr. Frazer's self-imposed limits has led to a good deal of misunderstanding. It has been widely thought by inattentive readers that tree-worship was here offered as a master-key before which all the manifold chambers of mythology would fly open. Occasionally even an attentive reader has made the same mistake. Mr. Andrew Lang (*Magic and Religion* p. 205f.) remarks: 'Mythology has been of late emancipated from the universal dominion of the sun, but only to fall under that of gods of vegetation, whether of vegetable life at large, or of the corn spirit and the oak spirit in particular.' He enumerates twenty or more gods and demi-gods who have got 'mixed up with plant life' in the *Golden Bough*. But of those that he mentions some are undoubtedly connected with vegetation (e.g. Demeter, Dionysus, Jack-in-the-Green) and others have claims that can hardly be denied (e.g. Adonis, Attis, Linus, Lityerses, Tammuz). There remain certain cases in which Dr. Frazer may or may not have worked his hypothesis too hard: these require individual criticism, not wholesale condemnation. And if in any instance such criticism should disprove the alleged vegetable affinities, Dr. Frazer would be the first to retract his view. This, at least, is his attitude, if we may judge from his own

words. In the Preface to his first edition (p. vii.) he wrote: 'Now that the theory, which necessarily presented itself to me at first in outline, has been worked out in detail, I cannot but feel that in some places I may have pushed it too far. If this should prove to have been the case, I will readily acknowledge and retract my error as soon as it is brought home to me. Meantime my essay may serve its purpose as a first attempt to solve a difficult problem, and to bring a variety of scattered facts into some sort of order and system.' But, even if Dr. Frazer has in some cases pushed his theory too far (and I shall later on try to show that he has), that is no reason for assigning him to a 'new school of mythology,' still less for speaking contemptuously of his 'Covent Garden' propensities. One would have thought that a sufficient protest had been entered by Dr. Frazer himself, at any rate in the Preface to his second edition, where he says (p. xvii.): 'No one can well be more sensible than I am of the immense variety and complexity of the forces which have gone towards the building up of religion; no one can recognize more frankly the futility and inherent absurdity of any attempt to explain the whole vast organism as the product of any one simple factor. If I have hitherto touched, as I am quite aware, only the fringe of a great subject—fingered only a few of the countless threads that compose the mighty web,—it is merely because neither my time nor my knowledge has hitherto allowed me to do more. Should I live to complete the works for which I have collected and am collecting materials, I dare to think that they will clear me of any suspicion of treating the early history of religion from a single narrow point of view.' After this we have no right to suggest that *der Baumkultus* is to Dr. Frazer what the sun was to Signor de Gubernatis, or allegorical science to Messrs. Fitz Simon, or any other *nostrum* to any other *nos*.

But, while fully recognizing that Dr. Frazer is not a man of one idea, we may be permitted to doubt whether he has hit upon the best method for expressing his views. He takes a particular priesthood as his theme and finds that, in order to solve the problems by which it is beset, he must first discuss certain large and comprehensive questions—the relation between Magic and Religion, Incarnate Gods, Tree-worship, Animal-worship, Taboo, Primitive conceptions of the Soul, &c., &c. This discussion, which occupies ninety-nine per cent. of his pages, enables him ultimately to arrive at a more or

¹ Both, to speak the truth, have suffered somewhat in the second edition. The mistletoe was more effective as originally issued, without a framework of horizontal lines. And the autotype of Turner's picture is poor in comparison with the former impression, the plate presumably being worn.

less probable hypothesis with regard to the cult that formed his point of departure. Now there is doubtless something to be said in favour of the method here employed. Like the biographical treatment of history, it enlists our sympathies at the outset in an individual case, and from first to last exhibits the formative influence of general tendencies on a special career. We get a concrete example of abstract principles and are interested accordingly. But the wise historian will not dilate on political and social movements at such a length that we forget the personality of his hero. If he has so much to say on the life of the period he will write a general history, not a biography at all. And, in my opinion, Dr. Frazer would have been well advised to recast his materials in a wider mould, or even to reserve them for that 'general work on primitive superstition and religion,' which, he tells us (Pref. to first ed. p. vii), he has for some time past been preparing. He would thus have avoided the aesthetic error of disproportion. It may be said that science is exempt from artistic criticism. But Dr. Frazer virtually invites it. He is an artist in words as well as a scientist in thought—witness many passages in his great edition of Pausanias—and he does his best to relieve a long and erudite task by stylistic grace, *musaeo contingens cuncta lepore*. But the very beauty of his opening and closing pages heightens our sense of incongruity: we mentally contrast the sympathetic and imaginative paragraphs on Nemi with the dry and voluminous catalogues of fact by which they are separated. For, unlike the author of the book of Job, Dr. Frazer writes his prologue and epilogue in poetry, his intervening scenes in prose.

There is another and a more serious objection to the present form of the *Golden Bough*. Dr. Frazer's explanation of the Arician cult cannot be regarded as certainly correct. At best it is a hypothesis that fits the facts. But if at any time a more convincing hypothesis should be propounded (and the case is quite conceivable), then the collapse of Dr. Frazer's framework might discredit the remainder of his fabric. This would of course be unfair; but it is not in human nature to read the sermon if the preacher misinterprets the text. Since the publication of Dr. Frazer's second edition more than one rival hypothesis has actually been put forward. If these or others like them should find acceptance, many collections of solid facts and not a few brilliant combinations of the same would run the risk of being

neglected. It is surely a pity that real gems should be jeopardised on account of the uncertain value of their setting.

Since, however, Dr. Frazer has deliberately chosen to set forth his views in the form of a commentary on the Arician priesthood, we must follow his order and deal first with the particular cult and then with the larger questions involved in it.

In vol. i., pp. 1-6, Dr. Frazer records 'the few facts and legends which have come down to us' with regard to the cult at Nemi. This record is fairly complete: but, considering the length at which the subject is to be treated, we expect it to be exhaustive. Yet some pieces of evidence do not appear till later on in the book, while others are not mentioned at all. As to the former, the important fact that the cult was the common cult of a Latin league only appears at p. 232, and sundry details concerning Hippolytus are relegated to vol. ii. p. 315, n. 2. As to the latter, Dr. Frazer might have traced the worship of Diana Nemorensis further both in space and in time: others, at least, have succeeded in so doing.

Professor G. Wissowa in his *Religion u. Kultus der Römer*, p. 200 f., has recently pointed out that the cult of Diana at Rome in many respects reproduced the cult of Diana at Nemi. Corresponding to the sacred precinct of Diana Nemorensis was the far-famed *aedes Dianae in Aventino*. Each of the two was the religious centre of a Latin federation: the Arician amphiktionyn comprised Tusculum, Aricia, Lanuvium, Laurentum, Cora, Tibur, Pometia, and Ardea, as we gather from a fragment of Cato (*ap. Prisc. iv.*, p. 129 H., *cp. ibid. vii.*, p. 337 H.); the Aventine temple is called by Varro (*de ling. lat. 5. 43*) 'commune Latinorum Dianae templum.' The 'Lucus Dianius' at Nemi was said to have been consecrated by the Latin dictator Egerius Laevius of Tusculum (Cato, *loc. cit.*), or by a Manius Egerius (Fest. p. 145 Müller): the temple of Diana on the Aventine was, according to tradition, founded by Servius Tullius (Liv. 1. 45, Dion. Hal. 4.26, Zonar. 7.9, Aur. Vict. *vir. ill.* 7.9). The festival of Diana at Nemi in all probability fell on the Ides of August (Stat. *silv.* iii. 1. 59 f., Mart. xii. 67. 2).¹ That of Diana at Rome did so too (see Mommsen

¹ These passages are not quite conclusive, as Dr. Frazer remarks in vol. i. p. 5 n. 2. But they are strongly supported by the fact that at Lanuvium Aug. 13 was the 'natalis Dianae' (*C.I.L.* xiv. 2112 i. 5, ii. 12): see Wissowa *op. cit.* p. 201 n. 1. *Cp.* too Prof. J. Rendel Harris on Aug. 13 as the date of the festival of S. Hippolytus: see below.

in *C.I.L.* i.² p. 325). Through the sacred wood of Diana Nemorensis flowed a stream on whose banks the nymph Egeria was worshipped (Strab. 5. 239): the same divinity had a cult in the grove of the Camenae under the Aventine (Plut. *Num.* 13, Liv. i. 21, 3, Juv. 3. 11 ff.) To Egeria 'sacrificabant praegnantes, quod eam putabant facile conceptam alvum egerere' (Paul. p. 77), and at Nemi Diana was in a special sense a women's goddess (Wissowa *op. cit.* p. 199 f.): similarly at Rome on Aug. 13 women took particular pains to comb their hair neatly and to purify their heads (Plut. *quaest. Rom.* 100), doubtless in honour of Diana's festival (Wissowa *op. cit.* p. 201), and none but women might enter the chapel of

Diana in the Vicus Patricius (Plut. *quaest. Rom.* 3). Diana Nemorensis was also a goddess of fertility in general, extending her protection to animals of all sorts; this appears not only from the literary evidence cited by Birt in Roscher *Lex.* i. 1006, 62 ff., but from certain finds made at Nemi itself during the recent excavations and now preserved in the Nottingham Art Museum. They include two bronze hinds found at the entrance of the temple,¹ and several portions of a terra cotta frieze on which the *πέρνια θηρῶν* (*Il.* 21. 470: see Studniczka in Roscher *Lex.* ii. 1750, 52 ff., and P. Paris in Dar.-Sagl. *Dict. Ant.* ii. 152 f.) is represented grasping a lion in either hand, and ending below the waist in wings.² In pre-



TERRA-COTTA FRIEZE FROM THE PRECINCT AT NEMI.

cisely the same way the Aventine Diana was a goddess of fertility who watched over animal life; her cultus-statue was a copy of the Artemis of Marseilles (Strab. 4. 180), and therefore presumably of the well-known Ephesian type (*ib.* 179), while the horns of a fine cow said to have been sacrificed by Servius Tullius were to be seen on her walls (Plut. *quaest. Rom.* 4, Liv. i. 45, 3 ff.). Undeniably, then, there are strong points of resemblance between the Arician and the Roman cults of Diana—so strong, in fact, that Wissowa regards the Roman cult as a daughter of the Arician (*op. cit.* p. 201). But Varro's statement (*de ling. lat.* 5. 74), that Diana-worship came to Rome from the Sabines and the assertions of Livy (i. 45, 2) and Dionysius of Halicarnassus

(4. 25) that the federal temple on the Aventine was a copy of the Ionian Artemision at Ephesus may be taken to imply that Arician descent was unknown to or disbelieved by these authorities. Probably we should do well to assume parallel development rather than direct borrowing either from Aricia or from elsewhere.

Again, we miss in Dr. Frazer's account of the cult at Nemi a recognition of the fact that it survived into the middle ages and survives today. Professor J. Rendel Harris has pointed out (*The Annotators of the*

¹ G. H. Wallis, *Illustrated Catalogue of the Nottingham Art Museum*, nos. 633-4, p. 35.

² *Id. ib.* nos. 602-4, p. 31, and photographic plate. I am indebted to Mr. G. H. Wallis for the illustration here given.

Codex Bezae, p. 102) that 'according to the Roman Calendar we have—

Aug. 13 SS. *Hippolyti* et Cassiani, Mm.

Aug. 15 *Assumptio B.V.M.*,

where Diana and Hippolytus still live for those who have eyes to see.' The same shrewd observer has detected traces of the old midsummer-ritual in a local *festa*. For on a recent visit to Nemi he and the Rev. K. Lake learned that at a festival held there towards the end of summer the villagers go down to the shore of the lake, which is illuminated for the occasion. When we recall the date of the Arician festival, at 'the hottest time of the year' (*G.B.* i. 5¹), and the 'multitude of torches, whose ruddy glare was reflected by the waters of the lake' (*G.B.* i. 5), we are entitled to ask whether we have not here a survival of the old ritual. The coincidence is at least worth noting.²

Lastly, the archaeological evidence for the cult at Nemi is rather summarily disposed of in the footnotes to pp. 2, 5. We might reasonably look for a more detailed account of the site excavated by Lord Savile in 1885-6. A plan of the remarkable precinct then laid bare with its buttress wall, its ancient paved road, its series of shrines (like those of Olympia), the basement of its temple, the *favissa* full of votive offerings, etc., etc., would serve to control our imagination and could easily be obtained from Mr. Wallis' *Catalogue* above mentioned. Would it have been possible also to trace the 'marble bas-relief, representing the combat between a priest and a candidate for his office...found at the foot of the hill of Aricia'?³

Having marshalled his facts, Dr. Frazer raises two questions (p. 6): 'first, why had the priest to slay his predecessor? and second, why, before he slew him, had he to pluck the Golden Bough?' Fully to appreciate the author's answer to these questions, we must read his book; for it contains a cumulative argument drawn from analogous

practices among many imperfectly civilised communities, and resting ultimately on the conviction that human nature is the same all the world over. But the various stages of the argument can be fairly represented by the following abstract.

(1) Chapter i. contains, among other things, a survey of folk-customs relating to tree-worship. At the close of it (*G.B.* i. 230 ff.) Dr. Frazer draws certain inferences with regard to the cult at Nemi. (a) Tree-spirits are worshipped in woods, protect birds and beasts, help women in travail, send rain and sunshine, etc. Much the same is said of Diana Nemorensis. It follows that 'the cult of the Arician grove was essentially that of a tree-spirit.' (b) A tree-spirit is often represented by a living person, who is sometimes styled a king. 'May not then the King of the Wood in the Arician grove have been, like the King of May, the Leaf King, the Grass King, and the like, an incarnation of the tree-spirit?' (c) The tree-spirit is at times represented in double, not only by a living person but also by a bough. On the sacred tree in the Arician grove grew the Golden Bough, which had to be plucked by him who would assail the King. We infer 'the representation of the tree-spirit both by the King of the Wood and by the Golden Bough.'

Dr. Frazer next discusses numerous royal and priestly taboos (chapter ii.) and the practice of killing the divine king (chapter iii. § 1). This done, he again (*G.B.* ii. 59 f.) applies his conclusions to the *rex Nemorensis*. (a) His potent and therefore valuable life 'was probably hedged in by a system of elaborate precautions or taboos.' (b) 'The very value attached to the life of the man-god necessitates his violent death as the only means of preserving it from the inevitable decay of age.' The King of the Wood, therefore, 'had to be killed in order that the divine spirit, incarnate in him, might be transferred in unabated vigour to his successor.' (c) At first he may have been put to death 'at the end of a set period.' The rule that he held office till a stronger should slay him looks like a mitigation of this stern custom. Dr. Frazer seeks to strengthen his conjecture by sundry cases from North Europe, where the representative of the tree-spirit, usually 'slain in mimicry,' is allowed a chance for his life by flight. 'Flight,' we are to observe, 'figured conspicuously both in the legend and in the practice of the King of the Wood,' who had to be a runaway slave in memory of the flight of Orestes. (d) 'In Saxony and

¹ Correct the quotation from *Stat. silv.* iii. 1. 52 in *G.B.* i. p. 5 n. 2. Instead of 'tempus erat, caeli cum ardentissimus axis' etc. read 'torrentissimus' for an obvious reason.

² In fairness to Dr. Frazer it must be said that these discoveries of Prof. J. Rendel Harris have been made *since* the appearance of the second edition of the *G.B.*

³ G. H. Wallis *op. cit.* p. 11. Mr. Wallis informs me that the bas-relief in question is not in the Nottingham Museum; 'I have always,' he says, 'understood that the bas-relief was taken to Russia, but so far its whereabouts has not been traced.'

Thüringen the representative of the tree-spirit, after being killed, is brought to life again by a doctor.' So too Hippolytus, restored to life by Asklepios, became Virbius the first King of the Wood.

A further review of vegetation-cults enables Dr. Frazer to explain the tradition that Hippolytus-Virbius was killed by horses. 'Having found, first, that spirits of vegetation are not infrequently represented in the form of horses; and, second, that the animal which in later legends is said to have injured the god was sometimes originally the god himself, we may conjecture that the horses by which Virbius was said to have been slain were really embodiments of him as a deity of vegetation. The myth that Virbius had been killed by horses was probably invented to explain certain features in his worship, amongst others the custom of excluding horses from his sacred grove' (*G.B.* ii. 313 f.). 'If,' continues Dr. Frazer, 'we knew the ritual of the Arician grove better, we might find that the rule of excluding horses from it...was subject to an annual exception, a horse being once a year taken into the grove and sacrificed as an embodiment of the god Virbius. By the usual misunderstanding the horse thus killed would come in time to be regarded as an enemy offered up in sacrifice to the god whom he had injured' (*G.B.* ii. 315). The conjecture that a horse may have been thus annually sacrificed at Nemi as a representative of the deity of the grove is supported, or at least illustrated, by an account of the October horse.

A discussion of various sacramental customs leads up to an elucidation of the proverb *multi Mani Ariciae* (*G.B.* ii. 343 f.). The tradition that the founder of the grove was a man named Manius, from whom many Manii were descended, is dismissed as an etymological myth devised to explain the word *manias*. *Maniæ* were loaves shaped like men and, if we accept Dr. Frazer's ingenious emendation of a corrupt passage in Festus,¹ were especially made at Aricia. *Mania* was also the Mother or Grand-mother of Ghosts, propitiated at the Compitalia. Hence Dr. Frazer suggests that 'in the old days, when the divine King of the Wood was annually slain, loaves were made in his image...and were eaten sacramentally by his worshippers.' 'A dim recollection of the original connexion of these loaves with human sacrifices may perhaps be traced in the story that the effigies

dedicated to Mania at the Compitalia were substitutes for human victims.'

But these are details. The main argument of chapter iii., so far as it bears upon Nemi, is that the *rex Nemorensis* was slain as a representative of the tree-spirit. The objection that such a custom has no analogy in classical antiquity is met by a section on Greek scape-goats and another on the Italian Saturnalia. Dr. Frazer holds that the *φάρμακοί* of Asia Minor, Athens, etc. were 'treated as divine' (*G.B.* iii. 134); and that the mock king of the Saturnalia originally represented Saturn himself and was put to death as the human embodiment of that deity (*G.B.* iii. 140 ff.).

(2) Having disposed of the first question. Why had the Arician priest to slay his predecessor? Dr. Frazer proceeds in chapter iv. to answer the second, Why, before doing so, had he to pluck the Golden Bough? Relying on Servius *ad Verg. Aen.* 6. 136 Dr. Frazer has already identified the branch to be broken from the sacred tree at Nemi with the golden bough mentioned by Virgil. A fresh consideration of Verg. *Aen.* 6. 136 ff., 203 ff., now leads him to infer that the tree was an oak and that the golden bough was mistletoe. If so, it follows from what has been said in chapter iii. that the King of the Wood must have been a personification of the oak-spirit. This permits of a comparison with the Norse god Balder, whom Dr. Frazer regards as a tree-spirit, probably the spirit of the oak, with an 'external soul' residing in the mistletoe (*G.B.* iii. 350). The myth of Balder enables us to understand why the King of the Wood could not be slain till the Golden Bough, i.e. the mistletoe, had been plucked. 'As an oak-spirit, his life or death was in the mistletoe on the oak, and so long as the mistletoe remained intact, he, like Balder, could not die. To slay him, therefore, it was necessary to break the mistletoe, and probably, as in the case of Balder, to throw it at him. And to complete the parallel, it is only necessary to suppose that the King of the Wood was formerly burned, dead or alive, at the midsummer fire festival which, as we have seen, was annually celebrated in the Arician grove. The perpetual fire which burned in the grove, like the perpetual fire under the oak at Remove, was probably fed with the sacred oak-wood; and thus it would be in a great fire of oak that the King of the Wood formerly met his end' (*G.B.* iii. 450).

Dr. Frazer ends by explaining why the mistletoe with its green leaves and whitish-

¹ Fest. p. 145 Müller 'et Ariciae genus panni fieri; quod manici appelletur.'

yellow berries is called the Golden Bough (*G.B.* iii. 451 ff.). Here he leans on the analogy of the mythical fern-seed. Fern-seed is supposed to bloom like gold or fire on Midsummer eve and Christmas night, when it empowers its lucky possessor to detect gold hidden in the ground. 'Fern-seed, in fact, would seem to be an emanation of the sun's fire at the two turning-points of its course, the summer and winter solstices.' Mistletoe too is gathered at Midsummer as well as at Christmas, and is used by treasure-seekers for their divining-rods. We must not, however, at once conclude that mistletoe, like fern-seed, is an emanation of the sun's fire. Rather, the sun's fire is an emanation of it. For the ancient Aryan replenished the sun by means of bonfires kindled by the friction of oak-wood; which implies that he looked upon the oak, and (*a fortiori*) the mistletoe, as a sort of solar reservoir. Small wonder, then, that he spoke of the latter as fiery or golden. May he not also have called the former by some name of similar import? Dr. Frazer remarks not only that Virbius was by some identified with the sun, but also that Greeks and Italians alike designated their chief divinity 'the Bright or Shining One' (Zeus, Jove), and that at his most ancient shrines in both countries this god (*Zeûs váios*, *Jupiter feretrius*) was actually represented by an oak. 'The result, then, of our inquiry is to make it probable that, down to the time of the Roman Empire and the beginning of our era, the primitive worship of the Aryans was maintained nearly in its original form in the sacred grove at Nemi, as in the oak woods of Gaul, of Prussia, and of Scandinavia; and that the King of the Wood lived and died as an incarnation of the supreme Aryan god, whose life was in the mistletoe or Golden Bough.'

In estimating the value of Dr. Frazer's view we must bear in mind that from first to last it is very largely hypothetical. It is a conjecture that the Arician priest 'was deemed a living incarnation of the tree-spirit' (*G.B.* i. 232). It is a conjecture based on this conjecture, that 'as such he would be credited with those miraculous powers of sending rain and sunshine' etc. (*G.B.* i. 232). It is a conjecture supported by this conjecture-on-a-conjecture, that 'therefore' he 'had to be killed in order that the divine spirit, incarnate in him, might be transferred in unabated vigour to his successor' (*G.B.* ii. 59). Propped on this in turn are yet other conjectures—that the rule of succession at Nemi 'was a

mitigation of an earlier custom of putting him to death at the end of a set period' (*G.B.* ii. 60), and that he was perhaps 'allowed a chance for his life by flight' (*G.B.* ii. 67). Again, it is a pure conjecture that Virbius was 'a deity of vegetation' (*G.B.* ii. 314). It is a conjecture in the second degree 'that the horses by which Virbius was said to have been slain were really embodiments of him' as such (*G.B.* ii. 314). It is a conjecture in the third degree that there was 'an annual exception' to the rule excluding horses from the Arician grove (*G.B.* ii. 315). It is a conjecture in the fourth degree 'that the sacred grove of Aricia...may have been the scene of a common harvest celebration,' at which this exceptional horse was sacrificed as 'the fructifying spirit both of the tree and of the corn' (*G.B.* ii. 318). Conjectural too is the suggestion that 'when the divine King of the Wood was annually slain, leaves were made in his image...and were eaten sacramentally by his worshippers' (*G.B.* ii. 343 f.). Another series of conjectures is concerned with the mistletoe. It is not certain that the branch at Nemi was Virgil's golden bough. It is not certain that Virgil's golden bough was the mistletoe. Therefore it is doubly uncertain that the branch at Nemi was the mistletoe. Nor have we a right to assume that the tree at Nemi was an oak: for the only evidence that it was an oak is the doubtful identification of the branch at Nemi with Virgil's golden bough, which grew on an oak. Thus it needs a combination of assumptions to hold that Virbius was 'the spirit of the oak on which grew the Golden Bough' (*G.B.* iii. 456) and that 'the King of the Wood must have been a personification of the oak-spirit' (*G.B.* iii. 450). Equally conjectural or more so are the suggestions (*G.B.* iii. 450), that in the mistletoe was contained the external life of the King, that his successor could not slay him without breaking it first and 'probably' throwing it at him, that he 'was formerly burned, dead or alive, at the midsummer fire festival,' that the perpetual fire in the Arician grove 'was probably fed with the sacred oak-wood,' and that the fire in which the King may be supposed to have been burned was 'a great fire of oak.' Finally, it is a conjecture as precarious as any, that the chief deity of the Greeks and Italians was none other than the oak, and that he derived his name 'the Bright or Shining One' from the fact that on certain occasions fires of oak-wood were kindled to replenish by

magical means the flaming sun (*G.B.* iii. 456 f.).

Dr. Frazer's theory is indeed almost wholly hypothetical. But of this in itself we ought not to complain. For, where the facts to build with are so few, we cannot be surprised if the fabric is largely composed of less solid materials. And since Dr. Frazer's restoration follows the pattern of many primitive structures, it is obviously possible that the reader may obtain from his hypotheses a very fair notion of the original. At the same time we are justified in insisting that a reconstruction of this sort will not be satisfactory, (1) if in any points it be inconsistent with itself, and (2) if it base important conclusions on assumptions that are improbable. I confess, I feel that Dr. Frazer is open to criticism on both these grounds, and that the two parts of his discussion suffer accordingly.

(1) Dr. Frazer believes that the Arician priest was the incarnation of a deity resident in an oak. But if we ask—of what deity?—we receive apparently inconsistent replies. (a) Where Dr. Frazer sums up his whole investigation he concludes 'that the King of the Wood lived and died as an incarnation of the *supreme Aryan god*' (*G.B.* iii. 457). On Italian soil this god was named Jupiter and 'the image of Jupiter on the Capitol at Rome seems to have been originally nothing but a natural oak-tree' (*G.B.* iii. 346). On Dr. Frazer's showing, therefore, the Arician priest ought to be an incarnation of Jupiter. But we look in vain for any trace of a connexion between Jupiter and the Arician grove. The nearest approach to it is an unfinished marble bust of Graeco-Roman work 'probably intended to represent Jupiter' (Wallis *Illustr. Cat.* no. 832), which was found in one of the shrines at Nemi.¹ While speaking of Jupiter, I must add that Dr. Frazer's rejection of the orthodox view ignores much of the available evidence. 'Zeus and Jupiter,' we are told (*G.B.* iii. 457 n. 1), 'have commonly been regarded as sky gods, because their names are etymologically connected with the Sanscrit word for sky. The reason seems insufficient.' Quite so; but it is strongly supported by such phrases as ἵε δ' ἄρα Ζεύς | πάννυχος, *sub Iove frigido*, by such epithets as ἀργικέραννος, ἐρίγδουπος, εἰρόσπα, κελαινέφης, νεφέληγχερέτα, ὑψιβρεμέτης,

ὑψίλυγος, by such cult titles as Ἀστραπαῖος, Βροντῶν, Εὐάνεμος, Ἰκμαῖος, Κεραῖνιος, Νάιος, Ὀμβριος, Οὔριος, Ὑέτιος, by such attributes as the thunderbolt, and by a host of other considerations.

(b) Elsewhere it is Virbius, not Jupiter, who is described as 'the spirit of the oak on which grew the Golden Bough' (*G.B.* iii. 456). That Virbius was 'a deity of vegetation' (*G.B.* ii. 314) at all is, I have said, a pure conjecture devised to account for 'the tradition that Virbius, the first of the divine Kings of the Wood at Aricia, was killed by horses' (*G.B.* ii. 313), for 'the custom of excluding horses from his sacred grove' (*G.B.* ii. 314), and for the fact that 'Virbius came to be confounded with the sun' (*G.B.* i. 6, 231, iii. 456). Prof. Wissowa with equal confidence propounds the view that Virbius was 'wahrscheinlich ein bei der Entbindung hilfreicher Dämon' (*op. cit.* p. 200). Sauer in Roscher *Lex.* i. 2684, following Buttmann *Mythologus* ii. 151 ff., states that Virbius 'als Heilgott und als reiferer Mann dem Asklepios wesensverwandt ist' and conjectures that Hippolytus, like Asklepios, the son of the sun-god Apollo, was originally 'die heilkräftige Sonne.' If it comes to guessing, why not identify Virbius with the stream that flowed through the wood at Nemi? Vib. Sequ. p. 20, 5 Oberl. has the following entry under the head of *flumina*: 'Virbius Laconices, ubi Hippolytum Aesculapius arte medicinae reddidit vitae, unde et Virbius dictus.' Vibius, who wrote circ. 400 A.D., was concerned to give an alphabetical list of the localities mentioned by the most popular poets: his usual sources are Virgil, Ovid *met.* and *fast.*, Lucan (Teuffel-Schwabe § 445, 1). It seems to me probable, therefore, that he had in mind Ov. *fast.* 6. 737 ff., where Aesculapius undertakes to restore Hippolytus to life (*vitam sine vulnere reddam, | et cedent arti tristia fata meae*). If so, Vibius' note may well be based on Ov. *ib.* 756 '*Aricino Virbius ille lacu*'; in which case we should correct the text to 'Virbius lacu Aricino,² ubi Hippolytum' etc. The corruption into *Laconices* would be easy, since eight lines before stands 'Taygeta *Laconices*, ubi' etc. Confusion is one stage more confounded in a second entry under *fontes*: p. 22, 15 Oberl. 'Virvinus *Laconices*.' That Vibius was acquainted with the Lake of Nemi appears from his *lacus* p. 24, 11 Oberl. '*Triviae lacus Ariciae*.' So then this geographer at least took Virbius to be

¹ One wonders that Dr. Frazer did not press into his service the epithet *Dianus* applied to Jupiter in an inscription from Aquileia: *C.I.L.* v. 783 *Iovi Dianō* etc. See Birt in Roscher *Lex.* i. 1003, 49 ff.

² Dr. Postgate suggests *lacu Ariciac*.

the name of a stream, in all probability the stream at Nemi; for a river Virbius in Laconia passes belief, and I have shown how the error may have arisen. Of course Vibius Sequester may have blundered: he blunders elsewhere. But let us assume for the moment that Virbius really was the stream at Nemi. The stream-god would naturally be associated with Diana, who was worshipped on his banks (cp. Serv. on Verg. *Aen.* 5. 95 'singula enim numina habent inferiores potestates ministras: ut, Venus Adonim, Diana Virbium,' *id. ib.* 7. 84, 761). When Diana was identified with Artemis, the associate of the former would be identified with the associate of the latter,—Virbius would be regarded as a re-incarnation of Hippolytus. Hippolytus met his fate when driving his team of horses; and this myth was, we know, quoted to explain why horses were not allowed to stray into Diana's *abaton* at Nemi.¹ Lastly, horses were sacrificed by the ancients on the one hand to water-spirits (see Roscher *Lex.* i. 1495, 49 ff., Frazer *Pausanias* iv. 197 f.), on the other hand to the sun (Hdt. i. 216, Paus. iii. 20. 4, Philostr. *her.* 10. 2)—which would be quite enough to connect a river-god Virbius with the sun. If this possibility be granted, we obtain perhaps an explanation of the marble *stèle* with a double bust of aquatic divinities discovered in the precinct at Nemi. It is figured by Mr. G. H. Wallis *Illustr. Cat.* No. 611 and thus described. It 'consists of the head of a beardless young man, and of an elderly man with a flowing beard. Both have on their foreheads fishes' fins, looking like small wings, aquatic plants cover the neck and chest, and scales cover the cheeks of both heads; the head of the young man has a small fin at each angle of the mouth, the beard of the elder head seems saturated with water and the long damp hair of both heads seems to be blown about in the wind. To judge from the decorative style of sculpture, these heads, which are full of character, are the work of the early Imperial Epoch. The *stèle* is inscribed SACR DIAN'. Have we here the double form of Diana's favourite, Hippolytus-Virbius? In *Ov. met.* 15. 539 f. he tells how the goddess 'addidit aetatem nec cognoscenda reliquit | ora mihi.' This would suit the union of a youthful with an elderly

head and the curious treatment of the faces.² But, whatever may be thought of the identification,³ it is at least as probable that Virbius was a river-god as that he was a tree-spirit: for we have it on the (rather questionable) authority of a geographer that there was a river called Virbius, whereas the arboreal character of this puzzling personage is a matter of mere conjecture. Besides, if the *rex Nemorensis* was really the incarnating priest of Virbius, why should there have been a distinct 'flamen Virbialis' (*G.B.* i. 6, Wissowa *op. cit.* p. 200, n. 4)? It is singular indeed that a priest of Diana should be found incarnating Virbius, while the priest of Virbius had no such part to play.

(c) Earlier in his book Dr. Frazer had implied that the immanent spirit was neither Jupiter nor Virbius, but Diana. For, after remarking (*G.B.* i. 230) that 'the attributes of Diana, the goddess of the Arician grove, are those of a tree-spirit or sylvan deity,' he continued (*G.B.* i. 231)—'May not then the King of the Wood in the Arician grove have been...an incarnation of the tree-spirit or spirit of vegetation?' To which the retort is obvious:⁴ No, for an incarnation of Diana would presumably be a Queen, not a King.

If, then, we start by assuming that the *rex Nemorensis* was the human form of a tree-spirit, we are met by serious difficulties

² The fish forms are not inappropriate to a companion of Artemis. The *xoanon* of Artemis-Eurynome at Phigaleia had a fish tail (Paus. viii. 41. 6). An archaic jar from Thebes, now in the National Museum at Athens, shows a standing female figure with outstretched arms resembling flippers or wings and a robe adorned with a large fish: this peculiar being is probably the Boeotian *πότνια θηρών*, and as such would have affinities with Diana Nemorensis (see above). The fish of the fountain Arethusa were sacred to Artemis (Diod. Sic. 5. 3), whose head appears on a Syracusan coin surrounded by fish (Dar.-Sagl. ii. 135, n. 120). In *Anth. Pal.* vi. 105 a fisherman offers a mullet to Artemis *Aiguevitis* (cp. Cornut. *N.D.* 34, p. 233). Aphaia, the Aeginetan goddess identified with Artemis (Hesych. s.v. *Ἀφαία*), was brought from Crete to Aegina by a fisherman (Anton. Lib. 40). Diktynna, her prototype in western Crete, was also the divinity of fisher-folk (see Roscher *Lex.* i. 825, 23 ff., Farnell *Cults of the Gr. States* ii. 476 ff.).

³ Mr. G. H. Wallis *Illustr. Cat.* p. 33 regards the herm 'as personification of the lakes of Albano and Nemi.'

⁴ So Mr. Andrew Lang *Magic and Religion* p. 210: 'Given a female tree-spirit, we should rather expect a *Queen* of the Wood.' In Sen. *Phaedr.* 414 'regina nemorum' is Diana herself. When we recall the theme of Seneca's play and its connexion with the legend of Aricia, it seems possible that the phrase 'regina nemorum' was consciously or unconsciously suggested by the title 'rex Nemorensis.'

¹ Verg. *Aen.* 7. 778 ff. and *Ov. fasti* 3. 263 ff. 'vallis Aricinae silva praecinctus opaca | est lacus, antiqua religione sacer. | hic latet Hippolytus furis directus equorum, | unde nemus nullis illud aditus equis.'

whichever way we turn. It might seem at first sight as though a way out of them could be found by the further assumption that Diana was not the first tenant of the Arician grove, but that her cult had been superimposed by the Latins on that of an aboriginal wood-god. This would plausibly account for the fact that in later times the Arician priest was regularly a slave. The god of the conquered population, hypothetically reduced to slavery, would fitly be served by a slave. Note too that Aug. 13, the date of Diana's festival at Rome, was a *servorum dies* (Wissowa, *op. cit.* p. 201), that Servius Tullius who founded the temple on the Aventine was according to the story of servile origin, and that the Manii of Aricia might by a little ingenuity be explained as slaves (cp. *Μαῖης, Μανία*, and Petron. 45 iam *Manios* aliquot habet). But unfortunately for such a hypothesis the evidence all goes to show that Diana had been the deity worshipped at Nemi from time immemorial (*G.B.* i. 2 n. 1). There is not a particle of proof that Diana at Nemi was, like Apollo at Delphi, a comparatively late comer. And Dr. Frazer probably does well to refrain from any attempt to make his escape in that direction. He would, I venture to think, have done better still, had he refrained from assuming that the *rex Nemorensis* was the incarnation of any divinity at all.

(2) Another assumption that has made mischief in Dr. Frazer's mind is that the branch at Nemi was mistletoe and the tree an oak. The basis of this assumption is Servius' note on Verg. *Aen.* 6. 136, which—as it is important to the argument—I transcribe below.¹ Servius here records a

¹ Serv. in *Aen.* 6. 136 *Thilo latet arbore opaca aureus licet de hoc ramo hi qui de sacris Proserpinae scripsisse dicuntur, quiddam esse mysticum adfirmant, publica tamen opinio hoc habet. Orestes post occisum regem Thoantem in regione Taurica cum sorore Iphigenia, ut supra <ii 116> diximus, fugit et Dianae simulacrum inde sublatum haud longe ab Aricia collocauit. in huius templo post mutatum ritum sacrificiorum fuit arbor quaedam, de qua infringi ramum non licebat. dabatur autem fugitivis potestas, ut si quis exinde ramum potuisset auferre, monomachia cum fugitivo templi sacerdote dimicaret: nam fugitivus illic erat sacerdos ad priscae imaginem fugae. dimicandi autem dabatur facultas quasi ad pristini sacrificii reparationem. nunc ergo istum inde sumpsit colorem. ramus enim necesse erat ut et unus cuquis esset interitus: unde et statim mortem subiungit Miseni: et ad sacra Proserpinae accedere nisi sublato ramo non poterat. inferos autem subire hoc dicit, sacra celebrare Proserpinae. de rebitu autem animae hoc est: novimus Pythagoram Samium vitam humanam divisisse in modum Y litterae, scilicet quod prima aetas incerta sit, quippe quae adhuc se nec vitii nec*

whole series of comments and explanations that had been offered by others with regard to the Virgilian incident of the Golden Bough.

(i) 'Public opinion' connected it with the following tale. Orestes, having killed Thoas king of Taurica, fled with Iphigenia to Italy and established the statue of Diana, which he had carried off, not far from Aricia—presumably at Nemi. 'After the rite of sacrifice had been changed,' i.e. when the translated Diana had become a reformed character, who no longer demanded human victims, there still grew in her sacred precinct a certain tree, from which in ordinary circumstances it was not lawful to break a branch. But, if a runaway slave could manage to do so, he might challenge the priest of the temple, himself a runaway slave, to a duel. The priest was a runaway slave in memory of Orestes' legendary flight. The duel in a sense made up to the goddess for the old human sacrifices that she missed. All this, as Mr. Andrew Lang has observed (*The Fortnightly Review* 1901 p. 236 = *Magic and Religion* p. 209), is a good example of an aetiological myth. Orestes and the Tauric Artemis were brought in to explain certain features in the primitive cult of Diana Nemorensis. But, whatever may be said for or against the parallel between Taurica and Nemi, one thing at least it does not explain, and that is the Golden Bough. Servius implies (he does not directly state it) that 'public opinion' identified the golden bough plucked by Aeneas with the bough plucked by the would-be *rex* at Aricia. But this identification, as Mr. Lang remarks, is dubious in the extreme. For the bough of Aeneas was definitely and distinctively golden, whereas we are not told that such was the case with the bough at Nemi: indeed Servius' words (*arbor quaedam de qua infringi ramum non licebat*) would naturally be taken to refer to *any* bough of the tree, as though all its boughs were of equal worth. The dedication of the Virgilian bough to 'Iuno inferna,' its supernatural toughness in unhallowed hands, its willingness to go with the man ordained

virtutibus dedit: bivium autem Y litterae a iuventute incipere, quo tempore homines aut vitia, id est partem sinistram, aut virtutes, id est dexteram partem sequuntur: unde ait Persius <v 35> *traducit trepidas ramosa in compita mentes*. ergo per ramum virtutes dicit esse sectandas, qui est Y litterae imitatio: quem ideo in silvis dicit latere, quia vera in huius vitae confusione et maiore parte vitiorum virtus et integritas latet. alii dicunt ideo ramo aureo inferos peti, quod divitiis facile mortales intereunt. Tiberianus aurum, quo pretio reserantur limina Ditis.

by fate, are all important characteristics which, so far as we know, have nothing whatever to correspond to them at Nemi. It is clear, then, that, if 'public opinion' explained the Golden Bough by means of the Arician tree, it was founding its explanation on a very questionable analogy. And Dr. Frazer is building on sand when he assumes, as he does throughout his book, the trustworthiness of that explanation.

(ii) But Servius has another view of the matter, this time literary, not traditional. Dr. Frazer does not, I think, mention it; but it deserves a passing notice. 'Those who are said to have written about the rites of Proserpina' held that there was 'something mystic' about the Golden Bough and brought it into connexion with the ordinary ritual of Proserpina. Their explanation was as follows. Aeneas was about to enter the Underworld. His entry was tantamount to an initiation into Proserpina's rites. None might draw near to those rites without bearing a branch. Hence Virgil had to provide Aeneas with a branch. The reference to branch-bearing in the rites of Proserpina is sufficiently explained by what M. Lenormant says of the Eleusinian initiates (Dar.-Sagl. ii. 570): 'Les mystes s'y présentaient couronnés de myrte et tenant à la main un bâton de forme particulière, sorte de thyrses très courts. . . Ce pouvait être aussi un simple rameau, et c'est ainsi que sur le célèbre vase à reliefs de Cumes (fig. 2639) Célésus ou Euboulos porte, en guise de *bacchos*, un rameau d'arbre.' But that Virgil had the Eleusinian rite in view is not very likely; we have no reason to believe that the Eleusinian branches were golden, or that they were taken from the *ilex* (*Aen.* 6. 209), or that they corresponded in any other way to the Virgilian branch. However, this second view contains at least a germ of truth. Virgil's branch was 'Iunoni infernae dictus sacer' (*Aen.* 6. 138) and the Sibyl said of it (*ib.* 142 f.)—'hoc sibi pulchra suum ferri Proserpina munus | instituit.' In short, its chthonian character is well established. But can we go further? I think we can, thanks to Servius' garrulity; he has other *ἔνδοξα* in store.

(iii) A marginal gloss in cod. T says: 'quidam accipiunt ramum pro scientia mystice et aureum pro claritate sapientiae et sic quisque inferos ingreditur id est secreta scientiae perscrutatur.' This allegorical interpretation of the Golden Bough is set out at greater length by Servius himself. Pythagoras took the letter Y as an object lesson in ethics, its 'ramosa compita' indicating

respectively virtue and vice. Virgil's 'ramus' hidden in the wood is a similar parable of human life, where true teaching is often overlaid by a tangle of error. (iv) Others, adds Servius, say that the Bough is Golden because mortals meet their death through riches—witness the poet Tiberianus, who wrote on the pernicious effects of gold and began his poem thus (Bährens *unedierte lat. Gedichte* Lps. 1877 = *P.L.M.* iii. 265):

Aurum, quod nigri manes, quod turbida
uersant
flumina, quod duris extorsit poena metallis!
Aurum, quo pretio reserantur limina Ditis,
quo Stygii regina poli Proserpina gaudet!

and towards the close of it wrote:

Te celent semper uada turbida, te luta
nigra,
te tellus mersum premat infera, te sibi
nasci
Tartareus cupiat Phlegethon Stygiaeque
paludes!

Now it is possible that comments iii and iv, though they obviously explain nothing about the Arician cult, may help to throw some light on the equally obscure subject of Virgil's Golden Bough. Its chthonian character is, we have seen, certain; and the whole Virgilian episode shows that it was a kind of passport to the Underworld. But why a bough? and why golden? and why compared to the mistletoe? Because divining-rods were used for the discovery of treasure and might be of mistletoe. Prof. E. B. Tylor (*Man.* 1902, p. 49 f. no. 40) shows that 'the European divining rod was used to find not only water but mineral veins, stolen treasure, and even the thief who stole it.' And Dr. Frazer (*G.B.* iii. 454) mentions 'divining-rods of mistletoe' used in Sweden by treasure-seekers. Aeneas before entering the realm of *Πλούτων* might well be furnished with such a rod: it would enable him 'telluris operta subire,' and its power of self-movement is perhaps hinted at in the words 'ipse volens facilisque sequetur.' One further point: the usual shape of the divining rod is that of the letter Y. Now Prof. J. Burnet (*Early Greek Philosophy*, p. 84 ff.) has proved 'the close relation between Pythagorean and savage modes of thought' (*ib.* p. 105). Is it not possible that the importance attached to the letter Y was due to one of Pythagoras' 'primitive usages' (*ib.* p. 84)? I mean, he as a 'wonder-worker' (*ib.* p. 90) and a 'medicine-man' (*ib.* p. 91), who was identified with Apollo

Hyperboreios the god of divination (Aristot. *frag.* 186)¹, used a divining fork and expounded its virtues in allegorical fashion: the famous Y is but the symbol of his fork.² However that may be, I do not doubt that Virgil's Golden Bough is the mythical counterpart of the dowser's mistletoe rod used for the discovery of underground secrets. It is intelligible on its own merits; and we do but darken counsel if we try to connect it with Nemi. To support weighty conclusions on that fancied connexion is indeed a perilous procedure.

Dr. Frazer in his second Preface (p. xv.) refers to hypotheses as 'necessary but often temporary bridges built to connect isolated facts.' This particular bridge must, I fear, be abandoned as unsound. But if so, what have we to offer in its stead? Is there no ascertainable link between the Arician priesthood and the rest of Italian religion? I believe that there is, and that it is a good deal simpler than Dr. Frazer supposes. We need not go so far afield as 'the mouth of the Congo' (*G.B.* i. 163) or 'the backwoods of Cambodia' (*G.B.* i. 164) to find a parallel to the *rex Nemorensis*. Not twenty miles away, along the Appian Road, lived another priestly king, the *rex sacrorum* of Rome. And it will be at least worth while to enquire whether the known facts with regard to the latter may not provide us with a satisfactory explanation of the former.

I begin by noting that in connexion with both these priestly kings was a cult of Vesta. At Nemi Diana herself bore the title Vesta (inscr. Orelli 1455 = Wilmanns 1767), and Dr. Frazer observes (*G.B.* i. 5) that this 'points almost certainly to the maintenance of a perpetual holy fire in her sanctuary.' He might also have observed that Lord Savile discovered the base of a small circular shrine at the back of her temple. And none know better than Dr. Frazer what that circular form signifies. His brilliant essay in the *J. of Ph.* xiv. 145 ff. proved conclusively that

the primitive circular hut with a hearth inside was perpetuated in the circular temples of Vesta. In short, this circular base must be the stylobate of Vesta's hearth.³ Further, among the terracotta figures found in the precinct at Nemi was one that is catalogued as 'Head of a Vestal Virgin' (*Illustr. Cat.* no. 600). Undeniably, then, there was at Nemi a cult of Vesta in close connexion with the grove over which the sacerdotal king kept guard. At Rome too the Vestal Virgins were intimately associated with the *rex sacrorum*—an association on which Dr. Frazer in the aforesaid essay and Mr. Warde Fowler in his *Roman Festivals* (pp. 213, 282, 288, 334) justly lay stress. Moreover, Servius in commenting on Verg. *Aen.* 10. 228 says: 'virgines Vestales certa die ibant ad regem sacrorum et dicebant: *vigilante rex? vigila.*' So that the priestly king at Rome, as at Aricia, had a sacred vigil to keep. Similarly on Greek soil the βασιλεύς stood in a special relation to the κοινή ἑστία, as is clear from the evidence collected by Dr. Frazer *loc. cit.* p. 146, n. 5, by G. Gilbert *Griech. Staatsalterth.* ii. 271 n. 2, 324 n. 1 and by v. Schoeffler in Pauly-Wissowa s.v. 'Basileus.'⁴ In some parts of the world analogous practices are still observed. To the cases cited by Dr. Frazer *ib.* p. 159 ff. add one more. The Rev. J. Roscoe informs me that 'the temporal king of Uganda is at the same time the head of all the priests in the country. He is also the guardian of a sacred fire, which is kept burning at the main entrance to the royal enclosure. When the king travels, the fire goes with him. When the king dies, the fire is extinguished.'⁵ It would appear, then, that the connexion between a priestly king and a sacred hearth

³ Lord Savile himself oddly took it to be 'a circular sacrificial altar, with a gutter for carrying away the blood' (*Illustr. Cat.*, p. 9). But the base (of which a photo-mezzotype is given *ib.* p. 10) is obviously a stylobate, consisting of three concentric steps and 'showing traces of having been paved in mosaic.' The gutter is nothing more gruesome than a rain-water drain. The position of the supposed altar, 'at the N.E. angle of the rear of the Temple, and not in front of it' (*ib.* p. 9) would alone suffice to prove that it was not, as the excavators imagined, 'the external altar of the Artemision.'

⁴ Aristotle *Pol.* H (Z) 8. 1322b 28 mentions certain magistrates who ἀπὸ τῆς κοινῆς ἐστίας ἔχουσι τὴν τιμὴν καλοῦσι δὲ οἱ μὲν ἄρχοντας τούτους οἱ δὲ βασιλεῖς οἱ δὲ πρυτάνεις. This is best illustrated by an inscription from Mytilene: Cauer² 431, 45 ff. τὰς δ' ἀναγγελίας τῶν στεφάνων ὅπως γένηται, ἐπιμελήθηεν τοῖς βασιλεῦσι καὶ πρυτάνευσιν, καλεῖσθαι δὲ ἐπὶ ξένια τοῖς δικασταῖσι καὶ τῶν γραμματέων ἐς τὸ πρυτανεῖον ἐπὶ τῶν κοινῶν ἐστῖαν.

⁵ See also the Rev. J. Roscoe, *Further Notes on the Manners and Customs of the Baganda*, p. 51.

¹ In proof of his claim to be Apollo he exhibited his golden thigh and took from Abaris δν εἰχε χρυσοῦν οἰστόν, οὗ ἄνευ οὐχ ὅλως τ' ἦν τὰς ὁδοὺς ἐξευρίσκειν (Iambli. *vit. Pyth.* 140 f.). The golden arrow which showed the way can hardly be other than the arrow with which Apollo is represented as divining on the coins of Syria (c.g. *Head Coins of the Ancients*, pl. 38). At Ixiai in Rhodes Apollo was worshipped as Ἰξίος: the place itself was so called ἀπὸ Ἰξοῦ (Steph. *Byz.* s.v. Ἰξίαι), and the title of the god may have some relation to his character as a diviner.

² Since writing the above I find that Miss A. W. Buckland, *Anthropological Studies*, p. 146, cites from Tyndale's *Sardinia* the suggestion that the Pythagorean Y 'might perhaps also be considered an analogous character' to 'the bifurcated stick.'

traceable both at Nemi and at Rome, belongs to that primitive state of society in which the king as head of the household with the help of his unmarried daughters watches over the family fire. This encourages us to believe that the known origin of the *rex sacrorum* may serve to elucidate the unknown origin of the *rex Nemorensis*. The *rex sacrorum*, as is well known, discharged those sacerdotal functions that the king of Rome had to the last retained in his hands; he was the religious ghost of the former monarch. Assume that the same is true of the *rex Nemorensis*, and much of the mystery that surrounds him will vanish. He was at one time the dictator of a league of Latin communities, whose religious centre was Aricia. As such he had under his especial charge the Arician cult, the cult of Diana. When the Latin league that he

represented ceased to have political importance, its *rex* survived as a religious functionary, precisely as did the *rex sacrorum* at Rome or the βασιλεὺς and the φυλοβασιλῆς at Athens.

Looked at from this point of view, the various problems concerned with him cease to present any serious difficulty. (a) 'A candidate for the priesthood,' says Dr. Frazer (*G.B.* (i.2) 'could only succeed to office by slaying the priest, and having slain him, he retained office till he was himself slain by a stronger or a craftier.' This rule of succession has been rightly explained by Mr. Andrew Lang as 'a mere rude form of superannuation' (*Magic and Religion*, pp. 94-100, 216). Whenever the infirmities of age began to increase upon the *rex*, he was no longer fit to act as *Fidei Defensor* and must therefore make way for a more vigorous successor.



MARBLE FRAGMENTS FROM THE PRECINCT AT NEMI.
(Parts of gnarled tree-trunks, one attached to portion of human figure.)

But, since he might deny his unfitness or conceal the signs of incipient old age, primitive justice demanded that he should hold himself ready to meet in single combat all who challenged him. If he repelled their attack, well and good; he had proved himself the better man. If he were worsted, again well and good; the better man took his place. Dr. Frazer himself cites many examples of kings who are killed or are forced to kill themselves as soon as they contract any bodily defects (*G.B.* ii. 5-13), others in which all danger of royal senility is averted by fixing a limit to the king's reign (*G.B.* ii. 14), and one which furnishes a parallel to the Arician challenge (*G.B.* ii. 14 f.). But, as Mr. Andrew Lang insists, none of these kings is shown to be an embodiment of a divinity. Hence the *monomachia* of Nemi can be satisfactorily explained as an early form

of superannuation without recourse to any doctrine of incarnate gods.¹

(b) Again, the *rex Nemorensis* had to mount guard over a particular tree in the grove of Diana,—probably because Diana herself was thought to reside in the tree. Diana was normally worshipped in a *lucus* (*Wissowa op. cit.* p. 199, n. 1 and p. 401), indeed every *lucus* was her sanctuary (Serv.

¹ In the honour attaching to the *spolia opima* we may perhaps trace another relic of the same principle. Romulus, when he had slain the king of the Caenines with his own hand in battle, deposited his spoils 'ad quercum pastoribus sacram' and there marked out the bounds of a temple to Jupiter Feretrius (Liv. i. 10. 5). The circumstances suggest comparison with Nemi. A further vestige of the same barbaric custom may, as Dr. Frazer surmises (*G.B.* ii. 67), underlie the annual *regifugium* at Rome (Marquardt, *Röm. Staatsverw.* iii.² 323 f.); though again there is no need to assume any inherent divinity in the *rex*.

on Verg. *georg.* 3. 332, quoted by Frazer *G.B.* i. 230, n. 1). But she may have been especially connected with one sacred tree, just as Artemis Κεδραιῆς had a wooden image in a great cedar at Orchomenos (Paus. viii. 13. 2).¹ If this was so at Nemi, it might serve to explain the two marble fragments found in the course of the excavations 'representing a tree attached to a statue' (*Illustr. Cat.*, no. 790).² What more reasonable than that a religious *rex*, the successor of a temporal *dictator*, should be expected to keep watch and ward over the very home of the goddess?

(c) But why should the Arician *rex* be a runaway slave, whereas the Roman *rex* was always a patrician? The discrepancy is perhaps to be accounted for by the peculiar terms of succession that obtained at Nemi. In primitive times the obligation to fight all comers would not be considered much of a drawback: consequently the office was held by distinguished persons. 'Legend had it that...Diana, for the love she bore Hippolytus, carried him away to Italy...where he reigned a forest king under the name of Virbius' (*G.B.* i. 6). History had it that Egerius Laevius the Latin dictator, or according to others Manius Egerius, dedicated the grove to Diana. This latter version suggests an explanation of the proverb *multi Mani Ariciae*, which on the face of it referred to an old and famous pedigree but was sometimes connected with *Mania*, a 'bugbear to frighten children' (*G.B.* i. 6). If we suppose that the Manii of Aricia were the old kingly dynasty of the place, this curious change of meaning becomes intelligible.³ The temporal *rex*, recognised head of the Latin league, was a personage of distinction: the religious *rex*, who 'at any time of the day, and probably far into the night' (*G.B.* i. 2) prowled about the sacred grove, sword in hand, might well be taken as a bogey-man. One thing at least is clear: it cannot be shown that in early days any servile character attached to the *regnum*.

¹ Dr. Postgate reminds me of Stat. *Theb.* 4. 425 ff. 'nec caret umbra deo; nemori Latonia cultrix | additur. hanc piceae cedrique et robore in omni | effictam sanctis occultat silva tenebris.'

² Mr. G. H. Wallis kindly supplied me with the photograph from which the above illustration of these fragments was made.

³ The 'Manius heres' of Pers. 6. 56 is, as Conington says, 'one of the aristocracy of Aricia'—a beggar. Persius probably chose this phrase deliberately to suit its context, the passage about pedigrees. Manius was a name which had come down in the world: it was common in the gens Aemilia and the gens Sergia (Egbert *Lat. Inscr.* p. 85), but had come to be used even of slaves (Cato *de re rust.* 141).

But, as time went on and Latin society gradually emerged from its barbaric condition, a kingship with no temporal power and tenable on these precarious terms became less and less sought after. At last only men 'tam abiectae conditionis tamque extremæ sortis' (Suet. *Cal.* 35) could be found willing to take their lives in their hands and become candidates for the post. The restriction to runaway slaves may have been helped out by a popular play on words. Runaway slaves were called with grim humour *cervi*, not *servi*; and Diana, who had under her protection the stags of the woodland, would also shelter the human quarry in her sanctuary: cp. Festus p. 343 Müller 'servorum dies festus vulgo existimatur Idus Aug., quod eo die Ser. Tullius, natus servus, aedem Dianæ dedicaverit in Aventino, cuius tutelæ sint cervi, a quo celeritate fugitivos vocent cervos.' Similarly any man who entered the grove of Zeus Lukaïos in Arcadia was dubbed ἔλαφος (Plut. *quaest. Gr.* 39), perhaps as being the natural prey of the fierce wolf-god (see *J.H.S.* xiv. 137). However that may be, the deterrent effect of the sword-of-Damocles at Nemi is illustrated by the vacant throne of Ngoïo in West Africa (*G.B.* ii. 26). One can quite understand that none but a desperado would in imperial, or even late republican, times have become a claimant for the Arician kingship. On the other hand, the *rex sacrorum* at Rome had to submit to nothing more dangerous or degrading than the annual *regifugium* above mentioned; his office remained compatible with patrician dignity.

(d) Those who undertook the risk at Nemi had first to break off a bough from the sacred tree. Why? According to Dr. Frazer, because the life of the oak-spirit resided in the mistletoe; the incarnating priest could not, therefore, be slain until the mistletoe had been cut (*G.B.* iii. 450). According to Mr. Andrew Lang, 'the bough was broken...as a taunt, a challenge, and a warning. "You can't keep your old tree, make room for a better man!" That is the spirit of the business' (*Magic and Religion*, p. 221). I should prefer to steer a middle course between the subtlety of Dr. Frazer's explanation and the outspoken verve of Mr. Lang's. It is doubtful whether the tree was an oak⁴ and still more doubtful whether

⁴ Prof. Furtwängler *die antiken Gemmen* iii. 231 holds that we have a representation of Diana Nemorensis in a series of gems, which exhibit a draped female figure standing by an altar with a branch in one hand and a cup (sometimes full of

any mistletoe grew on it; but after all it was a sacred tree, and the branch—I take it—was broken in order that the challenger might put himself directly under the protection of Diana. The very fact that he had been able¹ to break off the branch raised a presumption that he was the chosen champion of the goddess, and—wearing her favour, so to speak,²—he did battle with the former champion.

If, then, we start from the simple hypothesis that the *rex Nemorensis* is comparable with the *rex sacrorum*, the various details of the Arician priesthood fall into place without difficulty and we arrive at a satisfactory theory of the whole cult. Indeed so obvious is the path that we ask in amazement, How came Dr. Frazer to miss it? The fact is, he did not miss it, but deliberately rejected it. In vol. i. p. 162 he raises the question 'May not the King of the Wood have had an origin like that which a probable tradition assigns to the Sacrificial King of Rome and the titular King of Athens? In other words, may not his predecessors in office have been a line of kings whom a republican revolution stripped of their political power, leaving them only their religious functions and the shadow of a crown?' 'There are,' Dr. Frazer continues, 'at least two reasons for answering this question in the negative. One reason is drawn from the abode of the priest of Nemi; the other from his title, the King of the Wood. If his predecessors had been kings in the ordinary sense, he would surely have been found residing, like the fallen kings of Rome and Athens, in the city of which the sceptre had passed from him. This city must have been Aricia, for there was none nearer. But Aricia, as we have seen, was three miles off from his forest sanctuary by the lake shore. If he reigned, it was not in the city, but in the greenwood. Again his title, King of the Wood, hardly allows us to suppose that he had ever been a king in the common sense of the word. More likely he was a king of nature, and of a special side of nature, namely, the woods from which he took his title.'

fruit) in the other; near her is placed a stag (*ib.* pl. xx. 66, xxii. 18, 26, 30, 32). A similarly posed male figure holding a sacrificial knife (*ib.* pl. xxii. 19) is regarded by him as Virbius. If these identifications were certain, we could be sure that the sacred tree at Nemi was *not* an oak: for in pl. xxii. 18 at least the branch has round fruit on it, probably apples.

¹ Cp. Serv. on *Aen.* 6. 136 'dabatur autem fugitivis potestas, ut si quis exinde ramum potuisset auferre,' etc.

² Cp. the θαλλοφόροι at the Panathenaic festival.

These two objections are the lions that frightened Dr. Frazer from finding his way to the Interpreter's house. But closer inspection shows that the lions are chained. (1) If, argues Dr. Frazer, the *rex Nemorensis* had been in truth the religious successor of a line of temporal monarchs, he would have been found residing where his predecessors resided—at Aricia. As it is, we find him three miles off in a forest sanctuary. Therefore he had no such secular origin. This argument strikes me as a singularly weak one. It assumes as beyond question that an Arician monarch would reside at Aricia. But, if an important part of the duties of an early *rex* was to look after the public ritual of his domain (Dr. Frazer has just proved it: *G.B.* i. 161 f.), and if the chief cult of Aricia went on at Nemi (Dr. Frazer would readily admit it: *G.B.* i. 2), why in the name of all that is reasonable should not the Arician king have lived at Nemi? That he actually did so is rendered highly probable, if not absolutely certain, by the associated cult of Vesta. What is the meaning of a Vesta-shrine, *alias* a public hearth, at Nemi except that the king had his residence there? Aricia was not unique in having its principal religious seat at a distance from the town: the Artemision at Ephesus, for example, was almost a mile from the city,³ and its sacred kings the Essenes⁴ very probably resided within the *temenos*. Religious obligations, then, provide a sufficient reason for the choice of the Arician king's abode. (2) Again, Dr. Frazer urges: 'his title, King of the Wood, hardly allows us to suppose that he had ever been a king in the common sense of the word.' This argument is misleading. The English phrase 'King of the Wood' does more or less suggest a departmental king of nature; but only because we do not use the word 'wood' as a separate place-name: 'King of the Black Forest' or 'King of the Bush' would not be similarly suggestive. Now the Latin phrase *rex Nemorensis* means, not 'king of *nemora* in general,' but 'king of the *Nemus* in parti-

³ J. T. Wood, *Discoveries at Ephesus*, p. 9.

⁴ *Ελλην. μαγ.* 383, 30 'Εσσην' ὁ βασιλεὺς κατὰ Ἐφεσίους. See *J.H.S.* xv. 12 and Herwerden *Lex. Gr. suppl.*, s.v. ἔσσην. Strabo xiv. 1. 3 (633c) states on the authority of Pherkydes that the descendants of Androklos, founder of Ephesus, ἐν νῦν...ὀνομάζονται βασιλεῖς, ἔχοντές τινας τιμὰς, προέδριαν τε ἐν ἀγῶσι καὶ πορφύραν ἐπίσημον τοῦ βασιλικοῦ γένους, σκήπτρα ἀντὶ σκήπτρου, καὶ τὰ ἱερὰ τῆς Ἐλευσινίας Δήμητρος. But, as Dittenberger has pointed out (*Syll.*² i. 279, no. 175, 4 n.), it is doubtful whether these βασιλεῖς or βασιλῖδαι (Suid. s.v. Πυθαγόρας Ἐφέσιος) can be identified with the ἔσσηνες.

cular,' i.e. king of a certain definite wood, which in virtue of its importance had come to be known as the wood κατ' ἐξοχὴν,¹ 'Nemi, imbedded in wood,' as Clough calls it in his *Amours de Voyage*. And 'king of Nemi,' as it is best translated, no more points to a departmental deity than 'king of Rome.' Had the Latins wished to imply 'king of all woodlands,' they would probably have said 'rex silvanus' rather than 'rex Nemorensis'; for the latter adjective has a distinctively local termination.²

These were the main objections that deterred Dr. Frazer from following up the analogy offered by the *rex sacrorum*, and they have broken down. We need not hesitate, then, to press that analogy and to conclude that the *rex Nemorensis* was in fact the religious successor of one who had been also a temporal king.³

¹ Wissowa *op. cit.* p. 199, n. 3 well observes: 'Auch die um das Heiligtum sich gruppierende Niederlassung heisst mit Eigennamen Nemos (Némos Strab. v. 239, App. b.c. v. 24), heute Nemi, ebenso wie sich aus dem *lucus Angitiae* im Marserlande. . . die Gemeinde der Lucenses, heute Luco, entwickelte (Mommsen *C.I.L.* ix. p. 367).' Similarly at Teutheia in Achaea Artemis bore the cult-title of Νεμυδία (Strab. viii. 3. 11, 342 c.), which was presumably derived from a neighbouring νέμος. Thus Artemis Νεμυδία would be an exact parallel to Diana *Nemorensis*.

² Roby *Lat. Gram.* i. 300, section 815, Stolz *Hist. Gram. d. Lat. Spr.* i. 540 f.

³ If the *rex sacrorum* was thus strictly parallel to the *rex Nemorensis*, it is tempting to ask whether certain points in the story of the early kings of Rome do not gain a fresh significance. Servius Tullius was born a slave (Dion. Hal. 4. 1). And the singular legend about his birth preserved by Plut. *de fort. Rom.* 10 and Dion. Hal. 4. 1-2 implies a close, indeed a vital, connexion between him and the royal hearth. Again, he was in a sense the champion of Diana: we have seen that he established her cult on the Aventine, and sacrificed a phenomenal cow in her honour. He lived near an ancient *Dianium* on the *Virbius clivus* (Liv. i. 48. 6, Solin. i. 25), a hill leading up to the Fagatal of the Esquiline (Kiepert-Hülsemann, map i. Ko). Finally, he was attacked in person by his successor L. Tarquinius, the son of *Egerius* (Dion. Hal. 4. 64), and put to the sword by his orders (Dion. Hal. 4. 39, Liv. i. 48. 4). Is this conjuncture of circumstances (slave yet king, connected with hearth, devoted to Diana, murdered by successor) and names (Dianium, Virbius, Egerius) purely accidental, or have we here scattered hints of a state of affairs really corresponding to the situation at Nemi? In view of variants on the reading *Virbius* in Liv. i. 48. 6 and Solin. i. 25 it would be rash to insist on the latter possibility. In Liv. i. 48. 6 *Virbius clivum* is the reading of the libri recentiores: *Urbium* is supported by codd. A C H I Voss. II.; *urbiuum* stands in Lips., *urbiium* in the frag. Flammersheimense. In Solin. i. 25 too the best attested reading is *clivum Urbium*: cod. Sangallensis has *orbium*, and cod. Angelomontanus *obbiuum*. Nevertheless it is quite possible that the slope of the Esquiline was originally called 'clivus Virbius,' like the hill at Aricia (Pers. 6. 56 *clivumque ad Virbi*).

How does this conclusion affect our estimate of the *Golden Bough*? It certainly invalidates what I have called the framework of the book. If I am right, not only is the 'Golden Bough' a misnomer, but the whole explanation of the Arician cult given by Dr. Frazer falls to the ground. Yet (and I would lay stress on the fact) Dr. Frazer's work is much more than an attempted explanation of a single cult. He has undertaken—

*omne aenom tribus explicare chartis
doctis, Juppiter, et laboriosis,*

and we have still to examine the inferences here drawn from a vast array of facts relating to other cults and other climes. Unless I am much mistaken, the real value of the book will be found to lie not in the particular Arician hypothesis—that is wrong—but in the generalisations with regard to magic and early religion, many of which are undoubtedly right.

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Numismatische Zeitschrift. Vol. xxxiii. (for 1901) 1902.

Imhoof-Blumer. 'Zur syrischen Münzkunde.' Rare or unpublished coins of Apamea on the Orontes, Karne, Ptolemais, Nikopolis, Emmaus, &c. The cultus-statue of Zeus Heliopolites seen between two oxen on the coins of Nikopolis is discussed.—J. Scholz. 'Griechische Münzen aus meiner Sammlung.'—A. Markl. 'Das Provinzialcourant unter Kaiser Claudius II. Gothicus.' On the coinage of Alexandria in Egypt.—O. Voetter. 'Die Münzen des Kaisers Gallienus und seiner Familie.' Continued from Vol. 32. With atlas of plates.—J. Maurice. 'L'atelier monétaire de Thessalonica pendant la période Constantinienne.'—O. Voetter. 'Herculi und Jovi. Räthselhafte Abkürzungen auf gleichzeitigen Münzen des Constantinus in Lugdunum und des Licinius in Antiochia.'

Revue belge de Numismatique. Part 2, 1902.

A. Blanchet. 'Une émission de monnaies en Gaule sous Gallien en 262.'—Coins with reverses inscribed 'Deo Volcano,' 'Deo Marti,' and 'Deae Segetiae,' probably struck at Lyons at the time when

For, when the neighbouring *Dianium* disappeared (Liv. i. 48. 6 *ubi Dianium nuper fuit*), the name 'Virbius' would almost inevitably suffer corruption. It would naturally pass into 'Verbius' (in Pers. *loc. cit.* cod. C has *verbi*, and in Verg. *Aen.* 7. 762 cod. R has *Verbius*), or 'Urbius' from 'Urbs' = Rome, or 'Vibius' from the well-known gens, or 'Orbius' ('Ορβιος' cod. Vat. in Dion. Hal. 4. 39) to suit the tradition that Tullia there drove her chariot-wheels ('orbes') over her father's corpse (Fest. p. 182 Müller suggests derivation from the 'flexuosi orbes' of the hill), or 'Olbius' to form a contrast with the later name of the road, 'Vicus Sceleratus' (Dion. Hal. 4. 39 οὗτος ὁ στενωπός, ὅλβιος καλούμενος πρότερον, ἐξ ἐκείνου τοῦ δεινοῦ καὶ μυσαροῦ πάθους ἀτεβής...καλεῖται).

the Empire was scourged by pestilence.—*Review*. Macdonald's *Catal. of Greek Coins*, Hunter Coll., vol. ii.

Rivista italiana di Numismatica. Vol. xv. Parts 1 and 2, 1902.

F. Gnechi. 'Appunti di numismatica Romana.' On some rare coins (*aes grave* &c.) from recent excavations in Rome.—G. Dattari. 'Appunti di numismatica Alessandrina.' On the classification of the Alexandrian coins of Salomonius and Valerianus junior.—J. Maurice. 'L'atelier monétaire d'Ostia pendant la période Constantienne.'—A. Sambon. 'La cronologia delle monete di Neapolis.'—M.

Rostowzew. 'Tessero di piombo inedite e notevoli della collezione Francesco Gnechi a Milano.—R. Mowat. 'Le monnayage de Clodius Macer et les deniers de Galba marqués des lettres S. C.' A full descriptive list with illustrations of the coins of Macer, *propraetor* in Africa.—'Il Ripostoglio di Karnak.' A short notice of the recent remarkable find of Roman coins at Karnak near Luxor. The coins are Roman aurei, in perfect preservation, of the period from Hadrian to Diadumenian. They were contained in two terracotta jars, one of which held 1000, the other 180 specimens.

WARWICK WROTH.

SUMMARIES OF PERIODICALS

American Journal of Philology. Vol. xxii, 4. Whole No. 88. 1901.

A further collection of Latin Proverbs, M. C. Sutphen. *The Torch-Race*, J. R. S. Sterrett. *The Pomerium and Roma Quadrata*, S. B. Platner. *Etymologies*, G. Hempl. *Zarathustra and the Logos*, L. H. Mills. *Cicero's Judgment of Lucretius*, G. L. Hendrickson. *Cicero ad Atticum*, Louise Dodge. MAMATPAI, J. S. Speyer. The books noticed are Harper's *Assyrian and Babylonian Letters* (C. Johnston), Cumont's *Textes et Monuments Figurés Relatifs aux Mystères de Mithra* (G. Showerman), Oslander's *Hannibalzug* (E. B. Lease).

Vol. xxiii. No. 1. 1902.

Problems in Greek Syntax, Basil L. Gildersleeve. The editor defines his position as regards the aesthetics of syntax. *The Annals of Varro*, H. A. Sanders. *Word-Accent in Early Latin Verse*, J. J. Schlicher. A rehabilitation of the pitch accent in Latin. *A martyrological Fragment from Jerusalem*, E. J. Godspeed. *Plato's Testimony to Quantity and Accent*, A. N. Jannaris. *Note on the collation of Parisinus 7900A (of Horace)* M. S. Slaughter. Review, Reports, Brief Mention, etc.

Hermes. Vol. 37, 1. 1902.

W. Dittenberger, *die Familie des Alkibiades*. Proves that the pedigree-tree of Alcibiades as we have it shows that a generation has fallen out. He exhibits it as follows—Alcib. I. contemporary of Cleisthenes, his sons Kleinias I. trierarch at Salamis and Alcib. II. called *ὁ παλαιός* in Plat. *Euthyd.* 275A. The sons of the latter were Kleinias II., who was father of the celebrated Alcibiades and fell at Coronea in 446, and Axiochus. F. Leo, *Vergil und die Ciris*. Combats the view of Skutsch that Cornelius Gallus is the author of *Ciris*. I. concludes that the verses common to Vergil and the author of *Ciris* are borrowed by the latter, who published the poem after the *Aeneid*. A. Brieger, *Denokrits angebliche Leugnung der Sinneswahrheit*. Shows abundantly that D. believed the testimony of the senses. He only required that sense-perception should be completed and corrected by the understanding. U. Wilcken, *ein neuer Brief Hadrians*. Dates a letter in the Berlin Museum (No. 140), which he had previously ascribed to Trajan, in the year 119, and now ascribes it to Hadrian. W. K. Prentice, *die Bauinschriften des Heilighums auf dem Djebel Shékéh Berékd.* Gives an account of an

expedition to this mountain N.W. of Aleppo. The inscriptions on the remains of a wall show that there was here a temple to Zeus Madbachos and Selamanes. We also have information given on the builder and the architect, the cost and the time of building. F. Hiller von Gaertringen und C. Robert, *Relief von dem Grabmal eines rhodischen Schulmeisters*. Description of this relief found in the neighbourhood of old Ialysus and now in Hiller's possession. It was probably the upper part of a door-entrance. The *Ταξιάρχης*, to whose family the deceased belonged, probably were of the town Phoenix and are not the inhabitants of the Lycian town Tios. M. Ihm, *eine lateinische Babriosübersetzung*. This is from the second vol. of the Amherst Papyri and is a translation of two fables of Babrios and part of a third in extremely bad Latin. W. Crönert, *Ornela*. On some linguistic peculiarities of inscriptions from Ornela which was a place on the borders of Pisidia and Phrygia. O. Seeck, *Zur Chronologie Constantins*. Opposes Mommsen's opinion as to the date of Constantine's becoming sole emperor and also Th. Preger's on the date of the foundation of Constantinople. Mommsen replies that Seeck's argument is consistent with his own opinion. G. Wissowa, *monatliche Geburtstagsfeier*. Refers *Verg. Ecl.* 1. 7 and 42 not to a Roman but to a Greek and oriental custom of celebrating the birthday of the monarch with monthly sacrifices. M. Ihm, *zur römischen Prosopographie*. Refers to some tile-inscriptions.

Rheinisches Museum für Philologie. Vol. 57, 1. 1902.

Ueber eine besondere Bedeutung von γάρ, J. M. Stahl. In *Thuc.* iii. 40. 4 and 43. 4 γάρ neither gives a reason nor an explanation, but is rather concessive = 'it is true.' Other exx. of this meaning are given which accords with the derivation γε ἄρα. *Ueber den Verfasser der X libri de architectura*, H. Degering. Maintains against Ussing the authorship of Vitruvius and discusses the relationship of the work to Pliny. To be continued. *Zwei alte Torenprobleme*, F. Schoell. On (1) the prologue to the *Heautontimorumenos* and (2) the narrative in the *Andria*. *Zu Achilles Tatius*, F. Wilhelm. Discusses the erotic literature of the ancients on the question as to whether the love of women or of boys is superior, and refers to Achilles Tatius. *Kaiser Marcus Salvius Otho*, L. Paul. An apology for Otho. His suicide is attributed to a desire to guard the Romans from civil war, also to want of confidence in himself as a

general. *Aus dem zweite Bande der Amherst-Papyri*, L. Rademacher. Discusses the contents of this volume. *Attributes* No. 1 to the 'Hector' of Astydamos. No. 17 is from a commentary of Aristarchus on Herodotus. Pap. xx. contains scholia to the Artemis-hymn of Callimachus. *Die Inschrift der Aphaia aus Aigina*, M. Fränkel. Shows that the *okos* of Aphaia must have stood in the *temenos* of Artemis. Zum 1. *Strassburger Archilochos-Fragmente*, O. Schulthess. *Dionys. de Lysia*, p. 32, 12 (p. 496 R.). L. Rademacher. Alters $\delta\pi\delta$ (or $\alpha\pi\delta$) to $\epsilon\pi\iota$. Zu *Pseudo-Sallusts Invektiva*, F. Schoell. *Die Verse des 'Vallegius' in der Vita Terentii*, F. Schoell. Zu *Amnians Marcellinus*, K. Zangemeister. In 30, 5, 19 reads *fulserat consuele* for *fulserat consuevit*. Zu dem sogenannten *Laetantius Placidus*, G. Knaack. Helm on *Öv. Met.* vii, 762 refers to the commentator L. P., but there is no authority for his existence. Zu *Avianus*, P. v. Winterfeld. *Erstarrte Flexion von Ortsnamen im Latein*, H. Zangemeister. Place-names in gen. acc. and abl. instead of in the nom. occur in good imperial times not only in itineraries but also in inscriptions and even in a Pompeian wall inscr. *Secus* statt *secundus* und *Aehnliches*, K. Zangemeister. Such forms are rather to be considered as vulgar-Latin than as contractions. *Divus Alexander*, H. Usener. Shows that the notice in *Joh. Chrysost.* xxvi. Homily, that the Roman senate named Alexander as the 13th Divus refers to Alexander Severus. Consequently before the death of Severus (235) and after 224 a reduction in the number of Divi must have taken place. *Das Amphiktyonen-Gesetz von Jahre 380*, L. Ziehen. Discusses the length of the lines of this inscr. and fills up gaps by conjecture.

Wochenschrift für Klassische Philologie. 1902.

28 May. *Euripidis Fabulae*, ed. R. Prinz et N. Wecklein. *Troades* ed. N. Wecklein. *Heceuba* ed. alt. cur. N. Wecklein. (K. Busche), favourable. E. P. Morris, *On principles and methods in Latin Syntax* (H. Blase). 'A land-mark in the study of Latin syntax.' K. Vollmöller, *Kritischer Jahresbericht über die Fortschritte der romanischen Philologie*, V. 2. (H. Ziemer), very favourable.

4 June. F. Imhoof-Blumer, *Kleinasiatische Münzen* I. (H. v. Fritze), very favourable. H. Pomtow, *Delphische Chronologie* (H. Gillischewski), favourable. K. Brugmann, *Griechische Grammatik*. Mit einem Anhang über *Griechische Lexikographie* von L. Cohn. 3. A. (Bartholomae). W. Vollbrecht, *Maccenas* (A. Höck), favourable.

11 June. A. Nikitsky, *Untersuchungen auf dem Gebiet der griechischen Inschriften* (E. v. Stern), favourable. V. Costanzi, *Quaestiones chronologicae*. I. *De Hellenici aetate definienda*. II. *Quo tempore Darius Hystaspis filius ad Scythiam perdomandam profectus sit* (A. Höck), favourable. O. Schroh, *De Eryzia qui fertur Platonis* (G. Wörpel), favourable. J. Podivinsky, *Die alten Klassiker und die Bibel in Citaten* (F. H.), unfavourable.

18 June. E. Schrader, *Die Keilinschriften und das Alte Testament*. 3. A. von H. Zimmern und H. Winckler. I. (v. Präsek). 'A new edition of an epoch-making book.' E. Kammer, *Ein ästhetischer Kommentar zu Homers Ilias*. 2. A. (Karlowa). 'This new edition is re-arranged, but its excellences remain the same.' A. Hamilton. *The negative compounds in Greek* (J. Sitzler), favourable. D. Tamilia, *De Timothei Christiani et Aquilae Judaei dialogo* (J. Draeseke), favourable.

LIST OF NEW BOOKS.

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Apollonii *Dyscoli quae supersunt*. Recc., app. crit., comment., indices adiecerunt R. Schneider et G. Uhlig. I. II.: R. Schneideri comment. crit. et exegeticum in Apoll. scripta minora (Grammatici Gracci, I. II.) 8vo., iv. 274 pp. Leipzig. Teubner. 16 M.
Apollonius *Rhodi*. Knorr, A. *De Apollonii Rhodii Argonauticorum fontibus quaestiones selectae*. Diss. Leipzig. 8vo. 43 S.
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ON PLATO'S SHIP OF FOOLS.

νόησον γὰρ τοιοῦτον ἡγεόμενον εἴτε πολλῶν νεῶν περὶ εἴτε μιᾶς ναύκληρον μεγέθει μὲν καὶ βίῳ ὑπὲρ τοὺς ἐν τῇ νηὶ πάντας, ὑπόκωφον δὲ καὶ ὀρώντα ὡσαύτως βραχὺ τι καὶ γιγνώσκοντα περὶ ναυτικῶν ἕτερα τοιαῦτα, τοὺς δὲ ναῦτας στασιάζοντας πρὸς ἀλλήλους περὶ τῆς κυβερνήσεως, ἕκαστον οἰόμενον δεῖν κυβερνᾶν, μήτε μαθόντα πώποτε τὴν τέχνην μήτε ἔχοντα ἀποδεῖξαι διδάσκαλον ἑαυτοῦ μηδὲ χρόνον ἐν ᾧ ἐμάνθανε, πρὸς δὲ τούτοις φάσκοντας μηδὲ διδασκὸν εἶναι, . . . αὐτοὺς δὲ αὐτῷ ἀεὶ τῷ ναυκλήρῳ περιεχέσθαι, δεομένους καὶ πάντα ποιοῦντας, ὅπως ἂν σφίσι τὸ πηδάλιον ἐπιτρέψῃ . . . πρὸς δὲ τούτοις ἐπαινοῦντας . . . ὅς ἂν ξυλλαμβάνειν δεινὸς ᾖ, ὅπως ἄρξουσιν ἢ πείθονται ἢ βιάζονται τὸν ναύκληρον . . . τοῦ δὲ ἀληθινοῦ κυβερνήτου περὶ μηδ' ἐπαίοντες ὅτι ἀνάγκη αὐτῷ τὴν ἐπιμέλειαν ποιέσθαι ἑαυτοῦ καὶ ὥρων . . . ὅπως δὲ κυβερνήσει ἂν τέ τινας βούλωνται ἑὺν τε μή, μήτε τέχνην τούτου μήτε μελέτην οἰόμενοι δυνατόν εἶναι λαβεῖν ἅμα καὶ τὴν κυβερνητικὴν.—Plato's *Republic*, 488.

The familiar allegory of The Ship of State in Plato's *Republic* (Book vi, 488), has been so persistently perverted in British publications, that it seems to deserve a brief restatement. Mr. Grote in his 'Plato' (iv. 53), paraphrases the parable as follows: 'Conceive a ship on her voyage, under the management of a steersman distinguished for force of body as well as for skill in his craft, but not clever in dealing with, or acting upon other men....They never reflect that the genuine steersman...cannot at the same time possess skill and practice in keeping his hold of the rudder whether the crew are pleased with him or not.' Mr. Grote's interpretation shows that he understood the

'steersman distinguished for force of body' etc. to be the true philosopher, and this doubtless it was which led him to misunderstand and insert the 'skill in his craft.'

Mr. Jowett's translation, essentially unchanged in the different editions, runs as follows: 'Imagine then a fleet or a ship in which there is a captain who is taller and stronger than any of the crew, but he is a little deaf and has a similar infirmity in sight, and his knowledge of navigation is not much better. The sailors are quarrelling with one another about the steering...they mutiny' etc. '... but that the true pilot must pay attention to the year and seasons ... , and that he must and will be the steerer whether other people like or not . . the possibility of this union of authority with the steerer's art has never seriously entered into their thoughts....Now in vessels which are in a state of mutiny, and by sailors who are mutineers, how will the true pilot be regarded?'

In the margin of this translation and in that of the text of the Jowett and Campbell edition, we read: 'the noble captain whose senses are rather dull (the people in their better mind); the mutinous crew' etc.

Mr. Purves in his 'Selections from Plato' (both editions) paraphrases thus: 'I will compare the philosopher to a pilot, who is a very good pilot, but rather deaf and parcel-blind, and so is unable to control his mutinous crew,' etc. And, again, 'but somewhat deaf and parcel-blind to match, and no great adept in navigation.' And, once more: 'The meaning of the whole passage is: "These mutineers are in a double ignorance. They have no conception of the art of the

true pilot; and if they had, they deem such art incompatible with any art or practice of preserving order whether the ship's company consent or no." This explanation of Mr. Purves is most perplexing. How can a pilot be a 'very good pilot,' when he is 'rather deaf, parcel-blind to match, and no great adept in navigation?' And how can a philosopher be likened to such a pilot? If Adimantus understood Socrates to mean this, we cannot wonder that he was surprised at his assertion that philosophers should rule the State.

But what does Plato mean? Simply that the people of Athens are like a ship-owner who has little knowledge of navigation; they are more powerful than any one else in the ship of State, if they care to exercise their authority: they have the right to appoint the ruler of the State, as the ship-owner had the right to appoint the captain for his vessel; but they do not understand very well what is told them, have little foresight, and know little of the principles of government. The crew are the politicians, each of whom desires to command the ship of State, though he has never learned the art of ruling, says even that this cannot be taught, that there is no such art. The politicians regard as an able man and a true 'statesman' one who is able to 'pack the primaries' and 'lay wires' in such a way that they may secure control of the government; they call an unpractical visionary him who has no skill in securing nominations and elections, though he may be fit to rule by nature, and is acquainted with all the principles of government. On the other hand, the philosopher, the true seaman, does not believe there is any true art in the devices to attain power whether the other party desires it or not; and that in any case the man who is to be qualified to command the ship of State needs all his time for higher duties and has none to devote to the mere attainment of power. As Socrates goes on to say only a few lines farther on, nature forbids the true seaman to beg sailors to receive his commands; he will not seek office; if a man is ill he must seek the physician, and if a man needs to be ruled he must seek a ruler, οὐ τὸν ἀρχοντα δέσσειν τῶν ἀρχομένων ἀρχεσθαι, οὐ ἂν τῇ ἀληθείᾳ τι ὄφελος ᾖ. On these grounds the philosopher is indeed useless to the State, but only because the State does not commit itself to him.

What has caused the misinterpretation of the passage in which we find nothing about a 'noble captain' and 'mutinous

crew,' and nothing about 'preserving order whether the ship's company consent or no,' and where the ship-owner represents the people not 'in their better mind,' but in their ordinary mind? For one of the sailors to persuade by any means the owner of the vessel to appoint him its captain, is not mutiny—even if wine or liquors should be used to this end.

The chief trouble of the exegetes of this passage seems to have arisen from the word ναύκληρος *ship-owner*, with some collateral doubt about κυβερνήτης, which at times means *helmsman* or *pilot*, though it is usually applied to the *commander* of a boat (compare the use of *gubernator* in Latin). In early times the 'skipper' owned his own boat; the owner was also the captain of the ship, and ναύκληρος in the fifth century B.C. might be used for a sea-captain. In the next century, as commerce became more important, more frequently a man who knew nothing about nautical matters invested his money in a ship, and appointed a seaman to manage it. (See Plutarch *Morals* 807 B, ναύτας μὲν ἐκλέγεται κυβερνήτης, καὶ κυβερνήτην ναύκληρος.) Not infrequently he accompanied the ship, in order to watch his property and maintain his rights. In a notable passage in Demosthenes's oration 'On the Crown' (§ 194), the orator compares himself to a ναύκληρος who had provided his boat with all that he supposed necessary for safety, but was blamed for the wreck; ἀλλ' οὐτ' ἐκυβέρνησεν τὴν ναῦν, φήσκειν αὖ, ὥσπερ οἱ δ' ἐστρατήγουν ἐγὼ. That the ναύκληρος was with his vessel at the time of the disaster is implied in his excuse—not that he was absent but that he was *not in command*, οὐτ' ἐκυβέρνησεν, which again illustrates the meaning of κυβερνᾶν in our passage. Another excellent illustration of the use of the two words is found in the Acts of the Apostles, xxvii. 11, where 'the centurion believed the master and the owner of the ship (τῷ κυβερνήτῃ καὶ τῷ ναυκλήρῳ) more than those things which were spoken by Paul.'

For the latter part of the passage, Mr. Jowett offers alternative translations, and the commentary of Jowett and Campbell offers alternative constructions, all of which I am obliged to consider faulty. The alternative translation given in a footnote is: 'But only understanding (ἐπαίοντας) that he (the mutinous pilot) must rule in spite of other people, never considering that there is an art of command which may be practised in combination with the pilot's art.' This really seems no improvement on

'that hemust and will be the steerer, whether other people like or not,' etc. The subject of ὅπως δὲ κυβερνήσει must be, not a 'mutinous pilot,' but the true pilot, the philosopher. ὅπως κυβερνήσει is not 'a resumption' (Jowett-Campbell) of ὅπως ἀρξουσιν, but is parallel with it, and both verbs alike have the inceptive force, *attain power, obtain control*. The thoughts form a balance, not a repetition. Mr. Grote's translation, 'keeping his hold of the rudder,' and Mr. Jowett's, 'must and will be the steerer,' both hide and blunt the very point which Socrates is urging. Of course the Greek future can denote attainment as well as continuance of an action; the connexion of thought must decide.

The Jowett-Campbell commentary is quite right in saying that πείθοντες ἢ βιάζόμενοι is parallel with εἰντέ τινες βούλωνται εἰντέ μὴ, but it is wrong in its inference from this remark; the latter of the expressions refers to the true pilot, while the former refers to the disorderly crew. The politicians are ready to acquire office by all means, by persuasion or by force, while the true Platonic statesman will not spend his time in planning to secure an election against all opposition. The politician thinks there is no art of ruling the State, and scorns the man who differs with him; the philosopher, the statesman, on the other hand, believes that adroitness in gaining office is no true art, and he despises such skill.

Up to this point, the writer is confident that the reader agrees with him. The mere statement of the alternatives would seem to suffice. No scholar after consideration can doubt that ναύκληρος here is *ship-owner*, and does not, like 'captain,' imply the direction of the ship in detail; nor that κυβερνήτης is *sea-captain*, and not a mere helmsman, who simply obeys the captain's orders as to the course, and has no need to study the heavens and the seasons; nor that it is the philosopher and not the ordinary politician who disbelieves the possibility of uniting the skill of the true ruler (who, according to Plato, never considers what is for his own advantage, but only that which is good for the ruled) with adroitness in securing place and power. But the word for *believing* in this last sentence (488 E) is of uncertain grammatical case in the tradition: the good MSS. have οἰόμενοι, others of less authority οἰομένους, and another οἰομένων in the margin. If we read οἰόμενοι with the authoritative MSS., Schneider, C. F. Hermann, and Burnet, we must suppose a change in the construction, from a dependent to a more

independent statement, and from the particular man to the class of which he is one. The accusative οἰομένους clearly agrees with the disorderly crew, like ψέγοντας above, and so is impossible. The genitive οἰομένου would agree with τοῦ ἀληθοῦς κυβερνήτου, six lines above, which is demanded by the sense, as we have seen; it is so slightly attested, however, that we are forced to believe it the conjecture of a scribe. The dative οἰομένῳ was conjectured by Mr. Henry Sidgwick (*Journal of Philology*, v. 275), who urged correctly that 'it must be the true statesman who sees the impossibility of acquiring along with his proper art the quite different art of getting and keeping power.' But the agreement with αὐτῷ is not easy, and this suggestion is declared impossible by Mr. Richards in his 'Critical Notes on the Republic' (*Classical Review*, viii. 23). Mr. Richards, by the way, presents a conjecture in which he had been anticipated by Schmelzer, of ἀδύνατον or οὐ δυνάτον for δυνάτον, making the disorderly crew believe it possible to attain skill both in securing power and in ruling. This, however, not only destroys the balance of the sentence but is inconsistent with their belief previously asserted that there is no learning of κυβερνητική. Either οἰομένῳ or οἰομένῳ satisfies the demands of the thought, but the nominative οἰόμενος, explained as under the influence of the relative clause, ὅπως κυβερνήσει, would be more Platonic, and would be subject to assimilation by the scribes to the plural of the other participles. For such attraction it may be sufficient to refer to Riddle's 'Digest of Platonic Idioms,' § 192; in the *Classical Review* for 1901, page 28, I called attention to some examples of attraction where the attracting power seems quite as remote. The meaning of Plato is distinct; the form of one word which he used, is uncertain.

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P.S.—This passage of the *Republic* has been used as an illustration for Aristotle's *Politics* 1324b 22, but a careful examination shows the later passage to be a distinct reminiscence of the former. Cf. καίτοι δόξειεν ἂν ἅπαν ἄτοπον ἴσως εἶναι τοῖς βουλευμένοις ἐπισκοπεῖν, εἰ τοῦτ' ἐστὶν ἔργον τοῦ πολιτικοῦ, τὸ δύνασθαι θεωρεῖν ὅπως ἀρχὴ καὶ δεσπόζῃ τῶν πλησίον καὶ βουλευμένων καὶ μὴ βουλευμένων. πῶς γὰρ ἂν εἴη τοῦτο πολιτικὸν ἢ νομοθετικόν, ὃ γὰρ μηδὲ νομιμὸν ἐστίν;...οὕτε

γὰρ τοῦ ἱατροῦ οὔτε τοῦ κυβερνήτου ἔργον ἐστὶ τὸ ἢ πείσαι ἢ τὸ βιάσασθαι τοῦ μὲν τοὺς θεραπευομένους τοῦ δὲ τοὺς πλωτῆρας. This seems strongly to support the contention that the Platonic *οιομένους* refers to the true

pilot, while the Platonic passage would indicate that the subject of the Aristotelian *ἀρχη* was not the indefinite *τις* (so Newman) but ὁ πολιτικός.

THE 'ANCIENT VULGATE' OF PLATO AND VIND. F.

PROFESSOR BURNET'S article on 'A Neglected MS. of Plato,' in *C.R.* xvi., 98 ff. and Mr. Adam's review of Prof. Burnet's text of the *Republic* in *C.R.* xvi., 215 ff. have initiated the discussion of a question whose solution is of the highest importance to the textual critic of Plato. Prof. Burnet, in his introduction, repeats with approval the statement of Schneider with regard to Vind. F, 'Veterem vulgatam repraesentat, et fere cum Stobaeo, Eusebio etc. consentit.' To this he adds, 'Mirum in modum consentire solet hic liber cum Iamblichi Galeni Stobaei Eusebii aliorum testimoniiis, quae res vel ex mea adnotatione satis apparebit,' and thereupon hails with joy 'diu quaesitum antiquioris recensionis testem.' In *C.R.* xvi. 99 Prof. Burnet lays down the proposition that 'the original of Vind. F was not only older than our oldest MSS.; it was quite independent of the common archetype of ADM,' and followed the recension used by Galen, Iamblichus, Stobaeus, Clement, Eusebius and other writers of the first five centuries after Christ.' He then adduces the agreement of W¹ with the Armenian version on the one hand and ancient quotations on the other as a proof of the theory that 'there was an "ancient vulgate" of Plato's text, while our MSS. represent a recension made possibly about the ninth century A.D.'

Mr. Adam, in his review of Prof. Burnet's text, concedes 'for the sake of argument' that F represents the 'ancient vulgate,' although he afterwards speaks hesitatingly as to the existence of such a 'vulgate,' and confines himself to arguing that its authority is at least no greater than that of the old MSS.

It appears to me that the previous question as to the existence of an 'antiquior recensio' of the Platonic text, used by the writers of the first five centuries A.D., deserves a closer examination than it has hitherto

received. It would no doubt be necessary, in order to a final solution of the problem, to undertake a thorough examination of the text, not merely of the *Republic*, but also of other dialogues; Prof. Burnet, however, claims that his own *apparatus criticus* furnishes a sufficient proof of his thesis, and it would certainly seem that the facts therein set forth do enable us to form a judgment on the question at issue, though not, as I believe, that upheld by Prof. Burnet.

First let me say that it seems necessary to set out with a strictly defined conception of what is meant by the term 'vulgate.' As applied to printed books the word denotes a 'commercial' text reproduced in successive editions with no pretence at critical revision. The distinguishing mark of such a text is naturally its uniformity. In the ancient world the same phenomenon may be observed in the transmission of classical texts; the Homeric 'vulgate' affords a conspicuous example of a 'commercial' text such as those to which I have referred; but owing to the want of a purely mechanical process of reproduction the limits of variation are much greater than in modern books. At the same time, as has been shown by Mr. Allen and others in the case of Homer, such a 'commercial' text became so far fixed that the collation of a few MSS. of no special excellence would be sufficient to produce a text satisfactory on the whole.

We have now to ask firstly, whether such a text of the Platonic dialogues obtained currency in ancient times, and secondly, whether (if so) it is represented in the case of the *Republic* by Vind. F.

The witnesses to whom Prof. Burnet appeals in giving an affirmative answer to the first question are certain writers of the Christian era. The earliest of those whom he names is Galen; of the others two are Neo-Platonists, two Ecclesiastical writers and the last the compiler Stobaeus. Quotations from the *Republic* are also found in writers other than those enumerated by Prof. Burnet, e.g., Plutarch, Justin, Athen-

¹ W does not, of course, contain the *Republic*. Prof. Burnet had drawn attention to the fact, and deduced from it the theory of the 'Vulgate,' in the preface to his first volume.

aeus, Theon and Proclus. It must be admitted that if proof could be adduced that these writers, belonging to different centuries and schools of literature, were in possession of a substantially uniform text of Plato, there would be considerable justification for speaking of an 'ancient vulgate' of Plato. But is this the case?

There is no passage in the *Republic* for which so much external evidence is available as the Vision of Er. The *testimonia* are drawn from Plutarch, Theon, the Fathers of the Church, the Neo-Platonists and Stobaeus, so that here if anywhere we shall find a test case by which to try Prof. Burnet's theory. Now his *apparatus criticus* reveals as plainly as could be desired the fact that these authors do *not* quote from a 'vulgate' text. The Ardiaeus of Proclus, for example, is Aridaeus in the text used by the Christian writers. A number of readings are quoted by Prof. Burnet as supported by *one* ancient authority only; and the extent of the variation between the texts current in later antiquity may be gauged by such instances as the following:—

614^b 8 οὖν Proclus Stobaeus; οἱ Eusebius Theodoretus.

615^a 3 χυλίτη Proclus; χυλίτιν Stobaeus.

615^d 1 οὐδ' αὖν ἤξει Justinus Stobaeus; αὖν om. Proclus.

615^e 6 διαλαβόντες Proclus; ἰδίᾳ λαβόντες Stobaeus; ἰδίᾳ παραλαβόντες Clemens Eusebius.

616^a 3 κνάμπτοντες Proclus Clemens Eusebius; γνάμπτοντες Justinus.

616^b 6 προσφερῇ Proclus Stobaeus; ἐμπερές Theo.

No passage, as has been said already, furnishes so ready a means of testing the accuracy of the theory which postulates an 'ancient vulgate': but there are other important variations in the text of ancient quotations which point in the direction indicated above. Thus the reading ἀποδράς, adopted by Prof. Burnet in *Rep.* 329^e 4, is due to Theon, whereas ἀποφυγών is found in Clement and Stobaeus. Which is that of the 'vulgate'? There are no doubt passages in which various ancient writers appear to have had the same or similar recensions of the text before them. Thus in ii. 361 the Christian writers generally agree in readings which differ from those of our MSS.; yet even here Eusebius and Theodoret disagree in two places (361^b 5 and 361^e 5). In iv. 422 Eusebius and Stobaeus agree in three readings but disagree in three others. In vii. 531 Theon and Eusebius disagree in

every important case. Certainly there is nothing in such facts as these—and they are typical—to countenance the theory that the text used by the writers of the first five centuries A.D. partook of the nature of a 'vulgate.'

We now pass to the consideration of Vind. F and its readings. The question, indeed, which we proposed at the outset no longer demands an answer, since the existence of an 'ancient vulgate' appears more than doubtful. At the same time it is not to be denied that in a number of instances the reading of F coincides with that of one or more ancient writers and differs from that of ADM. When, however, we examine these instances we find that the statements quoted from Prof. Burnet at the beginning of this article cannot be maintained without modification. It will be convenient to treat the cases of different ancient writers separately.

I. Galen's testimony is available in the following sections of the *Republic*.

(a) II. 368. Here he has the following readings:—δοκῶ 368^d 1 (adopted by Prof. Burnet); ἐνὸς ἀνδρὸς 368^e 2; πάλιν τῆς 368^e 3; μείζον 368^e 5 (so too Proclus); αὖ εἰ 368^e 7. *In no case does F agree with Galen.*

(b) III. 407. Galen has:—τί γε for γε τί 407^b 4 in which F agrees, and διατάσεις 407^e 2, to which reading F has been corrected.

(c) III. 410. Galen has:—γε μὴν (adopted by Prof. Burnet) 410^b 5; κἀκεῖν ἐπεγείρων 410^b 6; μεταχειρίζονται 410^b 8. *In no case does F agree.*

(d) IV. 435/436. Galen has:—γ' omitted 435^e 9; αἷς δὲ 435^d 1; ἄλλη (an important variant, adopted by Prof. Burnet) 435^d 3; τε 436^b 9; διομολογησώμεθα 436^e 8; στρόμβοι 436^d 5; ἀποδοχοίμεθα (adopted by Prof. Burnet) 436^d 8; καὶ (om. MSS., adopted by Prof. Burnet) 436^e 4; ἔστιν omitted 436^e 6. *In no case does F agree.*

(e) IV. 439/441. Galen has:—θρήιον 439^b 4 (so too Stobaeus); τῷ γε αὐτῷ τὸ αὐτὸ τῷ 439^b 5; πράττειν 439^b 6; εἴη αὖ (for αὖ εἴη) 439^e 4; τοῦτο 439^e 6 (so too Stobaeus); αὖ omitted 439^e 9 (so too Stobaeus); μὲν 439^e 10 (so too Stobaeus); <χαλεπαίνειν καὶ> πολεμεῖν 440^a 5; πολλάκις 440^a 8; ζεῖ (adopted by Prof. Burnet) 440^e 7; νικᾶν...λήγειν 440^d 1; ἐκεῖ omitted 441^b 4. *In only two readings (εἴη αὖ for αὖ εἴη, and μὲν [om. MSS.]) does F agree with Galen, while M agrees with Galen and Stobaeus in τοῦτο,*

and D with the same authorities in omitting αὐ. Moreover the readings of Galen and Stobaeus, though agreeing in the cases mentioned above, are widely divergent in several others, so that in this passage at least it would be hard to maintain either that an 'ancient vulgate' was in existence, or that it was 'represented' by any one of our MSS.

(f) V. 451—456 *passim*. Galen has:—
ταῖς μὲν (om. MSS.) 451^a 1: τε omitted
452^a 2: τε (om. MSS.) 452^a 5: λέγομεν
453^b 2: κατοικήσεως 453^b 4: δ' omitted
455^b 9: νυνὶ 453^c 3: τείνον τὰ (adopted by Prof. Burnet) 454^a 1: ἔχοντα 454^a 2: γε (om. MSS., except F) 454^a 5: γ' (om. MSS., except F) 454^c 5: δλίγω 455^a 5: τοῦ
455^c 5: πάμπολυ (so *loc.* Eusebius) 455^d 1: τί 455^e 4: δὲ ἄρ' ἢ 456^a 1: καὶ (for οὐδὲ)
456^a 7: ἢ μὲν (om. MSS. and Eusebius)
456^a 11: ὁ δ' ἰσχυρότερος 456^a 11: αἱ om.
456^b 1: φυλάττει 456^b 2. Here we have some minor agreements with F; twice the particle γε is found in both authorities, but not in the old MSS.: the two remaining cases are the common errors λέγομεν for λέγωμεν and κατοικήσεως for κατοικίσεως, which are in all probability the result of coincidence. For none of the really important variants in the latter part of the passage is common to Galen and F: while the texts of Galen and Eusebius differ materially.

(g) IX. 581. Galen has ὅτι 581^a 6: τοῦ omitted 581^a 6. In neither case does F agree.

II. Iamblichus furnishes a considerable amount of external testimony to the text of book VII. We extract the following readings from Prof. Burnet's *apparatus criticus*.

παρὰ πᾶν 514^a 4: ἦν εἶναι 514^b 4: ὥκοδομη-
μένον 514^b 4: δεικνύοντι 514^b 6: οὐ ταῦτα
515^b 4: ὄντα 515^b 5 (and probably also Proclus): ὀνομάζειν 515^b 5 (where F and Proclus have νομίζειν): ἢ 515^c 5: αὐτὸ
515^d 2: τε (for τότε) 515^d 6: πάντως δῆπου
(for πολὺ γ' ἔφη) 515^d 8: νῦν omitted 516^a 3:
σεληνῶν 516^b 1: τε (om. MSS.) 516^b 6: ἦσαν
αὐτοῖς 516^c 8: περὶ 516^c 8: εἶωθε 516^c 1:
καὶ omitted 516^c 7: ἀμβλυωπεῖ 516^c 9:
παρέχοι 517^a 2: ἀνιέναι 517^a 4: ὡς ἀληθῶς τοῖς
(for τοῖς ἐμπροσθεν) 517^b 1: αὐτῇ (for αὐτῇ
or αὐτῇ) 517^c 4: παρεχομένη 517^c 4: νοῆσαι
518^b 6: ὅλον 518^b 7: σφέας omitted 518^c 1:
ἐκάστω 518^c 5: τὸ omitted 518^d 5: δεῖ μη-
χανήσασθαι 518^d 7: μὲν transposed 519^a 2:
τά (om. MSS.) 519^b 2: φιλομάθειαν 521^c 6:
ἀληθινὴν 521^c 8: ἐπ' (adopted by Prof.
Burnet) 523^d 1: οἷδ' ἐγερτικὸν omitted
523^e 1: αὐτῶν τινα 523^e 4: ἡ μαλακότης omitted

523^e 6: δηλώσουσιν 523^e 7: αὐτῇ 524^a 7:
μεταχειρίσασθαι 526^a 7: εἰσὶν omitted 527^c 5:
ἐτι ἀδυναμία (adopted by Prof. Burnet)
532^b 9: τὸ (for τότε) 532^c 6: ἀοράτῳ 532^d 1:
καὶ omitted 536^b 5: φιλομαθείας 536^b 5:
παισιν omitted (so too Stobaeus: but Theon
has πᾶσιν and F reads πασι) 537^c 1: τε
(found in F Theo Stobaeus, but omitted by
ADM) 537^c 2. Out of all these readings only
four are found in F: one is αὐτῇ for αὐτῇ
(αὐτῇ D), two are omissions of καὶ, one—and
the only one which we might perhaps call
that of the 'ancient vulgate'—the addition
of τε. Not one of the really important
variants given by Iamblichus recurs in F.

Iamblichus' testimony is also available for IX. 589—591. The following readings are found in his text: ἐαντῷ 589^a 4 (ἐαντοῦ MSS., αὐτοῦ Stobaeus): εἰς ἐλευθερίαν (also Stobaeus: omitted by MSS.) 590^a 7: βούλε-
ται (also Stobaeus and [possibly] F) 590^a 1:
τῶν 591^a 1: τοῦτω 591^a 1: τὰ omitted
591^a 2: ζήσει (adopted by Prof. Burnet)
591^c 7: φανείται (adopted by Prof. Burnet)
591^d 3: εἰς (om. MSS.) 591^d 8. Only in the
doubtful case of βούλεται does F agree with
Iamblichus: while in the important variant
ζήσει—the true reading—Iamblichus is sup-
ported not by F but by M, just as δεῖ μη-
χανήσασθαι is read by A and Iamblichus in
518^d 7.

I have examined the cases of Galen and Iamblichus with special minuteness because the results are such as to demonstrate beyond the possibility of doubt that Prof. Burnet's statement as to F—*mirum in modum consentit cum Iamblichi Galeni...testimoniis*—cannot be upheld. It will not be necessary to deal minutely with the cases of the other ancient writers who cite passages of the *Republic*. The principal of these are Eusebius and Stobaeus: and it may be said at the outset that it would no doubt be possible to frame a not inconsiderable list of passages in which the reading of F agrees with that of one (or perhaps both) of those writers. At the same time the following propositions may also be laid down without fear of contradiction.

(a) That the cases of agreement between F Eus. and F Stob. are much less frequent and less important than those in which they differ: for example the consensus of F Stob. in the reading τὸ for τὰ 444^a 2 is followed by a series of the widest divergences down to the end of Book IV.

(b) That the text to which Eus. and Stob. bear witness is on the whole very inferior

to that of our MSS. I should not, it is true, describe it as an 'ancient vulgate,' but I should at any rate assert that it represents the 'commercial' texts which circulated amongst the reading public rather than the more scholarly editions in the hands of Galen and Iamblichus.

(c) That in a considerable proportion of the instances in which the reading of F Stob. (or F Eus.) is obviously to be preferred to that of ADM, the palaeographical difference involved is too small to afford any presumption of a distinct recension used by the scribe of F and by the ancient authorities. In other words—it may be conceded that F in several cases preserves the true reading where it has been corrupted in ADM, and further that in a certain proportion of these the right reading is confirmed by ancient quotations. For example, both F and Stobaeus have $\phi\alpha\mu\acute{\epsilon}\nu$ (rightly) in 490² against $\phi\alpha\mu\epsilon\nu$ of ADM: yet no one would affirm that $\phi\alpha\mu\acute{\epsilon}\nu$ was the reading of the 'ancient vulgate' merely: $\phi\alpha\mu\epsilon\nu$ is an example of an extremely common error. So too F and Eusebius have $\xi\theta\eta$ (rightly) in 522⁷, where ADM by a very frequent corruption have $\xi\phi\eta$ —certainly not owing to any 'recension.' It is unnecessary to multiply such examples, which I merely adduce in proof of the fact that the agreements of 'F Stob.' 'F. Eus.' &c., which are to be found in Prof. Burnet's critical apparatus are not all of equal value in demonstrating the relationship of F to an assumed 'vulgate': many of them prove

only (what indeed all scholars will be grateful to Prof. Burnet for bringing into strong relief) that F must rank as a witness independent of ADM.

And this leads me to add a word in conclusion as to the value to be assigned to this MS., whether we regard it as the ancestor of Ang. B and Flor. R or, as Mr. Adam suggests, merely the senior representative of the group. I have already said that Prof. Burnet has rendered a great service to students of Plato by employing it to correct the errors of ADM and thus to a considerable extent rendering an appeal to the MSS. of the Renaissance (esp. $\Xi\eta$) superfluous. An examination of its readings must, I think, convince the open-minded that it follows a tradition not derivable from ADM. At the same time I cannot think that it is safe to pronounce it unhesitatingly (as Prof. Burnet does in his preface) 'sincerum nec aliunde ut fit interpolatum.' The well-known reading <οὐ>κατὰ τὴν χρείαν 330⁶ 6 (which is *not* supported by Stobaeus) bears the stamp of an unintelligent conjecture, and is in fact found in the MSS. of which such unfortunate emendations are characteristic. Another instance in which the scribe of F or its ancestor has endeavoured to improve the traditional text is ἀδικεῖν ἀδικεῖ for ἀδικεῖν ἀδικεῖν 360⁸. We must therefore, I fear, regard its unsupported readings with something (though, as I allow, with *relatively* little) of the scepticism with which those e.g. of $\Xi\eta$ are rightly treated.

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ARETHAS AND THE CODEX CLARKIANUS.

UNDER this title Professor Burnet, the learned editor of the Oxford Plato, has commented in the June number of the *Classical Review* on a short article which I had contributed to the February number 'On some corrections in the Clarke MS. of Plato.'

From the fact that both this famous Codex and the oldest MS. of the *Praeparatio Evangelica* of Eusebius were written for Arethas, the one in A.D. 895, and the other in A.D. 914, I was naturally led to compare carefully the texts of the principal passage common to the two MSS., *Phaedo* 96 A—C = Eus. *P.E.* 26 b 8. I thus became convinced that certain corrections in *Clarkianus* (1) were

written by the hand which is generally admitted to be that of Arethas himself, and (2) were either taken from or 'made to correspond with the text of Eusebius as reproduced by the scribe Baanes from some older MS. now lost.'

On the former point Professor Burnet writes that he has 'no desire to dispute this belief which is held by many scholars of repute,' but then proceeds to give reasons for still hesitating to accept it. Those reasons had been considered and, I think, sufficiently answered in my article; but in order to remove all lingering doubt as to the probability of the rich owner of an important MS. writing corrections with his

own hand, it may be well to refer to one or two well-known examples.

A colophon found in an extant Vatican MS., and given in fac-simile in Migne's *Eus. (Opp. iv. 876)* presents a lively picture of the common labours of the two friends' (Pamphilus and Eusebius) 'at this time. "It was transcribed from the editions of the Hexapla, and was corrected from the Tetrapla of Origen himself, which also had been corrected and furnished with Scholia in his own handwriting, whence I Eusebius added the Scholia. Pamphilus and Eusebius corrected this copy"' (Lightfoot, *Dictionary of Christian Biography*, i. 310 a).

Another example exactly corresponding to the case of Archbishop Arethas is found in the subscription of the famous MS. of Plato, A Paris. n. 1807, written about the same time as *Clarkianus*: 'Ἀρθῶθ' ἡ βιβλος αὐτῆ ὑπὸ Κωνσταντίνου μητροπολίτου Ἱερᾶς πόλεως τοῦ καὶ ὀνησαμένου.

On the second point mentioned above, namely that the corrections in question were probably derived by Arethas from his MS. of Eusebius, Professor Burnet says: 'It can be shown that Dr. Gifford's argument does not tell one way or the other.'

The proof which Professor Burnet offers in support of this assertion is an attempt to show that the readings in question may have come from a 'more obvious source.' They 'are not,' he says, 'in any way peculiar to Eusebius; they are the readings of the great majority of Platonic MSS.' . . . 'In particular the supposed Eusebian readings of the diorthotes (whom I shall call B²) are in every case the readings of the *Marci-anus* (App. Class. 4. 1), which Schanz calls T, and also for the most part of Stobæus.'

Professor Burnet will, I hope, admit that, however common these readings may have become in later MSS., the first place in which they are found is the extract from the *Phaedo* in the MS. of Arethas. Now this extract must have been originally copied by or for Eusebius *circa* A.D. 315, and therefore from some MS. nearly six centuries older than *Clarkianus*; and the MS. of Arethas in which these Eusebian readings stand in the body of the text is all but contemporary with *Clarkianus*, two hundred years older than *Marci-anus* (Cent. xiii.) or any other MS. of Plato.

How then can it possibly be maintained that *Marci-anus* (T) is a 'more obvious source' of these readings than the corrections made by Arethas in the oldest and best MS. of the *Phaedo* two hundred years before?

Professor Burnet states indeed that 'T is independent of B and B²' (i.e. of *Clarkianus* and its corrections), 'as has been clearly proved by Schanz and others.'

Even if this were admitted, it would not help to prove that either T or some unknown 'older MS. now lost, from which T also was derived,' is a 'more obvious source' of the corrections in *Clarkianus* than the Eusebian text known to have been in the hands of the corrector himself. Professor Burnet, however, gives no reference to the places in which, he says, T is proved to be independent of B and B²: and on consulting the careful description of T in Schanz, '*Ueber den Plato-codex der Markusbibliothek in Venedig* append. class. 4, n. 1, Leipz. 1877,' I can find no suggestion that T is independent of B and B². In fact what I do find tends to the opposite conclusion.

On p. 78 from several passages there quoted Schanz draws the following inference: 'Diese Stellen legen den Schluss nahe, dass t (T) aus A stammt,' i.e., that T is derived from the famous Paris MS. of Plato, not both A and T from some third unknown source.

At the first glance this might seem to show that T being derived from A is therefore independent of *Clarkianus* and its corrections. But unfortunately for any such inference the *Phaedo* is not one of the dialogues contained in A.

On p. 38 Schanz states that corrections already existed in the source from which T was copied; and on p. 49 he quotes four passages in which T is actually corrected from *Clarkianus*, adding the remark, 'Of course it is not likely that the activity of Arethas in commenting on Plato was limited to these three Scholia.'

If this is the testimony of Schanz to which Professor Burnet refers, it is very far from supporting his assertion that 'T is independent of B and B²;' and so far as his argument is based on this assumption, it seems to have no real foundation.

But Professor Burnet brings forward another argument from passages not quoted by Eusebius, in which similar errors of Calligraphus are corrected by B², i.e. by the hand which has been identified with that of Arethas and by which the *Phaedo* was corrected throughout. See foot-note.¹

'These corrections,' Professor Burnet says,

¹ 'Unum illud addo scribam A' (B²) 'dialogis Euthyphroni, Apologiae, Critoni, Phaedoni litteram Δ subjunxisse, qua ut docte coniecit Waddell διαρθρωμένον vel διῶρθωσα significatur' (T. W. Allen, *Praef. Cod. Clark. phototyp. ed.*, p. 5).

'are not conjectural; for they are identical as a rule with the readings of T. Surely the inference is that the diorthosis of the *Clarkianus* was made from an older MS. now lost, from which T was also derived.'

It is difficult to estimate the validity of this inference without further information; for, as Professor Burnet again fails to give any references, we have no means of judging for ourselves. Granting, however, that these corrections in *Clarkianus* were made 'from an older MS.,' why must it be a MS. 'now lost,' the unknown source of T? Why not rather the contemporary MS. of Eusebius *P.E.* still existing and known to have been in the hands of the corrector, or possibly the MS. of Plato given out to be copied and now lost?

The reason alleged by Professor Burnet is far from conclusive and apparently not quite convincing to himself: 'That it was not the same as the MS. given out to be copied may perhaps be implied by the fairly common ἐν ἀλλῳ, but it is not very probable that ἐν ἀλλῳ at *Phaedo*, 96c 7 means "in my copy of Eusebius" and something quite different elsewhere.'

I should have thought that both here and elsewhere, wherever ἐν ἀλλῳ occurs in the margin, it means simply 'in another' MS., and therefore different MSS. in different works. Here the only sources to which, as far as we know, the corrector had access were his copy of Eusebius and the MS. of Plato given out to be copied.

But it is time to bring this discussion to an end. It is needless to examine Professor Burnet's 'bit of *apparatus criticus*' specially prepared for the purpose of this argument. It only shows, when compared with his edition of the *Phaedo*, that his attention has now been directed to four or five of the corrections in question which had not been

previously noticed by himself or by Schanz.

I will only add two remarks which appear to me to be conclusive.

If there had been only one or two corrections of *Clarkianus* written by Arethas and corresponding to the text of his own MS. of Eusebius, they might have been regarded as mere coincidences: but when seven or eight occur on one page, *Clarkianus*, fol. 46^r, in twenty lines of Schanz or Burnet, a proportion far exceeding the average of similar corrections, the probability that they were taken from that MS. is so strong as to amount almost to certainty.

And secondly, if any further confirmation is desired, it may be found in the fortunate circumstance that we are able to test our evidence by a kind of cross-examination.

The same hand which made so many corrections of *Clarkianus* corresponding to the text of Eusebius written by Baanes has also supplied one omission in the text of Baanes from *Clarkianus*.

Of the words πρῶτον τὰ τοιαῦτα (Eus. *P.E.* 26c 1) πρῶτον was omitted by the scribe of *Clarkianus*, and τὰ τοιαῦτα by Baanes. The latter words were supplied in the margin by Arethas (B²) from some older MS., most probably that which was given out to be copied, and the same corrector, B², then proceeded to supply πρῶτον in *Clarkianus* in the manner which, by the help of Mr. Madan, I described in the former article.

As an editor of Plato, Professor Burnet can only desire to ascertain the true relations of the various MSS., and, whether he accepts my arguments or not, he must, I think, admit that I have thrown some light on an interesting little episode in the history of the noble MS. which is a pride of the Bodleian Library.

E. H. GIFFORD.

VARIA.

Aeschylus *P.V.* 1030:

ὡς ὅδ' οὐ πεπλασμένους

ὁ κόμπτος, ἀλλὰ καὶ λίαν εἰρημένους.

λίαν εἰρημένους stands in M as a correction ex λίαν εἰρμμένους ut videtur (Wecklein). If it were not for 1032, it might be possible to defend the words as meaning 'not feigned by me, Hermes, but spoken indeed by Zeus.' As however 1032 goes on

ψευδηγορεῖν γὰρ οὐκ ἐπίσταται στόμα
τὸ Δίον, ἀλλὰ πᾶν ἔπος τελεῖ,

it is plain that πεπλασμένους too must refer to Zeus. Such conjectures as ἀληθινός and ἐτήνυμος are too unlike εἰρημένους to be plausible: εἰμαρμένους is the best so far. I should like to offer the alternative of ὠρισμένους *fated, settled*.

* * *

Soph. *O.T.* 772 :

τῷ γὰρ ἂν καὶ μέζονι
λέξαιμ' ἂν ἢ σοὶ διὰ τύχης τοιαῦδ' ἰών ;

Is not this a case of the confusion of *μέζων* and *ἀμείνων*? See this *Review* xv. 25. No real parallel to *μέζων* here is quoted, nor does *μέζων* ever mean *preferable* or *more suitable*: on the other hand *καμείνουν* would be just right, to *what better person than you?* i.e. to *what fitter person?* Jocasta has just called herself *ἄξια μαθεῖν*, and *ἀμείνων* = *ἄξιωτέρα*.

The reverse change seems called for in *Lycurgus in Leocr.* 76 ἡμῖν γὰρ ἔστιν ὄρκος... ἀμνύνει τῇ πατρίδι καὶ ἀμείνω (read *μέζω*) παραδῶσιν. The words of the oath, as § 77 purports to give them, are *τὴν πατρίδα δὲ οὐκ ἐλάσσω παραδῶσω, πλείω δὲ καὶ ἀρείω*, where *ἀρείω* means *stronger*. Cf. also 78 τίνι δ' ἂν τὴν πατρίδα παρέδωκε μείζω προδοσίᾳ; Make the same correction in Plutarch *An Seni* &c. 786 F τὴν τῶν παλαιῶν χάριν ἐγείρειν καὶ ποιεῖν ἀμείνω (read *μέζω*) καὶ μόνιμον.

* * *

Herodotus 6. 52. When the widow of Aristodemus pretended not to know which of her two infants was the elder, a Messenian advised the authorities to watch and see which she washed and fed first. Thereupon Herodotus tells us that they φυλάξαντας τὴν μητέρα... λαβεῖν κατὰ ταῦτα <αἰεὶ Herwerden> τιμόνταν τὸν πρότερον καὶ σίτοισι καὶ λουτροῖσι. What does *πρότερον* mean? The elder? That would be absurd, for they did not know which the elder was and were watching to discover. Read *τὸν ἕτερον one*. What they found (*λαβεῖν*) was that there was one child whom she always took first. The words are exchanged elsewhere (e.g. Plat. *Theaet.* 163A and 200C, and in Ar. *Nub.* 562 V is said to have *προτέρας* for *έτέρας*). I should like to make a similar change in an extract from Chamaeleon preserved by Athenaeus 461 B. Chamaeleon is made to say that in Greece οὐτ' ἐν γραφαῖς οὐτ' ἐπὶ τῶν πρότερον εἰρήσομεν ποτῆριον εὐμέγεθες εἰργασμένον πλὴν τῶν ἐπὶ τοῖς ἡρωικοῖς, and Kaibel remarks *πρότερον corruptum, requiritur artis operum commemoratio, velut στηλῶν, μνημάτων sim.*, ἥριων Wilamowitz: but οὐτ' ἐπὶ τῶν ἑτέρων will give us what we want. Again in Diodorus 3. 59. 3 τὸν μὲν Ἀπόλλωνα φασί..., τὸν δὲ πρότερον..., there seems no meaning in Marsyas being called τὸν πρότερον and we might well read τὸν ἕτερον.

* * *

In Stobaeus *Flor.* 90. 8 three verses are ascribed to Epicharmus, though they have much more the air of the Middle or New Comedy, which run as follows

πνίγομ' ὅταν εὐγένειαν οὐδὲν ὦν καλῶς
λέγῃ τις, αὐτὸς δυσγενὴς ὦν τῷ τρῶπι·
τίς γὰρ κατόπτρῳ καὶ τυφλῷ κοινοῖα ;

For οὐδὲν ὦν, which is evidently wrong, Ahrens conjectured οὐδενῶν, i.e. *ἐξουδενῶν, contemnens*. Apart from any other objection, this seems to give a quite wrong meaning. What we want is that a man shall speak in praise of good birth, though far from well-born himself; that would be like a blind man who insisted on praising, perhaps on having, a looking-glass. For οὐδὲν ὦν I would therefore suggest εὐλογῶν. Nothing is commoner than confusion of ε with ο, and λ with δ: γ and ν are also frequently exchanged (*Bast. Comm.* p. 727). Cf. Eur. *fragm.* 52 περισσόμυθος ὁ λόγος, εὐγένειαν εἰ βρότειον εὐλογήσομεν.

* * *

Menander (*Kock* 3. 155, *Meineke* 4. 227) says of man in comparison with other creatures

ἀσθενέστατον γὰρ ὄν
φύσει μεγίστοις οἰκονομεῖται πράγμασιν·
ὅταν πίσῃ δέ, πλείστα συντρίβει καλὰ,

and for *οἰκονομεῖται*, which makes no sense, we have such unsatisfactory conjectures as *διαπονέεται* and *οικοδομεῖται*. Considering the general sense, may we not feel sure that *οἰκο-* represents *ὄγκο-*? *ὄγκος* is just the word for the superiority of man. Cf. such passages as Eur. *Androm.* 320 μυρίασι δὴ βροτῶν οὐδὲν γινώσι βίον ὤγκωσας μέγαν. *fragm.* 81 ταπεινά... λέγειν, ἐς ὄγκον δ' οὐκ ἂν ὦν βλέπειν τύχης and 825: Soph. *fragm.* 856: Herod. 6. 126 ὅσοι σφίσι τε αὐτοῖσι ἦσαν καὶ πατρίῃ ἐξωγκωμένοι, and very many others. For the correction cf. Cobet's *ὄγκον* in ἡ πόλις εἰς ἐλάττονα οἶκον συνήκται (*Dionys. Hal. Ant. R.* 9. 29).

As to the latter part of the compound we cannot be so sure. *ὄγκοποιῶ* occurs in the sense required (*ὄγκοποιεῖν καὶ ἐπαίρειν τὸν λόγον*) in a late writer and *ὄγκοποιεῖται* may be the word here.

* * *

Diogenes Laertius (1. 104) gives us a saying ascribed to Anacharsis: καὶ τοῦτο ἔφη θαυμασιώτατον ἐυρακεῖναι παρὰ τοῖς Ἕλλησιν, ὅτι τὸν μὲν καπνὸν ἐν τοῖς ὅρεσι καταλείπουσι, τὰ δὲ ξύλα εἰς τὴν πόλιν κομίζουσιν. I can make no sense of *καπνόν* and conjecture *καρπόν*. There was a regular Greek

expression ξύλινος καρπός *tree-fruit* (see Liddell and Scott, and add Diod. 3. 63. 2: Artem. *Oneir.* 2. 37, p. 133), which we may remember in relation to ξύλα.

* * *

Not so easy to set right is a saying of Bion the Borysthenite, also given by Dio- genes (1. 48): τὸ γῆρας ἔλεγεν ὅρμον εἶναι τῶν κακῶν...τὴν δόξαν ἐτῶν μητέρα εἶναι τὸ κάλλος ἀλλότριον ἀγαθόν κ.τ.λ. It is difficult indeed to see in what sense δόξα could be called *a mother of years*. Yet I think a slight addition will give us Bion's real phrase. *ap* has dropped out after *av*: what we should read is τὴν δόξαν ἀρετῶν μητέρα εἶναι. The sentiment is too familiar to need illustration, but it is expressed briefly and appositely in a fragment of Plutarch (Bernardakis 7, p. 162, *fragm.* 106) οὐδεὶς φροντίζων δόξης ἀγαθῆς γένοιτο' ἂν ἀνὴρ φαῦλος. Since thinking of this emendation, I have come across the phrase μήτηρ ἀρετῆς in Philostr. *Heroic.* p. 667 μὴ τιμῶν ἀλγίθειαν, ἣν ἐκεῖνος μητέρα ἀρετῆς ὀνομάζειν εἶωθεν.

* * *

Vita Aeschylī πολλῶν χαλεπώτερον ἦν ἐπὶ Θέσπιδι Φρυνίχῳ τε καὶ Χοιρίλῳ εἰς τοσόνδε μεγέθους τὴν τραγῳδίαν προαγαγεῖν ἢ ἐπ' Αἰσχύλῳ εἰπόντα εἰς τὴν Σοφοκλέους ἐλθεῖν τελειότητα.

In spite of one or two other passages (e.g. *schol.* Ar. *Ach.* 378) I can not believe that εἰπών was thus used of dramatists. Here ἐπιόντα is a very obvious conjecture, coming after Aeschylus. Twice at least in Plutarch's *Moralia* (*De Pyth.* 405 F and *Adv. Coloten* 1108 F) ἐπιών is necessarily corrected to εἰπών.

* * *

Platonius de Diff. Charact. ὁ δὲ Ἀριστοφάνης τὸν μέσον ἐλίλακε τῶν ἀνδρῶν χαρακτήρα, intermediate, that is, between Cratinus and Eupolis. Though something like μέσον or μέσσην ὁδὸν ἐλαύνειν would be intelligible, I am inclined to think that μέσον ἐλαύνειν χαρακτήρα is not right and that for ἐλίλακε we should read ἐξήλωκε, a word constantly used in these writings.

* * *

Xenophanes ap. Aristotle *Rhet.* 1377a 20 οὐκ ἴση πρόκλησις αὐτῇ ἀσεβείᾳ πρὸς εὐσεβῇ.

By reading δυσσεβεῖ for ἀσεβεῖ we get a good trochaic tetrameter. So in *Bacchae* 263, where our MSS. give τῆς εὐσεβείας and

the *Christus Patiens* τῆς ἀσεβείας, there is no question that Reiske's τῆς δυσσεβείας is right.

* * *

Two Pythagorean comparisons (Mullach 1, p. 489), preserved to us by Stobaeus, admit of very obvious correction.

32 οὔτε τὰ τοῦ Ἀχιλλέως ὄπλα τῷ Θερασίτῃ οὔτε τὰ τῆς ψυχῆς ἀγαθὰ τῷ ἄφρονι ἀρμόττει. τῆς ψυχῆς should be τῆς τύχης. How can a fool have the goods of the mind? The confusion of ψυχῇ, τύχῃ is quite well known, e.g. Isocr. 12. 9. In a fragment ascribed to Democritus (Mullach 1, p. 341) ἀνοήμονες ἡνιομῶνται τοῖσι τῆς ψυχῆς κέρδεσι· οἱ δὲ τῶν τοιῶνδε δαίμονες τοῖσι τῆς σοφίης. I think the correction τύχης has been made.

35 οὔτε πῖρ ἱματίῳ περιστέλλαι δυνατόν οὔτε αἰσχροὺς ἀμάρτημα χρόνῳ.

The confusion of χρόνος and λόγος is equally well established (cf. this *Review* xvi. 160). Read λόγῳ for χρόνῳ, comparing the saying (Mullach 1, p. 501) τὰ ἀμαρτήματά σου πειρῶ μὴ λόγους ἐπικαλύπτειν ἀλλὰ θεραπεύειν ἐλέγχους.

* * *

Aelian *Var. Hist.* 9. 3 Κλεῖτος δ' εἶποτε μέλλοι τισὶ χρηματίζειν, ἐπὶ πορφυρῶν εἰμάτων βαδίζων τοὺς δεομένους προσέτετο.

Certainly Clitus did not come to meet his petitioners, nor did they find him walking about. For βαδίζων read καθίζων. β and κ are often confused.

* * *

Posidonius ap. Athenaeus 234 A, after mentioning the condemnation of Gylippus for embezzlement, adds τοῦ δὲ ἀνατιθεμένου θεῷ καὶ συγχωρουμένου δήμου καθάπερ κοσμήματος καὶ τῆς γολδ (i.e. gold) οὐ ῥᾶδιον ἦν τὸν θνητὸν δαίτῳ γενέσθαι.

In this passage δήμου seems quite unmeaning, and, if it were right, some word like ἰδίᾳ would have been introduced later on to balance it as θνητὸν balances θεῷ. It is probably just a mistake for δῆπον.

* * *

Plutarch, *De lib. educ.* 2 D οἱ δ' ἀρμάτειοι τροχοὶ τόνῳ καμφθέντες οὐδ' ἂν εἴ τι γένοιτο τὴν ἐξ ἀρχῆς δύναιντ' ἀναλαβεῖν εὐθυωρίαν.

Read τόνῳ, comparing *Bacchae* 1066 κνρτὸς τροχὸς τόνῳ γραφόμενος (though the meaning there is disputed) &c.

* * *

In the well-known fragment ascribed for a long time to Dicaearchus (Müller, *Frag.*

Gr. Hist. 2. 258. § 14) the writer describes the Thebans as θρασείς καὶ ὑβρισταὶ καὶ ὑπερήφανοι πληκταὶ τε καὶ ἀδιάφοροι πρὸς πάντα ξένον καὶ δημότην, where ἀδιάφοροι is understood, I imagine, in the unproved sense of *making no distinction*. No doubt the original word was εὐδιάφοροι (from διαφέρεσθαι) *quarrelsome*. It is needless to illustrate anything so common as this confusion of εὐ- and ἀ-. I will only point out two cases in which it does not appear to have been corrected hitherto.

Diodorus 13. 23. 4 οὐ γὰρ δυνατόν τοὺς ἄλλοις ἀνημέρως χρησαμένους αὐτοὺς παρ' ἑτέρων τυχεῖν ποτε φιланθρωπίας, ἀλλὰ πράξαντας δυνά παθεῖν εὐγνώμονα. This *contresens* has been dealt with in various ways, but to my mind it is clear that we should read ἀγνώμονα.

Again among the fragments above mentioned, collected by Mullach we read (p. 489, 22) ἐν μὲν ταῖς μέβαις παροινούσιν, ἐν δὲ ταῖς ἀτυχίαις παρανοούσιν οἱ ἀνόητοι. Common sense would suggest εὐτυχίας, even if we did not read two pages before (487, 54) ἐν μὲν τοῖς συμποσίοις ὁ μὴ παροινῶν ἡδύτερος, ἐν δὲ τοῖς ἀγαθοῖς ὁ μὴ παρανομῶν. But the former passage also gives us a correction of the latter, παρανοῶν for παρανομῶν. This seems better than reading παρανομοῦσι in the former. Foolish men are often intoxicated by good luck, but there is no reason for saying that they proceed to break the law.

* * *

Heliodorus, the paraphrast of the *Nicomachean Ethics*, writing on *Eth.* 8. 5 says (Heylbut p. 169. 37) συνάπτει δὲ τοὺς φίλους τὸ τοῖς αὐτοῖς χαίρειν καὶ τοὺς αὐτοὺς φιλεῖν. διὰ τοῦτο γὰρ ὁ Σωκράτης φιλεῖ τὸν Πλάτωνα, ὅτι τὸν Σωκράτη ἄμφω φιλοῦσι καὶ τοῖς Σωκράτους ἀγαθοῖς ἄμφω χαίρουσι. Socrates loving Plato because both love Socrates is nonsense, and it is odd that Heylbut did not see this or, seeing it, could not put it right. For ὁ Σωκράτης read ὁ Ἰσοκράτης. Cobet in *Novae lectiones* p. 677 mentions two or three instances of the same blunder and has corrected it also in Aelian *V. II.* 2. 36.

* * *

Diodorus 14. 62. 2: διακόσια μὲν γὰρ καὶ πενήντη μακρὰ νῆες εἰσέπλεον . . . , μετὰ δὲ ταῦτα αἱ φορητοὶ νῆες εἰσθεόμεναι μὲν ὑπὲρ τρισχιλίας, φέρουσαι δὲ πλείους τῶν πεντακοσίων, αἱ δὲ πᾶσαι σχεδὸν δισχιλίας.

I will not attempt to deal with the arithmetic of this passage, but I think it is possible to correct εἰσθεόμεναι with fair

certainty, though Vogel's critical notes offer nothing more satisfactory than 'εἰσέθεν κεναὶ Sintenis et Madvig, εἰς πόλεμον (vel λιμένα) Wurm, οἰσόμεναι Stroth.' What lurks under it is surely εἰς ἀριθμόν, a regular expression for *in number*.

* * *

[Plato] *Ep.* 2. 310 c: εἰ γὰρ ἦρχον ἐγὼ οὕτω τῶν τε ἄλλων καὶ σοῦ καὶ Δίωνος, πλείω ἂν ἦν ὑμῖν τε πᾶσιν ἀγαθὰ τοῖς τε ἄλλοις "Ἑλλησιν, ὡς ἐγὼ φημι νῦν δὲ μέγας ἐγὼ εἰμι ἑμαυτὸν παρέχων τῷ ἑμῷ λόγῳ ἐπόμενον.

It was not till I had puzzled many times over the last words that I saw μέγας to be a mistake for μόνος.

* * *

Lucian (l) *Amores* 44, speaking of an ordinary boy's life, describes how he gets up and goes out in the morning τὴν ἱερὰν χλαμύδα ταῖς ἐπωμίαις περόναις συρράψας. Why should his chlamys be called ἱερὰ? What it no doubt really was is ἑρεᾶ, *woollen*, as Plato *Crat.* 389 b speaks of a ἱμάτιον λινοῦν ἢ ἑρεοῦν and in *Polit.* more than once of ἐσθῆς ἑρεᾶ.

* * *

The dictum of Protagoras about the gods appears in many places in slightly different words. In modern books it is most often given as in Diogenes 9. 51: περὶ μὲν θεῶν οὐκ ἔχω εἰδέναι οὐθ' ὡς εἰσὶν οὐθ' ὡς οὐκ εἰσὶν. A number of other forms, not necessarily purporting to be verbally faithful, will be found in Mullach 2. 131. In the case of so famous a saying we should like to make quite sure of the actual words. This is, I fear, impossible; but has any one pointed out that οὐκ ἔχω εἰδέναι, which is the form in Suidas too, is very unlikely to be right? οὐκ ἔχω εἰπεῖν, though apparently not given by any authority, is much more the expression Protagoras would use. Εἰπεῖν or some such word follows ἔχω and οὐκ ἔχω in places innumerable; but it would probably be impossible to find εἰδέναι after either of them. Indeed οὐκ ἔχω itself is very often roughly identical with οὐκ οἶδα, as in οὐκ ἔχω τίς ἂν γενοίμαν (Aesch. *P. V.* 904), and even the common οὐκ ἔχω ὅ τι λέγω. What he probably meant, as we should, was *I cannot say*, not *I cannot know*; and, if he had really meant *I cannot know*, he would probably have used another word or words, not ἔχω. Though not impossible then, οὐκ ἔχω εἰδέναι is very improbable. Four quotations of the Greek, given by Mullach, have οὐκ οἶδα, two οὐ δύναμαι λέγειν. Cicero's Latin version in *N. D.*

1. 23. 63, which is really our earliest authority, *de divis neque ut sint neque ut non sint habeo dicere*, suggests οὐκ ἔχω εἰπεῖν. He says also (*ib.* 12. 29) *Protagoras, qui sese negat omnino de divis habere quod liqueat*,

but this does not purport to be more than an equivalent. Perhaps then the evidence as a whole points to οὐκ ἔχω εἰπεῖν, of which εἰδέναι may very well be a corruption.

HERBERT RICHARDS.

ON SOME GREEK COMPARATIVES.

SINCE Johannes Schmidt, *K.Z.* xxv. 156, explained ἐλάσσων, θάσσων from *ελαγχίων, *θαγχίων, that has been the generally accepted account of the forms. Some, e.g. Brugmann, *Grundriss* I.² 363, *Kurze Vgl. Gramm.* 113, Hoffmann, *Gr. Dial.* III. 312, suppose the development to have been *ελαγχίων > *ελασσων > ἐλάσσων. Others suppose that *ελασσων became *ελανσων, *ελᾶσων and that σσ came analogically from other comparatives; so G. Meyer, *Griech. Gramm.*² 488. To both of these explanations serious objections have been raised by Lagercrantz, *Zur griechischen Lautgeschichte*, pp. 33 sqq. Unfortunately there seem to be no examples of νχί, νχι except the comparatives in question, so that there can be no absolute demonstration of the impossibility of the alleged change, but it is not in accordance with what takes place in similar combinations in Greek. As to the alternative explanation, the comparatives in which -σσων would have developed regularly are in a great minority, in ordinary Attic there is only ἥττων, so that *-σσων might have been expected to prevail rather than -σσων, -ττων.

There is another difficulty still. As has been pointed out by Blass, *Kühner-Blass, Griech. Gramm.* I. 555 and by Lagercrantz, *op. cit.* 35 sqq., there seems to have been in such comparatives a difference of quantity between Attic and other dialects. The matter rests on a passage of Herodian:—(I. 523, 29, cf. II. 13, 13. 942, 17) τὰ εἰς σσων συγκριτικὰ οὐδέποτε ἐκτεταμένῳ διχρόνῳ παραλήγεται, βράσσων, πάσσων, μάσσων, γλύσσων, βάσσων, ἔθεν παρ' Ἑπικήρῳ βάσσων. τὸ ἐλάσσων, θάσσων "θάσσωνας ἰρῶν ἐμναι καλὴ λίτριχας ἵππων" σσημειώται, ὅτι φύσει μακρὰ παραλήγεται. As Lagercrantz remarks, it were indeed strange that a should be long in βάσσων, short in πάσσων. As Blass and Lagercrantz have shewn, ἄσσων has good authority in Homer; of θάσσων there are not many instances (Lagercrantz, *op. cit.* p. 38), but, as this accentuation is against the precepts of the grammarians, the ex-

amples are not to be lightly set aside. All this points to the fact that the Attic quantity was different from that of other dialects. Herodian's statement about ἐλάσσων and θάσσων has been explained very simply by Blass and Lagercrantz; they are the only two of these comparatives that are found in the Attic dialect. In support of such a quantitative difference may be cited further Att. κρείττων, μείζων, which have been rightly explained by Brugmann as analogical lengthenings of *κρεττων, μέζων. If the other comparatives differed in quantity, it is easily intelligible why this lengthening took place in Att. and not in other dialects: Ion. κρέσσων, μέζων, Arcad. μέζων, μέττων· μείζων Hesych., probably Cretan.

How then are these comparatives with ᾱ to be explained? It will be observed that where a weak form of the root appears in the positive and the superlative in Greek it likewise extends to the comparative:—βαθύς βάσσων βάθυτος, βραχύς βράσσων (Aeol. βρόσσων) βράχυστος, γλυκύς γλύσσων γλύκιστος. In accordance with that ἐλάσσων, θάσσων, πάσσων may be explained without difficulty from *ελαχίων, etc. Lagercrantz apparently takes another view, for he derives ἄσσων from *ανσσων. But of such a change there is no other instance, and it is unnecessary to postulate it here. ἄσσων may simply have followed the analogy of the other comparatives in -σσων. Dialectically δλείζων¹ fell a victim to ὀλίγος ὀλίγιστος and became ὀλίζων; so in Cret. *κρέττων became κάρτων from κάρτιστος. Ion. ἔσσων (Arcad. ῆσσων) may be put down to the influence of the opposite κρέσσων. Corresponding to Att. μάλλον the Ionic was probably μάλλον (cf. μάλα μάλιστα).

What then of the long vowel in Attic?

¹ As might be expected from ὀλίγος and ὀλίγιστος, εἰ of ὀλείζων was the genuine diphthong, cf. Schwyzer-Meisterhans, *Grammatik der attischen Inschriften*, pp. 36, 52, 151. The spelling ὀλεζων is like πεσιδος, κεται etc., *ib.* p. 36.

That these comparatives were formed differently in Attic is very improbable. Lagercrantz has tried to show that in Attic a short vowel was lengthened before $\tau\tau < \kappa\iota$, $\chi\iota$ and before $\zeta < \gamma\iota$. But as Thumb, *Idg. Anz.* xii. 63, has pointed out, this alleged law rests on the comparatives in question, for $\mu\acute{\alpha}\zeta\alpha$ admits of another explanation, and against it are words like $\delta\tau\tau\alpha$. A simple explanation offers itself if we consider together all the Attic comparatives in $-\omega\nu$. Many of them had regularly a long vowel or a diphthong:— $\acute{\alpha}\mu\acute{\epsilon}\iota\omega\nu$, $\eta\tau\tau\omega\nu$, $\delta\lambda\epsilon\acute{\iota}\omega\nu$, $\pi\lambda\epsilon\acute{\iota}\omega\nu$, $\chi\epsilon\acute{\iota}\rho\omega\nu$ (Aeol. $\chi\acute{\epsilon}\rho\rho\omega\nu$). Over against these stand $\epsilon\lambda\acute{\alpha}\tau\tau\omega\nu$, $\theta\acute{\alpha}\tau\tau\omega\nu$, $\mu\acute{\alpha}\lambda\lambda\omega\nu$, $\kappa\acute{\rho}\epsilon\acute{\iota}\tau\tau\omega\nu$, $\mu\epsilon\acute{\iota}\zeta\omega\nu$. Now, with the exception of $\theta\acute{\alpha}\tau\tau\omega\nu$, these comparatives belong to the same sphere of meaning. Thus $\kappa\acute{\rho}\epsilon\acute{\iota}\tau\tau\omega\nu$ is the opposite

of $\eta\tau\tau\omega\nu$, $\delta\lambda\epsilon\acute{\iota}\omega\nu$ of $\mu\acute{\epsilon}\iota\zeta\omega\nu$, $\epsilon\lambda\acute{\alpha}\tau\tau\omega\nu$ of $\mu\epsilon\acute{\iota}\zeta\omega\nu$ and $\pi\lambda\epsilon\acute{\iota}\omega\nu$. Thus it is little wonder that the vocalism of the latter class should have been influenced by that of the former. How the analogy operated in detail cannot be made out with certainty. $\kappa\acute{\rho}\epsilon\acute{\iota}\tau\tau\omega\nu$ (i.e. $\kappa\acute{\rho}\epsilon\tau\tau\omega\nu$) would naturally be influenced by the opposite $\eta\tau\tau\omega\nu$; $\mu\epsilon\acute{\iota}\zeta\omega\nu$ may have been influenced by $\delta\lambda\epsilon\acute{\iota}\omega\nu$, but I have no certain evidence to show whether $\epsilon\iota$ or $\epsilon\grave{\epsilon}$; $\epsilon\lambda\acute{\alpha}\tau\tau\omega\nu$ may have been influenced by $\eta\tau\tau\omega\nu$ of similar meaning or by its opposites; $\mu\acute{\alpha}\lambda\lambda\omega\nu$ is the opposite of $\eta\tau\tau\omega\nu$. As for $\theta\acute{\alpha}\tau\tau\omega\nu$, when $\ast\epsilon\lambda\acute{\alpha}\tau\tau\omega\nu$ had become $\epsilon\lambda\acute{\alpha}\tau\tau\omega\nu$, $\ast\theta\acute{\alpha}\tau\tau\omega\nu$ would become $\theta\acute{\alpha}\tau\tau\omega\nu$ under its influence:— $\tau\alpha\chi\acute{\upsilon}\varsigma$: $\theta\acute{\alpha}\tau\tau\omega\nu$: $\tau\acute{\alpha}\chi\iota\sigma\tau\omicron\varsigma$ = $\epsilon\lambda\alpha\chi\acute{\upsilon}\varsigma$: $\epsilon\lambda\acute{\alpha}\tau\tau\omega\nu$: $\epsilon\lambda\acute{\alpha}\chi\iota\sigma\tau\omicron\varsigma$.

J. STRACHAN.

ON THE FIRST ODE OF HORACE.

ENOUGH has been written on the first Ode of Horace to make one hesitate before adding to that $\acute{\alpha}\chi\theta\omicron\varsigma$ $\acute{\alpha}\rho\omicron\upsilon\rho\eta\varsigma$. It is only a firm conviction, based on much careful study and thought, that the first Ode as printed and pointed in the current editions is but a travesty of Horace that has impelled me to the present writing.

It is the plain duty of an interpreter of this poem to answer two plain questions: (1) What is Horace driving at? (2) How did he say what he had to say? These two questions and their answers are closely bound up together; but I will try to maintain such separation as the case admits of. Let us see then first what Horace is driving at.

The poem may be divided in several ways. For the purposes of our immediate enquiry it may be divided into a personal part consisting of vv. 1—2 and vv. 29—36 and a non-personal part consisting of vv. 3—28. The gist of the non-personal part (vv. 3—28) is plain (or ought to be so) to an attentive reader. What is it? It might be hastily said that it is an elaboration of the theme: *Trahit sua quemque voluptas*. But that is worse than false: it is only a half-truth. The real theme is: *Trahit sua quemque voluptas, cui voluptati aliena semper opponitur voluptas*. We have in these verses three contrasts of pursuits of men, the first in vv. 3—10, the second in vv. 11—18, the third in vv. 19—28. In the first division (vv. 3—10) the favourite

pursuits of nations are contrasted, in the two other divisions (vv. 11—18 and 19—28) the pursuits of various classes of men are contrasted. But before going further on this line I must take up the question of the punctuation and interpretation of vv. 3—6.

In vv. 11—18 the reference to the farmer and the reference to the skipper are set off sharply and neatly the one against the other. The *gaudentem* at the head of v. 11 is balanced in form (though not in sense) with the *luctantem* at the head of v. 15. It is significant that it is the latter and not the former term that but formally subverses the balance aimed at. In vv. 19—28 we find the *est qui* at the head of v. 19 answered by the *multos* at the head of v. 23. And this brings us around to the *sunt quos* of v. 3. What answers to it? Surely not the *hunc* and *illum* of vv. 7 and 9: these words merely introduce subdivisions like $\tau\omicron\nu\ \mu\acute{\epsilon}\nu$. . . $\tau\omicron\nu\ \delta\acute{\epsilon}$. No; *sunt quos* must be answered by something in v. 6, and that something is clearly *terrarum dominos* = *Romanos*, whether Horace had Virgil's happy phrase in his head or not. All this seems so plain that it fairly makes one rub his eyes to find the latest editors ignoring it. The late Lucian Mueller to be sure puts 'mit dem feinsinnigen J. Rutgers' a; after *nobilis* (v. 5). But—*mirabile dictu*—although he writes of v. 6 as a whole—what were better written of *terrarum dominos* alone—, 'mit Emphase an den Anfang gesetzt, im Gegensatz zu *sunt*

quos—iuvat, he yet takes *terrarum dominos* as appositive to *deos*. But perhaps the good punctuation may outweigh the bad annotation.

Perhaps I may properly suggest at this point that in vv. 3—5 Horace—primarily, it should seem, for reasons of metre—did not continue the construction of *collegisse* formally but merely informally. What he wrote, however, I venture to think equivalent to *sunt quos curriculo pulverem Olympicum collegisse iuvat metamque fervidis evitasse rotis palmaque nobilitatos fuisse*.

To return now to our interrupted discussion of the general meaning of the poem, we have in vv. 3—10 the pursuits of nations (Greeks on the one hand, Romans on the other) contrasted. In vv. 11—28 we have contrasted the pursuits of various classes of men; in vv. 11—18 we find farmer and skipper, in vv. 19—28 the man of ease and leisure, and those that follow the strenuous life, whether in war (vv. 23—25) or in the chase (vv. 25—28).

But how is all this, the non-personal part of the poem, connected with the rest, the personal part? It could only be, it should seem, by joining on to the non-personal contrasts a personal one, *i.e.*, inasmuch as the poem is addressed by Horace to Maecenas, a contrast between Maecenas and Horace. But in the traditional text we have nothing of the sort. *Me doctarum lelerae* cet. follows what we have been discussing just as if the matter had all been after all a little sermon on the text 'Trahit sua quemque voluptas'. But that that is not the burden of Horace's song has been clearly set forth above. Are we not then led to look with more favour upon, nay even to accept, the old conjecture *te* for *me* in v. 29, *detestatum editoribus* though it be? Modern Horatians might, I venture to think, be about worse business than reading, marking, and inwardly digesting Wolf's *Commentatio* ad Hor. Carm. I, 1, 29 (*Litterarische Analecten* II, 261—276). Orelli to be sure hints that Wolf may not have been in earnest; but perhaps there was something wrong with Orelli's sense of humour. Wolf was not playing a practical joke; and it is needless to say that what he wrote is well written, whatever you may think of the view he takes. To me at least the *Commentatio* is convincing, although I do not think that Wolf made all he might have of his case. I have advanced above in favour of *te* an argument from the contrasts in the ode that he did not make use of.

But he has argued well in favour of the need of a reference to Maecenas at the close of the ode in a more pointed form than that which the traditional text presents. Indeed, does not a very recent editor (as others had done before him) comment on the lack of a *tu* in v. 35? Wolf might indeed have said plainly (what is a fact) that this whole poem is just one long sentence and that the only place where you can put a full stop without spoiling it is at the end of v. 36.

I wish to set down this poem in full in the form that I believe Horace meant it to bear and with a rational scheme of punctuation, but before doing that I would lay before the reader a set of notes lately drawn up in which some of the points discussed above are resumed and other matter pertaining to the division of the ode is included.

(1) The ode deals not with the simple theme *Trahit sua quemque voluptas* but with the complex theme *Trahit sua quemque voluptas, cui voluptati aliena voluptas semper est opposita*.

(2) If the theme were the former of the two just mentioned, such a climax as *me . . . me . . .* would be natural; but inasmuch as the theme is the latter, the climax should be itself a contrast of terms.

(3) There is throughout the ode a regular series of contrasts—nation contrasted with nation (Greeks × Romans), class of men contrasted with class of men (*agricola* × *mercator*, *desidiosus* × *strenuus*—the *strenui* being represented by two classes: (a) *milites*, (b) *venatores*), individuals contrasted (*Maecenas* × *Horace*).

(4) The divisions of the ode should be observed. These are: (a) Address to Maecenas (2 vv.) + Greeks and Romans (3 + 5 vv. = 8 vv.) = 10 vv.

(b) Farmer (4 vv.) and skipper (4 vv.) = 8 vv.

(c) Man of ease (4 vv.) and men of action (6 vv., of which the last two might be dispensed with without detriment to the sense) = 10 vv.

(d) Maecenas the lofty poet (1½ vv.) and Horace the humble poet (4½ vv.), to which is added the climax and conclusion (2 vv.) = 8 vv.

It will thus be seen that the poem falls into two divisions of 18 vv. each and that these divisions are severally subdivided into a group of 10 vv. and a group of 8 vv. Furthermore, the first group of 10 vv. is balanced with the second group of 8 vv.; contrasted nations are balanced with contrasted individuals; the first two verses (1—2) are balanced with the last two

(35—36). Again the first group of 8 vv., which deals with classes of men, is balanced with the second group of 10 vv., which deals with classes of men, these two groups forming the centre and core of the poem. The whole scheme may be represented thus :

$$\left(\begin{array}{c} 10 (= 2 + 8) \\ 8 \\ - \\ 10 \\ 8 (= 6 + 2) \end{array} \right)$$

When we have grasped this arrangement we may perhaps see why vv. 27—28 were added to vv. 19—26 : it was that the scheme of the second part of the poem (10 + 8) might match that of the first part (10 + 8). Is it going too far to think that this poem was built upon and around vv. 11—26 ? This question I shall take up presently : following is the text.

Maecenas atavis edite regibus,
o et praesidium et dulce decus meum,
sunt quos curriculo pulverem Olympicum
collegisse iuvat metaque fervidis
5 civitata rotis palmaeque nobilis ;
terraum dominos evehit ad deos
hunc si mobilitum turba Quiritium
certat tergeminis tollere honoribus,
illum si proprio condidit horreo
10 quidquid de Libycis verritur areis :
gaudentem patrios findere sarculo
agros Attalicis condicionibus
numquam demoveas ut trabe Cypria
Myrtoum pavidus nauta secat mare ;
15 luctantem Icaris fluctibus Africum
mercator metuens otium et oppidi
landat rura sui, mox reficit ratas
quassas indocilis pauperiem pati :
est qui nec veteris pocula Massici
20 nec partem solido demere de die
spernit, nunc viridi membra sub arbuto
stratus, nunc ad aquae lenae caput sacrae ;
multos castra iuvant et lituo tubae
permixtus sonitus bellaeque matribus
25 detestata ; maeet sub Iove frigido
venator tenerae coniugis immemor,
seu visa est catulis cerva fidelibus,
seu rupit teretes Marsus aper plagas :
te doctarum hederæ praemia frontium
30 dis miscent superis ; me gelidum nemus
Nympharumque leves cum Satyris chori
secerunt populo—si neque tibiis
Euterpe cohibet nec Polyhymnia
Lesboux refugit tendere barbiton—,
35 quod si me lyricis vatibus inseres,
sublimis feriam sidera vertice.

Returning to the question broached above I may note that Lucian Mueller calls attention in his massive edition of the Odes (I, p. 131) to a similarity (a "merkwürdige Aehnlichkeit" he calls it) between this Ode and the first Satire. That similarity is, I venture to think, to be traced in the Ode in just one place, viz. vv. 15—18, and it

consists in the fact that the mercator while on the sea in bad weather wishes himself snug at home in his native village. He is in so far discontented with his lot and laudat diversa sequentis. Now this is in the part of the first Ode about which it has been queried above whether it were not the nucleus of the whole composition, and that fact may afford us some reason for assenting to that view. Vv. 11—18 are very symmetrically arranged, more so than any other part of the poem, and in thought they are most closely connected with vv. 19—26 (to which latter verses it has been suggested above that Horace added vv. 27 and 28 ἐκ δευτέρως φροντίδος). Vv. 3—11 are not so symmetrical but make up the rest of the non-personal part of the poem. In short, whether we do or do not assume, and it is, of course, mere matter of curious speculation, that vv. 11—26 are the original nucleus of the poem, it seems tolerably clear that a good deal of the difficulty in the interpretation of the poem is due to the grafting upon an originally impersonal poem of a personal poem, the personal part consisting clearly of vv. 1—2 and vv. 29—36. That the personal part was grafted on the impersonal and not vice versa seems fairly clear from the fact that vv. 1—2 + vv. 29—36 make up a total of 10 verses, a number not divisible by 4. On the other hand, vv. 3—26 are = 24 verses = 6 × 4. Thus working from the point of view of the stanza and not, as above, from the point of view of the divisions of the poem according to sense, we can see a reason why vv. 27—28—verses so eminently Horatian that their authorship ought never to have been called in question—have been added, viz. to round out the number 36. I am willing to risk the charge of inconsistency that my double demonstration (if demonstration it be) lays me open to.

One more point. With *te* for *me* in v. 29 there is a clear contrast between *dis miscent superis* in v. 30 and *secerunt populo* (= profano vulgo) in v. 32. Again, the *quod si* of v. 35 means 'but if' and introduces a clause contrasted with *me gelidum nemus . . . populo* (the *si neque . . . nec . . .* clause is a mere parenthetical proviso = *modo . . . cohibeat . . .*). But if this be so, the last verse must have a different meaning from that usually assigned to it and will refer not to Horace's pride but to his fame and dignity. Perhaps, it may be added, we should in v. 35 write rather *Lyricis Vatribus*.

I have written on a very interesting subject at greater length than I had

expected to; but perhaps I may be forgiven for adding in closing a quotation and suggesting a query. In the English-Latin edition of Horace published in London in 1750 ('Begun by David Watson, M.A. of St. Leonard's College, St. Andrew's; Revised, Carried on, and Published by S. Patrick, LL.D.'), we read in the 'Key' to the first Ode:

'After he has shewn, that every Man has a different choice, according to his own peculiar Will and Fancy, in the pursuit of Happiness here, he compliments his Patron in these Words: *Hederac corona ex hedera, quae sunt praemia doctarum frontium, miscet te, meum Patronum & Fautorem, Dis superis.* The Ivy, or Crown of Ivy, the Reward of learned Men, rank you, my Patron and Supporter, among the Gods above. As for himself, he, as all Men of good Sense and Education, keeps himself at a distance from his *Maccenas*, saying, *Gelidum nemus & levis chori nymphaeum cum satyris secernunt me à populo.* The cool Grove and light Choirs of *Nymphs* with the *Satyrs* separate me from the Vulgar. If the Muses *Euterpe* and *Polyhymnia* will hear my Invocations, and you *Maccenas*, patronize my Compositions, *feriam sidera sublimi vertice*, I shall touch the Stars with the top of my Head, shall reach at the highest pitch of Fame, which will last forever.—That this is *Horace's* Meaning, is plain from ODE XXX. BOOK III. where he says, &c.

In the corresponding place in the 'Annotations' we read:

'All the Editions of *Horace* had *Me* formerly, till of late it was observed by the Right Reverend Dr. *Hare* Bishop of *Chichester*, that if *Horace* wrote *me*, he had no need to wish for a cool Grove, for the Company of the *Nymphs* and *Satyrs*, to be ranked among the Lyrick Poets, and to touch the Stars with the Top of his Head, when he was already among the Gods above, eating and drinking *Ambrosia* and *Nectar*. We must suppose therefore that *Horace* is not speaking of himself, but complimenting his Patron *Maccenas*, in saying that the *Ivy-Crown*, the Reward of learned Men, exalted him among the Gods above. We are not to imagine *Horace* was so ignorant of the way of complimenting his Patron, as to prefer himself to him, upon whom he was in Gratitude passing a Compliment.'

This and more to the same purport: the date (see the end of the 'Key' to Ode I) 'this present year of our Blessed Lord 1739'. Let the reader—that 'gentle' and 'indulgent' creature of an earlier day—now open one of the latest modern editions, read text and notes, and ask himself the question: Is interpretation a failure, or are the *Horatians* played out?

MORTIMER LAMSON EARLE.

18 November, 1901.

THE CLUNI CODEX OF CICERO.

IN his very welcome and highly appreciative review of my recent volume in the *Anecdota Oxoniensia* series, Mr. Clark is seemingly only half-convinced of the truth of my thesis, that the 15th century codex known as Lagomarsini 42 was directly copied, for the Second and Third Book of the *Verrines*, from the Cluni manuscript. As further research has put me in possession of fresh evidence, I beg leave to submit it. The importance of the subject must be my excuse for returning to it. The identification of the mutilated codex now at Holkham with the famous 'liber Nannii,' as well as with the so-called *Fabricianus* and the *Metellianus* (see Baizer-Halm, vol. ii. p. 177) would be of little more than merely antiquarian interest at the present day were it not for the fact that we may confidently accept Lg. 42 as a fairly accurate transcript, before its mutilation, of the latter part of the manuscript whose remarkable history I have endeavoured to establish.

No one has given more attention to extant MSS. of Cicero than Mr. Clark, and if I

can secure his unqualified adhesion to my views, I shall feel that the case is in a fair way of being closed. I cannot wonder that so wholesale and far-reaching an identification as that which I have proposed should have been in some quarters received with a certain degree of incredulity; but when Professor Robinson Ellis argues that if the codex used by Nannius, and Fabricius, and Metellus had been of the 9th century, one or other of them would probably have termed it *vetustissimus*, he appears to overlook the fact that it was obviously on the authority of Fabricius that this very epithet is applied to it by Lambinus, who used the collation Fabricius had made (see *Anecdota*, p. xl). And *v.c.* is the abbreviation constantly employed by Nannius for 'vetus codex.'

We are more scientific in our methods of collating now than Nannius was, but wrong reporting is still a fruitful source of error. To give a simple instance. If Lg. 42 had originally the word *iudices* in the first line of the Second Book of *Actio* ii, a *prima*

facie case might have seemed to exist against the view that it was copied directly from the Cluni codex, where *iudices* certainly does not occur; and I was therefore somewhat disturbed when Mr. Clark brought forward this discrepancy, stating that in Lg. 42 *iudices* stands as part of the text. But on turning to the Zürich edition (p. 451) for a verification of the statement I had made (Anecdota, p. xxvii), I find Halm's note quite clearly stating that *iudices* is omitted by the first hand in Lg. 42,—which is sufficient for my argument. We know that the *manus prima* was corrected—sometimes by the writer himself—from the deterioro; but all the slight discrepancies between it and the text of the Cluni codex as we have it now, or as we can reconstruct it from the *Nannianus*, the *Fabricianus*, and the *Metellianus*, are just such as might arise in the course of a somewhat hasty transcript, made in the 15th century by a scholar who had doubtless some other knowledge of the text. No weighty argument can be founded on the fact that the writer of Lg. 42 often prefers a form different from that which he found in his original (e.g. *omnes* for *omnis*, *ab* for *a*, *imperii* for *imperi*, *apponit* for *adponit*): or on such misreadings as *nemo* for *venio*, and *domi* for *dein*: or even on such a rare aberration as *obedire* for *abdite* (Müller, p. 265, 26). If he even varied, at times, the order of words in his original, he was only following the prevailing fashion of copyists, who had their preferences, and who liked to give, in this way, a little touch of individuality to the copies they made. The element of unconscious transposition must also, of course, be allowed for.¹ As to the

¹ Some at least of the transposition variants which appear in Lg. 42, as against all the other codd., will not be reproduced in my forthcoming edition of the Verrines. C. F. W. Müller seems to me to have accepted too many of them. The process out of which they must sometimes, at least, have resulted is revealed, e.g. at p. 343, 2, where all the MSS. have *mihi videtur*, except Lg. 42, which gives *videtur mihi videtur*. Here it would seem as if the writer of Lg. 42 had wanted to change the sequence, but carelessly repeated *videtur*. In the same way, at p. 283, 30, Lg. 42 gives *et quæstuosissimumque*, where *-que* is the writer's own, inserted either through inadvertence or by preference, or after comparison with the dett., while he forgot to delete the preceding *et*. Though Müller has been somewhat inconsistent in dealing with these variants, he has the credit of being the first editor of the Verrines who had a proper appreciation of the value of the tradition contained in Lg. 42, for the Second and Third Books. Here are some of the places where he seems to defer too greatly to its authority. At p. 282, 37, he prints *Quid reliqui est* with Lg. 42 against the codd. and edd. But here the *Fabricianus* is cited for *Quid est*

erasures in C—I gladly accept Mr. Clark's designation of the Holkham codex, instead of the more cumbersome Ho—it is probable that the occurrence of these marks in his original incited the writer of Lg. 42 to such easy emendations as *discederet* for *discerent* 208, 2, *classibusque* for *classique* 257, 33, and other changes which might appear to raise a difficulty now, even if he could no longer always read the erasure in the text before him.

Against such trivial discrepancies, more of which might readily be cited, I beg the reader to weigh the following: First I shall quote four passages, following the paging of Müller's text, where an almost equal number of words is omitted from the text of Lg. 42:—

p. 312, 30 *quod ipsi Leontini publice non*
sa[ne]

p. 324, 12 *non perseveras non perquisis*

p. 334, 19 *ea monet alienum hominem quæ*

p. 348, 14 *secuti sunt avariores magis-*
tratus.

Any one who will take the trouble to

reliqui, which must therefore have stood in *Cluni*, the inversion being probably due to caprice on the part of the writer of Lg. 42. Similarly at p. 282, 21, Lg. 42 has *re vera quidem* for *re quidem vera*: *sociorum contra salutem*, p. 357, 13, for *contra sociorum salutem*: and *accepta pecunia*, p. 228, 20, for *pecunia accepta*. It may well be doubted, therefore, whether the authority of Lg. 42 is sufficient for such a change in the text as *rusticarum rerum*, p. 279, 37, for *rerum rusticarum* (all other codd., including the *Vaticanus*): or *sunt duæ*, p. 275, 22, for *duæ sunt*: or *sapientiam maiorum*, *ibid.* 28, for *maiorum sapientiam*: or *victu vitæque*, p. 274, 35, for *vita victuque*: or *quam sibi*, p. 281, 15, for *sibi quam*: or *decumanum putatis*, *ibid.* 3, for *putatis decumanum*. All these, however, Müller adopts, though on the same principle he ought to have accepted the inversion in Lg. 42, *præsertim magno*, p. 296, 28, for the vulgate *magno præsertim*, and *ut ex maxima parte*, p. 288, 8, for *ex maxima parte ut*. The Cluni codex, where it is still extant, may be brought as a witness against the copyist of Lg. 42 in at least two places, which may be cited to complete this note. At p. 209, 5, it gives *nostros comites*, with most codd., whereas the first hand in Lg. 42 has *comites nostros* (wrongly adopted by Müller): here Lg. 42 first capriciously changes the order in C, and then either the writer himself, or the second hand, finding that the dett. were against him, restores the right order. Again, at p. 240, 24, C gives *dies festi aguntur*: this appears in Lg. 42 as *festi dies aguntur*, subsequently corrected. That the first hand himself made corrections in what he had written, on a comparison, probably, with some member of the dett., is obvious from such examples as p. 204, 33, where the original order, copied from C, *negotiantur in Sicilia*, is altered by the m. p. to *in Sicilia negotiantur*.

Two places may be noted on which a suggestion might be based that the writer of Lg. 42 did part, at least, of his work to dictation: p. 241, 22, where he gives *venisset redditus* for *venisset hereditas*, and *ibid.* 25, *propetisset* for *poposcisset*.

look at the facsimile reproduced at p. 11 of my collation, will see for himself that each of the above is of the average length of a line in the *Cluni codex*. The inference is irresistible: Lg. 42 was directly copied from C, and at each of the places cited above the copyist inadvertently dropped a line.

Similar lacunae elsewhere may be attributed to the common occurrence of omission *per parablepsiam*, of which Jordan quotes four cases within a few lines in a note on p. 314, 15 of the Zürich edition: cp. Müller p. 229, 2: 335, 18: 336, 35: 314, 35.¹ But no such explanation will fit the above passages. It is always possible, of course, to assume that an intermediate manuscript may have existed, and that Lg. 42 is a copy of a copy of Cluni,—the omissions above cited having originally occurred in the first copy. This supposition must, however, be excluded by various passages in which it is obvious that the writer of Lg. 42 is endeavouring to decipher an ancient original, whose readings were not always easy or obvious. I begin with a passage which will connect my argument with what I have to say later on the *Codex Nannianus*, i.e. the Cluni MS. At p. 294, 28, where C is no longer extant, the received reading *nemo abs te productus* has been recovered from Nonius: in Lg. 42 we find *nemo pro opte abductus*: while Nannius read the original (rather differently) as *nemo prompte abductus*.² At p. 291, 23 Nannius reports *M. Cossutius* (a correct citation from C which, as it was at once received into the text, it was unnecessary for either Fabricius or Metellus to repeat): the copyist of Lg. 42 was not so successful, and writes in *eos sutius*. The received text at p. 214, 8–10 is *commonefaciunt ut, si sibi videatur, utatur instituto suo nec cogat* etc.: here Lg. 42 has (according to Reifferscheid-Müller) *commonefaciunt ne sibi viderei niti tuo suo ne cogat*, and it may be noted that *sibi* (for the vulgate *ei*) is reported also from the *Metellianus* (i.e. the Cluni codex), which moreover

contributes *intituo* for Lg.'s less successful *niti tuo*. Gruter read *ad horam viiii* at p. 232, 36 for the vulgate *ad horam octavam*, and his reading probably comes from the *Metellianus*: in Lg. 42 the Cluni text appears as *ad bono viiii*. At 236, 22 Lg. 42 gives *possidens i agros alienenses*, which is far enough from the received text, *Posides Macro Soluntinus*: and at 306, 20 the equally unintelligible *lignio* for *gloriatum non*. Halm reports *ut his visis quidem* from Lg. 42 at p. 260, 12 for *ut iis ne in suis quidem*. At 266, 8 (where we have a fragment of C) the *homini* of the original is said to appear as *banum* in Lg. 42: dormitabat aliquando librarius! So at p. 334, 16 *insinuet* (or what stood for it in Cluni) is copied as *iusuuri et*, or *uisuuri et*. Such forms would never have been reproduced from any contemporary manuscript: the writer of Lg. 42 knew enough to be aware that where he could not make out the meaning his best course was to copy as nearly as possible what stood in his original. At 345, 5 Lg. 42 is reported as reading *fullia quā cogitassēt et* (per compend.) *hoc a me postulassēt* where the text now gives *si illi unquam hoc a me postulassent, si unquam omnino cogitassent*. I am disposed to think that Cluni here had *si illi unquam cogitassent et hoc a me postulassent*: if the writer of Lg. 42 had been transposing arbitrarily, he would surely have taken the trouble to write more correctly. At p. 355, 18, for *cum in crinine maximo dici a defensore*, Lg. 42 gives *cum morumve maximo decio defensore*. The last instance I shall quote of Lg.'s failure to decipher C correctly is at p. 288, 15, where instead of *labefactat enim vehementer* we find *labefcū enim erat vehementer*. Here the writer of Lg. 42 may again have been making a transposition: his original may have stood *labefcū rat enim vehementer*.²

So much for Lg. 42. When I published my account of the Cluni codex, I felt quite confident that Lg. 42 was a direct copy: I was more diffident about the identification of the famous 'liber Nannii' with the codex now at Holkham,—mainly on the ground, I fancy, that it was enough to have identified it with the *Fabricianus* and the *Metellianus*. There is a proverb about the love that poets bear to their own fantasies, and Mr. Clark's Harl. 2682 has been humorously spoken of in Germany as 'Clark's

¹ In the last-named passage the fact that Müller now reports that the lacuna following *Nam cum a multis* includes the *autem* after the second *multis* might lead one to suspect that the *autem* formed no part of the Cluni text. Other omissions, per incuriam, in Lg. 42, should not be considered of any account except where the support of F M or φ shows that they were omissions also in C. Thus I regard the absence in Lg. 42 of *et fortissimo* at p. 308, 16, as accidental: and the same holds of *omnium* (bracketed by Kayser and Müller) at p. 274, 33.

² Nannius carelessly left the first words of his lemma stand uncorrected, and pays the penalty in Jordan's note '*non nescit N.*'

² Reifferscheid's collation of Lg. 42, which was placed at C. W. Müller's disposal, has not been published in full, but it enabled Müller to correct many points in the previous reports of Jordan and Halm.

Liebling H'! But I can now confirm abundantly what is stated, somewhat diffidently, in my *Anecdoton*. The Cluni codex was certainly, while still complete, in the hands of Pierre Nanning (1500-1557)—probably some time after it had been copied by the writer of Lg. 42. But the Dutch scholar's method of reporting the results of his collation would certainly not commend itself now. In each case he first cites, in his lemma, the reading of the vulgate, as it was at his day. Then in his note he embodies the particular correction which he wished to report from C, and either leaves the rest of his citation as it was in the vulgate, or omits some words from a desire for brevity. Hence it comes that a wrong reading is frequently cited in the Zürich edition (Baiter and Halm) as from N: while the formula 'om. N.' must be regarded with special caution. In my *Anecdoton* I have shown that Stephanus was chary of taking over all the Dutch Professor's results, and that Zumpt regarded some of them with justifiable suspicion (p. xlviii, note). I might have added that Nannius was also 'suspect' to C. A. Jordan, who is responsible for the text and apparatus criticus of the Verrines in the Zürich edition. Take the passage at ii, ii § 96, *Cedo mihi etiam istum senatorem, ut hoc amplissimum nomen senatorium non modo ad invidiam, etc.* Here Jordan's note runs: '*senatorem*] *senatorium* N (i),' and in supplementing it Halm says that in what follows he writes *senatorium*, against the vulgate *senatorum*, on the strength of Lg. 42, which he quotes as giving the passage in mutilated form, *cedo mihi istum senatorium non modo ad etc.* The intervening words *senatorem ut hoc amplissimum nomen* were in fact omitted, per parablepsiam, in Lg. 42: and Halm adds 'itemque sic in N, fuisse probabile est.' The note of Nannius makes it certain that this particular parablepsia is not to be laid to the account of the copyist of Lg. 42: it had already occurred in the Cluni codex, which was the *Nannianus*, and from which Lg. 42 was directly copied. Again at ii, iii § 180, where by the way Müller once more accepts an inversion—*mihi da inquam* for *inquam da mihi*—on the sole authority of Lg. 42, Jordan includes Nannius among the authorities for the correct reading *qui tibi*, against the vulgate *qui vel*, though with the note, rendered necessary by Nannius's careless method of citation 'in quo (sc. Nanniano) vix credibile est *qui tibi vel* fuisse, quod vulgo post Nannium legitur.'

Nannius was, in fact, a slipshod reporter; and though it was his good fortune to have

access to the Cluni codex, he greatly confused later criticism by the use he made of his opportunity. Here are some examples of his method—or rather his want of method. At Book iii. § 151 he gives in his lemma the vulgate *cupioque te illud defendere*, and supplies from his 'vetus codex' the new reading—accepted by all editors on his authority down to Müller—*cupioque te ita illud defendere*. Lg. 42 gives *cupioque te ita defendere*, and if this was the reading of Cluni we must suppose that Nannius had jotted down *ita* as to be inserted in place of the vulgate *illud*, and then had carelessly left both *ita* and *illud*. In iii. § 184 his lemma is the vulgate *ut HS uno nomine tredecies auferret*. He wants to alter *tredecies* to *terdecies*, and cites from his 'vetus' for brevity, *ut HS terdecies auferret*. This has given rise to Jordan's note '*uno nomine om. N.*' (Lg. 42 here has *terdecies*, a variation which, if *terdecies* stood in C, may easily be attributed to the copyist). At iii. § 65 the vulgar text of Nannius's day ran *ut quocum inire convivium nemo unquam nisi turpis impurusque voluisset*. Nannius found in C *quicum* for *quocum*, and reports accordingly '*vetus: ut quicum inire.*' Here he mistakes *vivere* for *inire*, as had been already done by the copyist who invented *convivium* to go with the imaginary *quocum inire*: he lost, in fact, the opportunity of reporting the true reading, *ut quicum vivere nemo*. That this must have stood in Cluni is proved, not only by Nannius's imperfect citation of *quicum*, but also by the fact that it is the reading of Lg. 42 and ϕ . Here is a good example from Book ii. § 77: *Istum de vobis iudicem si vultis habeatis* *vetus, Istum etiam de vobis iudicem habeatis*. In the note Nannius gives excellent reasons for reading *etiam*. But unfortunately he ought to have inserted *etiam* in place of, and not in addition to, *istum*: *etiam* without *istum* is cited from the *Fabricianus* (= Cluni) and occurs also in Lg. 42 p.m. Jordan's note '*si vultis om. N.*' may now be deleted: Nannius meant no harm by his regard for brevity, and it was only *etiam* that he cared about in the passage just quoted. In precisely the same way, while inserting *et scelera* at ii. § 39, he carelessly leaves *commonstrem* standing, instead of *demonstrem*: whence Jordan's note *commonstrem* N. On the same principle, N ought to have been credited with *enumerate* (for *numerate*) at iii. § 79, where I cite the following, as a short example, '*Non audio enumerate HS xv] vetus, HS xii.*' The correct figure is reproduced in Lg. 42, but no one has thought of tying poor Nannius

down to *enumerate*, which he carelessly left standing in his lemma. At iii. § 209 we have another good example of careless citation. The vulgate gave *poteris proferre*, and Nannius wanted to correct *proferre* to *proferes*, which is in Lg. 42, and must have stood in Cluni: but he omitted to eliminate *proferre*, and is consequently quoted '*poteris proferre, proferes*' N. As a last example of the way in which Nannius managed to get his notes mixed up, I refer to iii. § 44, without quoting, owing to the length of the passage: any one who examines what Nannius has written there will see that he is not really stating that he found both *populi R.* and *propter hoc* in his 'vetus,' as Jordan understands.

I conclude this lengthy reference to the *Nannianus* by a short enumeration, following the paging of Müller's edition, of passages where the true reading, long ascribed to Nannius alone, has been found to recur in Lg. 42,—i.e. the direct copy, according to my thesis, of the original which Nannius used, and which was no other than the Cluni codex now at Holkham: p. 212, 16 *commissam esse* N Lg. 42 for *commississe* vulg.: p. 230, 24 *et aequitatem* (omitted in the vulgate): p. 247, 6 *iste* (again an omission): 263, 30 where a short lacuna (*condemnarunt horum iudicio*) is supplied by ϕ as well as N, and recurs in Lg. 42: p. 305, 19 *lucris* N 42 (an omission in the vulgate): p. 306, 8 DCCCL for DCCC: p. 307, 21 *qui* for *quicumque*: p. 308, 29 *iniqua* for *indigna*: p. 312, 27 *uti* for *ut*: p. 313, 21 *quid*, *si CCC* (an omission in the vulgate): *ibid.* 24 *capiam* for *faciam*: p. 325, 28 *teneo inquam*: p. 343, 24 *per triennium*: p. 354, 15 *non ex eo quod oportuerit*—all omissions in the vulgate: p. 358, 15 *annonæ* for *anno*: p. 359, 28 *quinos* and 35 *denis non licere*,—omissions, the latter of which was supplied also from the *Fabrianus* (i.e. Cluni), and is found in the *Vaticanus* as well.

The exact agreement between the *Nannianus* and its copy Lg. 42 should be noted also in their propriae lacunae: e.g. p. 337, 37 *allatarum libris Romæ in litterarum*, an omission due to *paralepsia* on the part of the copyist of the Cluni codex, and which recurs also in Lg. 45: 291, 24 where the figures *HSIQQQ* do not occur in either: and 215, 24 where both omit *sed ad communem litium aestimationem venisse*. Cases of the agreement between the two codd. in errors may also be cited: e.g. p. 253, 3 *postulant sed* for *postulantur*: 307, 3 *in aratores* for *aratores*. At 319, 20 both give

afflicta for *adfecta*, the reading adopted by Müller.

This completes my detailed proof of the fact that the '*liber Nannii*' is the same manuscript as the Cluni codex, now at Holkham. Though the identity of this codex with both the *Metellianus* and the *Fabrianus* is already, I venture to think, sufficiently established in my *Anecdoton*, I subjoin a few cogent passages which I have noted in course of preparing this paper: p. 214, 24 *atque obsecraret om.* M and Lg. 42: p. 218, 4 *ex aere facta om.* M Lg. 42: p. 216, 32 *iste mutet domum* M Lg. 42 for *isti domum nuntiatur*: p. 278, 23 *sed* M Lg. 42 for *sel etiam* of the vulgate: p. 246, 26 *qui consequitur mensem* a lacuna in the vulgate supplied from ϕ , and now also from Lg. 42: p. 316, 37 *nummum* ϕ Lg. 42, om. rel.: p. 268, 18 *an negotiator* N ϕ M Lg. 42, om. rel.: p. 307, 9 *Pro decuma om.* F Lg. 42. Lastly, the form *mensum* is cited from both F and M at p. 266, 11 and as C is extant here, we are able to verify the citation: C too gives *mensum*. Immediately below the codex fails us: but as *mensum* is again cited from N at p. 266, 29 and from M at p. 268, 14 we may infer that if the codex now at Holkham were complete we should find the same reading in these places also.

The recovery of the Cluni codex puts the text of the Second and Third Books of the *Verrines* on a much more stable footing than previously. For the Fourth and Fifth Books it is well known that Regius 7774 in the *Bibliothèque Nationale* is of full and well-nigh final authority. There remain only the earlier books, and for these I hope shortly to publish the results of my collation of a codex in the British Museum, which ought long ago to have been placed above both the *Wolfenbüttel* MSS. (G¹ and G²) on which, along with the *Leidensis*, editors have so long relied for the proper constitution of the text. Meanwhile I hope I may be considered to have made good my thesis that, for Books ii and iii, Ho. (or rather C) = N F M + Lg. 42.

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P.S.—Since the above was written, I have been so fortunate as to identify, in the *Bibliothèque Nationale* at Paris, what is undoubtedly the archetype of all the extant MSS. of the earlier part of the *Verrines*. The family of which G² and the *Leidensis* have hitherto been the most conspicuous

members can always be recognised from the fact that the text ends with the letters *singu* (for *singulari*) at ii. 1, § 111. The Paris MS., numbered 7775, which is signed 'Claudii Puteani,' is a thirteenth century codex, with 43 lines to the page; and it is remarkable that no one should have hitherto noticed that its last folio before the lacuna ends with the letters *singu*. The inference is obvious. It is almost inconceivable that the writer was copying from a codex already ending in that imperfect word, and that by

a mere accident he happened to complete his page with it. Unfortunately only four pages now remain of this portion of 7775: the rest gives the tradition of Books IV. and V. already known to us from the Regius 7774, a codex of the ninth century. But enough remains to enable us to classify all extant MSS. of the *Divinatio* and the earlier part of the *Verrines* in the order in which they most nearly reproduce what must now be considered the archetype.

W. P.

REMARKS ON JUVENAL.

I.

THE BODLEIAN FRAGMENTS.

THERE is a pretty general agreement among scholars that the lines of Juvenal in *Satire vi.* recently discovered by Mr. Winstedt are genuine. Two of them 32, 33, are quoted by the scholiast on vi. 348. The terse vigour of the language, the general stylistic peculiarities, the horrible insistence and ruthless unreserve with which the disgusting subject is handled, are in Juvenal's most perfect manner; indeed it is hard to believe that any save he penned those terrible lines. Proof in detail of their authenticity has been given by Professor Ellis, in his able lecture (*The new Fragments of Juvenal*, p. 9) and by Mr. H. L. Wilson (*American Journal of Philology*, xxii. p. 271 ff). If any aesthetic argument were wanted, the words *cum quibus Albanum Surrentinumque recusat | flava ruinosi lupa degustare sepulchri*, and *quem rides? aliis hunc nimium!* would be sufficient.

To me the only internal difficulty is the quantity of *promittit* in line 2

obscenum et tremula promittit omnia dextra.

It recalls uncomfortably similar lengthenings so frequent in the verse of declining Latinity: some examples are given by Bücheler, *Rhein. Mus.* LIV, p. 486: I may add *quo melior vir est longe subtilior illo*, one of the admittedly spurious lines prefixed to *Hor. Sat. I.* 10; and *aethere se mittit auditque vocatus Apollo* (Baehrens, *P.L.M.* iv. 209), *stridula cardinibus claudit antica retortis* (Baehrens, *P.L.M.* iv. 250), *stat similis auro citri mirabilis arbor* (Baehrens, *l.c.* 311): all however in *arsis*. This suggests that the

lines may have been composed about the fourth century after Christ, possibly by one of those admirers of whom Ammianus speaks (xxviii. 4. 14): such is the opinion of Bücheler. But it is more natural to consider that there is a corruption in the text: though I am not satisfied with any emendation hitherto proposed. The most ingenious is Mr. Housman's *tremula promittit et*, but Juvenal nowhere else places *et* third word in a clause. Dr. Postgate's *crimina i. q. stupra*, though attractive paleographically, is to my ear rather too recondite. Professor Ellis's *somnia* sounds to me too modern: it cannot bear the meaning, 'dreams of happiness,' which he gives it, comparing 547 *qualiacumque voles Iudaei somnia videntur*, for there *somnia* is literal; the Jews dealt in the interpretation of dreams from the time of Joseph downwards. I formerly suggested *ibi omnia* (*C.R.* xiii. 267); which I now retract, and propose *promittit mollia* sc. effeminate practices, cp. 23 *quanto uox mollior*. If *bona* means good things, and *mala* bad things, I don't see why *mollia* should not mean effeminate things, since *mollis* means effeminate; cp. ii. 165, *cunctis ephelis mollior*, ix. 38, *mollis avarus Petron*. 126 *oculorum mollis petulantia*. The man is *mollis similisque cinaedis*. The text being now set right, I think there is no argument from internal evidence that can be brought against the lines, the meaning of which has been brilliantly expounded by Mr. Housman.

Assuming the lines to be genuine we are confronted with an external difficulty. How has it come about that they are preserved in the Oxford MS., Canonici Lat. 41, which I call O, alone, a MS. which agrees to a large extent with the MSS. of the inferior

class rather than with the Pithoeanus? P von Winterfeld (*Berl. phil. Woch.* xix. 793; *Gött. Gel. Anz.*, 1899, p. 895), laying stress on the fact that there are twenty-nine lines on a page of the Pithoeanus, which is the case, and of the Aarau fragmentary MS., has suggested, with the assent of Mr. Housman (*C.R.* xv. 265), that the loss of the lines in most of our MSS. was due to the loss of a page in the archetype. But what archetype? The archetype of P or ω ? P, he says. And yet O mainly agrees with ω . This does not help us much. Now it is important to notice that though, as Mr. Winstedt's collation shows, O disagrees considerably with P, it yet frequently agrees with it in a surprising way, more so than Mr. Winstedt's silence would often lead the reader to suppose. An examination of the MS. has made this clear to me. Here are some instances; i. 68 *fecerit PO fecerat P ω* , 86 *nostri farrago libelli est PO est farrago libelli ω* , 114 *habitat PO habitas ω* , 145 *et PO it P ω* ii. 116 *abrumpere PO abscindere, abscondere ω* , 140 *moriuntur PO morientur ω* , iii. 210 *aerumnae est PO aerumnae ω* , 259 *e PO de ω* , v. 24 *quo PO quod ω* , 63, 64 transposed in PO, 63 *rogatus PO uocatus ω* , 88 *dabitur PO datur ω* , vi. 159, *nudo PO mero ω* , 474 *est pretium curae PO est operae pretium ω* , vii. 100 *nullo quippe modo PO namque oblita modi ω* , viii. 163, *dicit PO dicet P ω* , ix. 26 *quodque taces PO quod taceo ω* , x. 197 *om. ille PO*, xiv. 38 *damnandis huius enim PO damnis huiusce etenim P ω* . Also it presents unique or almost unique readings, e.g. i. 169 *anime ante tubas* (so Valla), and, what is more noticeable, readings of this sort which are either probably or certainly genuine, such as ii. 45 *nam plura* for *hi plura*, iii. 218 *hic Asianorum* for *haec Asianorum* or *fecasianorum*, iv. 148 *ex* for *et* P, the word is omitted by ω , vi. 561 *longe* for *longa* P or *longo ω* , vii. 130 *Tongilii* for *Tongilli*, xv. 75 *praestant instantibus Ombis* for *praestantibus omnibus instans*, 145 *pariendisque* for *capiendisque*.

It follows from all this that (1) O cannot be derived from the archetype of either P or ω , since in the case of all those MSS. the new lines are absent, and (2) that it is an independent witness, as is shown by the strange deviations of its readings. It is an eclectic authority. I am thus drawn to the conclusion that it must represent a recension other than and earlier than the recension from which the archetype of all our existing MSS. is derived; which has been proved to be the recension of Nicaeus (*C.R.* xi. 402). The newly discovered lines I conclude were

excised from the text by Nicaeus for some unknown reason. It follows that the Oxford MS. represents the vulgate text such as it was before the recension of Nicaeus was made. Now the fact that all our MSS. end abruptly at xvi. 60, proves clearly that they all descend from a truncated original in which one or more leaves were lost at the end. This loss, if my hypothesis is true, must have taken place prior to the recension of Nicaeus and that of the Oxford MS.: it probably took place very early during the period of neglect which the poet's works appear to have experienced for some time after his death (Friedländer, i. p. 80 foll.). This may well have been the case; and just as the recension of Persius by Sabinus is preserved in only two MSS., so the Oxford MS. may be the only specimen of Juvenal's text unrevised by Nicaeus.

II.

ON VI. 614 foll.

In this connexion must be considered the lines which occur in some, though not in most MSS., either after vi. 601 or after 614, to which latter place they evidently belong: *tamen hoc tolerabile si non | semper aquam portes rimosa ad dolia, semper | istud onus subeas ipsis manantibus urnis, | quo rabidus nostro Phalarim de rege dedisti*. These lines are omitted by editors, and are unintelligible as they stand. As the two recent attempts to explain them do not convince me (Ellis, *New fragments of Juvenal*, p. 19; Housman, *C.R.* xv. 265), I will venture a third. B t first as to their genuineness, it is clear that our established text has lost lines in some cases. Such accidents frequently befall texts: thus the Pithoeanus omits lines of undoubted authenticity, eg. v. 91, vi. 126. 558—559, x. 67. It may well be then that the lines in question are genuine; whether they vanished through accident or through the energy of a Nicaeus cannot be affirmed. It is clear from Valla's note that their omission was of early date (*hi tres uersiculi in multis non sunt codicibus quos in antiquissimo legimus codice et Probus etiam refert*). And they are manifestly ancient: they do not smack of interpolation. They have the crisp vigour of Juvenal; they have his allusiveness to a marked degree. The first two lines refer to the Danaids; the third to Phalaris, a potentate affected by Roman poets, and elsewhere alluded to by Juvenal (viii. 81). But the third line does not cohere well with the other two; and it

seems to me that the two former lines should follow 614, where they were found by Valla, the meaning being that the administration of philtres to her husband by the wife would be endurable if it did not finally produce mania, as for example the hallucination that he is engaged like a Danaid in filling sieves with water. The third line I think should follow 617. It clearly refers to the mad emperor Caligula, who turned from a Roman monarch into a perfect Phalaris, and behaved for three years as such. That the line is corrupt is indicated by the variations in the MSS., *quod for quo, rabidum for rabidus, rostro for nostro, Phalari for Phalarim, ede for de rege*. I therefore propose to read *quo <m>* for *quo*, and reconstruct the whole passage thus

tamen hoc tolerabile si non
semper aquam portes rimosa ad dolia, semper
istud onus subeas ipsis manantibus urnis,
et furere incipias ut auunculus ille Neronis,
cui totam tremuli frontem Caesonia pulli
infudit, quae non faciet quod principis
uxor,
quom rabidum nostro Phalarim de rege
dedisti?

i.e. 'who will not do what you the emperor's wife did, when you made a mad despot of our Roman monarch?' On *dedisti = fecisti* I need only refer to Munro on Lucret. iv. 41. I may note that *cum* with perf. indic. is not unusual in Juvenal: see iii. 122. 195. vi. 421, 458, 542. vii. 83, 86.

S. G. OWEN.

A LAST WORD ON THE PROHIBITIVE IN TERENCE.

IN his article in the April number of the *Review*, Professor Clement completely loses sight of the only important point at issue between us. I beg just enough space to call it again into prominence.

Every one must admit that, if it can be shown that *ne feceris* and *cave feceris* are emotional and *ne facias* and *cave facias* (generally speaking) commonplace, this fact is well worth noting and forms indeed a very important distinction, quite regardless of what may or may not, be true of the numerous other sorts of expression that have (in spite of my protests) been dragged into this controversy. Any one who will go through Professor Clement's article on Prohibitives in Terence, and exclude all other expressions, leaving merely the instances of these particular prohibitions still classified in every instance exactly as Clement himself classifies them, will find that Professor Clement presents substantially the same results that I myself presented in my original paper. According to his own classification, not one of the instances of *ne feceris* or *cave feceris*, is distinctly a commonplace prohibition, while on the other hand, eleven out of the eighteen instances of *ne facias* and *cave facias* are distinctly commonplace in character—0 per cent. of the perfect tense, 60+per cent. of the present tense. I showed in the March number of the *Review* that Professor Clement was clearly guilty of several misinterpretations and that the figures should be 0 per cent. of the perfect and 80 per cent,

of the present. Judging from his complete silence on the subject in his reply, he accepts my corrections. Whether he does or not, it will be noticed that my claim is completely and explicitly vindicated by its most bitter opponent. The only reason why he does not realize this fact is that he loses himself in a mass of extraneous matter.

The allusions I claimed to have made to unpublished collections in my possession, which Professor Clement has been unable to find after reading my Latin Prohibitive 'more than twenty times' are as follows: p. 137, ll. 34-35; p. 140, ll. 6-7; p. 147, ll. 31-32; p. 148, ll. 21-22; p. 149, ll. 23-24 (cf. p. 148 ll. 27-29). Professor Clement aims to give the impression (*Am. Journ. Phil.* xxii. p. 94, table) that I said there are no instances of *cave* in Catullus, Horace, Vergil, Tibullus, Propertius, or Ovid. As a matter of fact I made no statement regarding any one of these authors that could by any amount of violence be distorted into such an insinuation. Most of the passages which Professor Clement accuses me of having ignored were among my collections and were intentionally omitted for the reason that they threw no light on the particular question I was discussing. And the few genuine cases of careless omission fortunately do not affect the validity of my conclusions.

As Professor Clement makes some serious charges against me in addition to those concerning the poets above mentioned, I must, in justice to myself, call attention also to

the real character of those charges. I take for this purpose, as a fair sample, the most serious charge of all, namely the one involved in the following sentence near the end of his article: 'When his (*i.e.*, Elmer's) list of perfects, which he believes to be "practically complete," lacks at least 11 examples of *ne* or *cave* with the second person (Bennett and I have supplied that number), his figures on any subject are likely to be regarded with grave suspicion.' Of these 11 (12?) examples to which he refers, two (Plaut. Vid. 83 and 91) were not found, at the time when I was making my collections for The Latin Prohibitive, even in those complete editions of Plautus that contained the fragments of the Vidularia (Studemund's discussions and Winter's Fragmenta I had not seen, nor have I yet seen Weise's last edition of the fragments). Another, viz. Plaut. Cist. 300 had not, as yet (with only one exception, if I mistake not), been embodied in the text of the editions of that play. In another, Plaut. Pers. 572, the reading regularly found in editions existing at the time was *ne*, *si parseris*, etc., (not *ne parseris*, as since read by Goetz-Schoell and Leo). In another, Plaut. Truc. 606 *ne responsis* (Goetz-Schoell) is not, even yet,

the usual, or the accepted reading, nor has it any manuscript authority. In another, Plaut. Cas. 404, *cave obiectis* is a mere conjecture in a corrupt line (the MSS. have neither *cave* nor *obiectis*). Another, Plaut. Truc. 943 (933 in Ussing) was actually given in my list (p. 142), though the printer's omission of 'Truc.' before 933 seems to make the line-number refer to the preceding 'Pers.' Thus disappear 7 of the alleged careless omissions.

Professor Clement has then convicted me simply of having overlooked 5 (4?) instances (only one prior to Cicero) in my reading of the more than ten thousand pages of Latin from the earliest times down to the end of the Augustan Age—one omission to two thousand pages or more. He has discovered these omissions by re-reading the authors 'in most cases, from two to eight times,' as he tells us. I have no desire to belittle the importance of this achievement. I merely venture to repeat a sentiment expressed in my previous article, viz. that a critic who makes such serious charges as Professor Clement has made against a fellow-investigator should be far more sure of his ground.

H. C. ELMER.

Cornell University.

SOME POMPEIIAN MUSICAL INSTRUMENTS AND THE MODES OF ARISTIDES QUINTILIANUS.

IN the Naples Museum there is a small instrument, found at Pompeii in 1876, and described in the official catalogue as 'Instrument de musique à neuf tuyaux. Il ressemble à un orgue.' Little interest seems to have been taken in this instrument, which is passed over by Gevaert (*La Musique de l'Antiquité*, Vol. II. p. 301, *Note*) with the single remark, 'Je n'ai remarqué au musée de Naples, parmi les nombreux débris d'instruments pompeïens, qu'un seul fragment de *syringe*.'

Of late years a second instrument has been found at Pompeii, similar in every respect to the above, but larger, and having two additional pipes. For convenience I will refer to these instruments as No. I. (the earlier), and No. II. (the later and larger instrument).

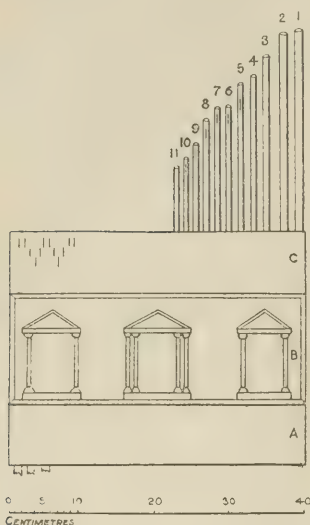
No. II., of which a diagram accompanies this article, being more decayed than No. I., has been laid out on a plaster frame in

exactly the condition in which it was found, and is considered of sufficient importance to be placed in a case by itself. The Museum Authorities were kind enough to take its measurements for me, and to give me permission to photograph it; but owing to its fragmentary condition it was found impossible to place it in a suitable position for photography without risk of serious injury. I believe it to be some kind of portable pneumatic organ, the mechanism of which, being of leather and wood, has entirely disappeared, leaving only the bronze pipes and outer casing.

The three portions or plates, A, B, C, are not joined, but were found in the position shown in the diagram. Their ends are bent back at a right angle to the depth of 14 millimetres. There is nothing to support the pipes, which, if the instrument were placed upright, would simply fall down behind the plates. I believe them to have

been flute and not reed pipes, and that their mouthpieces were of wood.¹

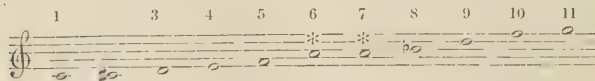
With No. I. were found a few short pieces of bronze which exactly fit the oblong holes in its pipes. These holes, which are at varying distances from the top, are found in pipes Nos. 3 to 8 of the smaller instrument, and Nos. 5 to 10 of the larger.



No. I. has, in addition to its three plates, an oblong piece of bronze containing eighteen holes similar to, and arranged in the same order as, those shown in Plate C of the diagram. In No. II., I counted twelve of these holes, but owing to its corroded condition I could not see if there were more.

At the left hand, projecting from the

Ex. 1.



which I obtain as follows:

Nos. 5 and 10, being in the ratio of 2-1 give an Octave.

Nos. 5 and 1, ratio 20-27 give a 'High'

¹ In 1892 I made a thorough examination of No. I. and found nothing of the nature of metal tongues such as would be used for pipes of this calibre if they were 'reeds.'

lower corner of Plate A, are some very corroded fragments of oblong pipes: similar ones were found with No. I., but detached from it. They appear to have had some connection with the conveyance of the wind, the arrangements for which may have occupied a considerable space below and at the back.

The diagram is to scale. The pipes of No. I. are on the left hand side, the largest being nearest the outer edge of the plate: they are therefore exactly in the reverse position of those of No. II. This, however, may be an accidental arrangement, due to a mistake in replacing the instrument in its resting-place after removal for measurement, and No. II., having been preserved exactly as it was found, is the more authoritative on this point.

I place the measurements alongside of one another for facility of comparison. No. I. has nine pipes, No. II. eleven.

The measurements are in centimetres.

No. II.	No. I.
Plate A.—40 × 8.	37 × 7.
„ B.—40 × 15.	35.5 × 9.8.
„ C.—40 × 8.	37 × 6.7.

Diameter of Pipes. { 1.2.	1.45.
---------------------------	-------

Lengths of Pipes. {	No. 1: 27.
	„ 2: 26.5.
	„ 3: 24.
	„ 4: 21.
	„ 5: 20.
	„ 6: 17 (?).
	„ 7: 17 (?).
	„ 8: 15.
	„ 9: 12.
	„ 10: 10.
	„ 11: 9.
	No. 1: 24.5.
	„ 2: 22.
	„ 3: 20.9.
	„ 4: 18.8.
	„ 5: 17.
	„ 6: 15.
	„ 7: 13.2.
	„ 8: 11.1.
	„ 9: 9.

Taking Nos. 5 and 10 as representing the two F's of the treble staff, the scale resulting from the measurements of the pipes of No. II. gives these intervals:

or 'Sharp' Fourth, slightly larger than the perfect Fourth, 4-3.

Nos. 5 and 2, ratio 20-26.5=53-40, between the true Major Third, 5-4 and the Pythagorean Major Third 81-64. Therefore very nearly the major third of equal temperament.

Nos. 5 and 3 ratio 5-6. This interval,

the Minor Third, is given by Eratosthenes and Didymus for the chromatic tetrachord, and by Ptolemy for the soft chromatic. (*Claudius Ptolemy*, Edited by Wallis, p. 171).

Nos. 5 and 4 ratio 20-21. This semitone is given by Ptolemy (p. 177) in the mixed soft diatonic genus.

Nos. 5 and 6, ratio 20-17. No recognised interval.

Nos. 5 and 7. No. 7 gave the same measurement as no. 6. My impression is that a difference formerly existed, that the pipes have become altered by corrosion, and that we have here to do with an enharmonic tetrachord.

Nos. 5 and 8, ratio 4-3. Perfect Fourth.

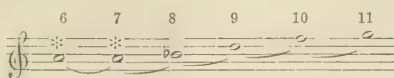
Nos. 5 and 9, ratio 5-3. Major Sixth.

Nos. 10 and 11, ratio 10-9. Minor tone. This interval occurs in Ptolemy's mixed soft diatonic and mixed intense diatonic genera.

The measurements of No. II. were taken for me in April last by an expert: that the smaller instrument gives no satisfactory results (there is no octave for example), is probably due to my own faulty measurements taken ten years ago.

I have had an oblong hole cut near the top of a conical brass whistle 29.5 cent. in length, by 14 millimetres in diameter: on inserting a piece of brass (of size and shape similar to the short oblong pieces found with No. I.) which fits the hole and divides the passage at this point, I find that the effect is to cause the second harmonic, *i.e.*

Ex. 2.



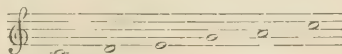
Diesis Diesis Ditone Trihemitone Tone

'and the diapason exceeds this mode by a tone' he says.

This accounts for the upper six of the eleven pipes of No. II in a remarkable manner, and seems to point to the instrument being the *πτερόν*, the 'Wing' of 'Anonymus.'

A comparison of the series of 11 notes

Ex. 3.



The lists of intervals given by Aristides on p. 21, seem to agree with the practice

¹ *Anonymi Scriptio de Musica*, published with notes by F. Bellermann. Berlin, 1841.

the interval of a 12th from the fundamental note, to sound out clearly to the disadvantage of the fundamental, and first harmonic. The insertion of the bronze tongues in pipes 5 to 10 would therefore probably cause this portion of the scale to be transposed a 12th higher, without increase of wind pressure.

The series of notes given in Ex. 1 forms no regular scale or mode as understood by us; but my impression is that the ancients never used a complete diatonic scale in actual performance. This seems to be shown by the flutes found at Pompeii and elsewhere, and by the series of notes used in the Delphic Hymns, of which I gave an analysis in the *Classical Review* of November 1895.

Bellermann's 'Anonymus,'¹ in describing the various kinds of instruments in use in his time, says *ἐμπνευστὰ δὲ αὐλοὶ τε καὶ ὑδραῦλεις καὶ πτερά*. Not one word more is said in the treatise concerning the *πτερόν*, though the tropes for Lyres, Kitharas, Hydraulis, and Auloi are given. The only other author who mentions the *πτερόν* is the Hagiopolite (Vincent, *Notices des Manuscrits de la Bibliothèque du Roi*, Paris, 1847, p. 266), who says that the Iastian trope is suitable to this instrument; and here we have an important clue, for it will be found that if pipes Nos. 6 and 7 originally differed in length so as to give an enharmonic diesis, we get the intervals of the Iastian mode given by Aristides Quintilianus (Meibom), p. 21, which he makes to consist of

in Ex. 1. with those found on other instruments strongly suggests that ancient melodies and modes did not usually contain all the degrees of any particular octave, but that notes were omitted, in a way analogous to the ancient Scotch pentatonic scale

of musicians in this respect. A few examples will perhaps make my meaning clear.

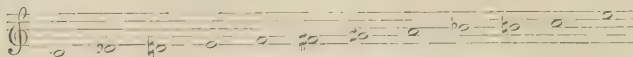
On three Pompeian Auloi, discovered in

1867 we find that the last melody played, as shown by the holes which were found closed,¹ occupied these intervals (which I have transposed to facilitate comparison):

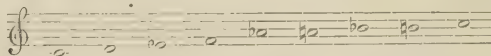
Ex. 4.



Ex. 5.

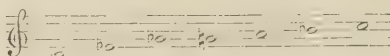


Ex. 6.

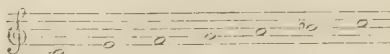


On two auloi in the British Museum, found in a tomb near Athens, the series of notes are :

Ex. 7.



Ex. 8.



It will be seen that in all the examples 4 to 8 the diatonic order of tones and semitones is broken by leaps of major or minor thirds, analogous to the leaps which occur in Ex. 1, and which are accounted for by the Iastian mode given by Aristides Quintilianus. None of these examples give what we understand by a Mode, that is a definite series of tones and semitones in the octave; and in this connection it may be well to compare them with the Modes of Aristides.

The Aristidean Modes (p. 21) besides the Iastian (Ex. 2.) are :—

Lydian; composed of Diesis, Ditone, Tone, Diesis, Diesis, Ditone, Tone. This forms an octave.

Dorian; Tone, Diesis, Diesis, Ditone, Tone, Diesis, Diesis, Ditone. This exceeds the octave by a tone.

Phrygian; Tone, Diesis, Diesis, Ditone, Tone, Diesis, Diesis, Tone. This is less than the octave by a tone. (Compare Ex. 1.)

Mixolydian; Diesis, Diesis, Tone, Tone, Diesis, Diesis, Tritone. This completes the octave. The tritone is of frequent occurrence in the melody of the first Delphic Hymn.

Lydian Syntonon; Diesis, Diesis, Ditone, Trihemitone, and Ditone.

These strange modes are explained by a passage in Cleonides or Pseudo-Euclid (Euclid, p. 15, Meibom) in which it is shown that the Lydian; Parhypate Hypaton to Tritone Diezeugmenon, is contained between

mesopycna. Its first interval must therefore be a diesis, a quartertone in the enharmonic, a third of a tone, or a semitone in the Chromatic genus.

Dorian; Hypate Meson to Nete Diezeugmenon, is contained between barypycna, therefore its two first intervals are Dieses. But Aristides says that its first interval is a tone, and that it exceeds the octave by this interval. In other words the ancient musicians added a note below its theoretical compass, when using the Dorian mode.²

Phrygian; Lichanos Hypaton to Paranete Diezeugmenon, contained between Oxypychna. Its first interval should be a tone or a trihemitone or a ditone, according to the genus. Aristides makes it begin with two dieses, and says that it is less than an octave by a tone. In practice therefore musicians cut off its lowest note, and made it begin where we should expect the Dorian to begin. The Iastian Octave-species being the same as the Dorian, but a semitone higher in pitch, is contained between barypycna; Cleonides does not mention this

¹ The Auloi were each capable of playing a complete series of semitones (except that one single semitone was absent from one of the instruments). By means of mechanism any holes could be opened or closed at will *before* and *after*, but not *during* performance.

² 'Le ré inférieur est un son supplémentaire, qui ne fait pas partie intégrante de la gamme, et ne sert sans doute que pour certains écarts exceptionnels de la Mélodie.'—M. L. Laloy, in reference to the Aristidean Modes in *Congrès International d'Histoire de la Musique*; Combarieu: Paris, 1900.

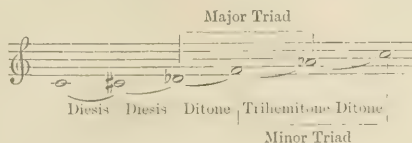
mode. Its uppermost note was omitted in practice, since Aristides says that it was 'less than an octave by a tone,' see Ex. 2.

Mixolydian; Hypate Hypaton to Paramese; contained between barypycna, there-

fore its two lowest intervals are Dieses, in accordance with Aristides.

Lydian Syntonon. This is not mentioned by Cleonides. In its Aristidean form it gives us a major and minor triad.

Ex. 9.



In my article in the *Classical Review* of Nov. 1895 I endeavoured to explain my view that the 'system' was the basis of Greek melody rather than the 'mode'; and my examination of these Pompeiian instruments tends to confirm me in this view. Aristides says (p. 13), 'some systems are continuous, the sounds being placed in consecutive order; others are irregular, in which the melody does not proceed by consecutive sounds.' The system is merely a series of scale sounds of any number greater than two (Aristoxenus)¹; thus we have the tetrachord system, the pentachord system, the octave system, the greater and lesser perfect systems: but those used for melody, as opposed to these theoretical systems may be 'continuous or irregular.' They and the nomes appear to have been formulas, analogous to the rāgas of South India, on which melodies were composed.

It seems evident that the enharmonic and chromatic genera, with their colours, had not died out at the time of the destruction of Pompeii: and that musicians rarely if ever made use of a complete diatonic series of notes for any given melody. It is true

that such a series is found in the three Hymns of the Antonines and in the Tralles Hymn, which are all in the diatonic genus: but none of the Pompeiian instruments hitherto discovered seem to have been used for this genus, and though the auloi contained mechanism which would allow of its use, they were arranged in the order shown in the examples, when found.

The varieties of Mode, Colour, Genus, to say nothing of the addition or subtraction of notes from the octave species, must have placed immense resources in the hands of musicians unaccustomed to harmony. We are wont to look upon their instruments as meagre and of small musical value. This is true of them from a modern harmonic standpoint; but their meagre compass must have been to a large extent compensated for by the resources which the very absence of harmony placed at the command of the performers.²

C. F. ABDY WILLIAMS.

¹ *Meibom*, page 16. See also Westphal's explanation in *Aristoxenus, Melik und Rhythmik*, Leipzig 1883; p. 234.

² Since this article was written I have been kindly given an opportunity of examining a hydraulic organ, constructed by the Rev. F. W. Galpin. Its scale of 19 sounds gives the six modes mentioned by Anonymus as those used on this instrument; and on running the fingers rapidly over the keys at random I was charmed by the attractive character given to the music by the modal arrangement of the notes.

THE SEXAGESIMAL SYSTEM AND THE CRADLE OF THE ARYANS.

In his notable paper entitled *Die Urheimath der Indogermanen und das Europäische Zahlssystem*, Berlin, 1890, Johannes Schmidt took it for granted that the Indo-Europeans originally had a pure decimal system, and argued that the many important traces it possesses of a sexagesimal system are an intrusion from the numerical system of the

Sumerians of Babylonia, and prove that the European branch of the Indo-European race early dwelt near enough to the Euphrates valley to come under the influence of the Sumerians, therefore, in Asia, and that thus all Indo-Europeans originated in Asia. Schmidt summed the matter up as follows (p. 52): 'Wo diese gegend zu suchen sei,

wissen wir nicht. Die einwirkung braucht keine unmittelbare gewesen zu sein, da der handel die sexagesimal rechnung auch durch zwischenliegende l nder anderer zunge hindurch getragen haben kann. Jedefalls aber ist der schauplatz derselben so lange in Asien zu vermuthen, bis unwiderlegliche und zwingende beweise f r Europa beigebracht sein werden.' This is certainly shifting the burden of proof without warrant. Schmidt agrees (p. 46), that the use of 60 in Chinese is also derived from Babylon ; but the distance from Babylon to the extreme west end of China is greater than that from Babylon to Italy. Hence, even if we should grant that the numerical system of the Europeans was affected by that of the Babylonians, we are by no means forced to admit that they lived in Asia at the time this happened. And this must be the final judgment on that portion of Schmidt's paper that deals with the origin of the Indo-Europeans, cf. Hirt, *I.F.* i., p. 468, Kretschmer, *Einleitung*, p. 58.

So far as my knowledge goes, Schmidt's is the only recent attempt to re-establish Asia as the cradle of the Indo-Europeans, and he himself insists (p. 54), that all previous attempts to prove the Asiatic origin of the race were failures. On the other hand, the general trend of such evidence as has been brought forward of late goes to make it very likely that the original seats of the Indo-Europeans were in northern Europe, or somewhere along a line extending from central Europe to middle western Asia (Penka, *Die Herkunft der Arier*, Kretschmer, *Einleitung*, p. 60, Brugmann, *Grundriss*², i., p. 22). Indeed, one theory (Sweet, *History of Language*) has gone farther and made it appear at least plausible, not only that the barbarians of the stone age of Europe were the ancestors of the Indo-Europeans, but that their language was adopted from a conquering population of Asiatic invaders. The modern representatives of these are the Finns, and their ancient cousins were the Sumerians. Now, the Zyrian Finns, as well as the Europeans, have a break in their numerical system between 60 and 70 and, like the Europeans, form the tens from 70 on in a way different from that employed in the earlier tens (Schmidt, p. 41, Grimm, *Geschichte*, p. 256). The advocates of the Finnish origin of Indo-European speech, far from being disturbed by Schmidt's argument, can welcome the facts he brings forward and see in them another argument in favour of their position. For, if the primitive inhabitants of Europe

were so thoroughly under the influence of their Asiatic conquerors that they gave up their native tongue and adopted that of their masters, it would be most natural that they should also adopt their numerical system. That the numerical system of the Sumerians was developed after they settled in the valley of the Euphrates and was not common to them and their kin when they still dwelt in their more northerly homes, is something that we certainly have no right to take for granted. Moreover, it is not at all necessary for us to assume (Schmidt, p. 48), that the mixture of the decimal and the sexagesimal systems which we find in the European languages, is due to the grafting of an Asiatic sexagesimal system upon a native Indo-European decimal system. For the system of the Sumerians, as well as that of the Zyrian Finns, is itself a mixture of decimal and sexagesimal (Cantor, *Geschichte*, p. 93, etc., Schmidt, p. 47).

Ignoring all theories as to the original numerical system of the Indo-Europeans, we must recognise the historical fact that when we first meet them they are in possession of a mixture of the decimal and the sexagesimal systems, and that, the farther back we probe, the more we find of the sexagesimal element. At an early day the decimal element got the upper hand, and that, the farther south, the sooner. We know that the Germanic languages have the most numerous and distinct traces of the decimal-sexagesimal system, the shock being much used in Germany, and the long hundred lingering in England, and being the usual hundred in Iceland. In a paper entitled *Greek and Runic Letters and Numbers*, to appear in *The American Journal of Philology*, I have shown that in early Teutonic, there were at first no tens above the shock, or 60, and that those that the Teutons later possessed, developed from the long hundred down. The Slavs have the *kopa*, corresponding to the shock of the Teutons. The Celts, Romans, and Greeks had a break in their numerical systems at 60 that betrays an earlier condition similar to that of the Teutonic system. Professor Minton Warren calls my attention to the fact that the Romans also retained distinct traces of the long hundred, of which the most interesting is the notion that 120 was the span of human life.¹

¹ Tacitus, *Dialogus*, c. 17: *centum et viginti anni . . . unius hominis aetas*. Censorinus' quotation (de d. n. 17) from Varro's *Antiquitates*, book xviii: *ut traderent historici de Romuli urbis condendae aevi ac duodecim vulturiis, quoniam*

In the paper referred to above, I showed that the Greeks originally made a stop at 600, though we find them early supplied with the remaining hundreds. The break made by the Indians after 50 (Schmidt, pp. 42, 48), is probably a modification of an older break after 60; just as the Slavic system (as doubtless correctly assumed by Schmidt, pp. 41, 52) is a modern levelling of an old sexagesimal system. Still, the only certain trace of the sexagesimal system among the Indians is the fact that, like the Babylonians and Chinese, they divided the day into sixty parts (Cantor, pp. 91, 92), and used 60 and 600 as indefinite large numbers, as we have found the Teutons, Latins, etc. using 60 and 600. Had the Indo-Europeans received the sexagesimal element of their numerical system from the Sumerians, it would be reasonable to expect that we should find this element best preserved among those of their descendants who remained nearest this old and powerful centre of civilisation. The facts are, however, just the reverse. That is, the Teutons, those Indo-Europeans that lived farthest from Babylon, preserve best the decimal-sexagesimal system. And it is just these Teutons who are, and have always been, so far as we know, the nearest neighbours of the Finns, themselves the possessors of a decimal-sexagesimal system.

But, whether they evolved it or adopted it, and whether they adopted it from the Finns or they and the Finns received it alike from distant Babylon, the decimal-sexagesimal system is the earliest numerical system that we have any right to ascribe to the Indo-Europeans. How it arose, and how it gradually yielded to a purer decimal system, I should explain as follows. The most primitive means of counting is based on the fingers, or the fingers and toes. Hence the decimal and the vigesimal systems, both common among most races of the world in reckoning small and moderately large numbers. Before the affairs of ordinary life demanded the frequent use of very large numbers, the observation that the year had about 360 days and the division of the circle of 360 degrees into six equal

arcs, cut off by the application of the radius, introduced the sexagesimal system (Cantor, p. 92). This was a sort of learned system, and at first was doubtless not used or needed in the affairs of ordinary life. It naturally blended with the decimal system already in use for small numbers, and, when the affairs of ordinary life were so far developed as to require the use of larger numbers, this being the only available means of expressing them, was naturally resorted to, clumsy and inconsistent as it was.

That the large unit, 60, was broken up into 12×5 , and that the use of 12 is thus based on the earlier use of 60, seems improbable to Hirt (*I.F.* i, pp. 468, etc.). It is really very simple and natural. In keeping count of things that are being measured—for example, bushels of grain that are to be stored away, or gallons of wine that are being drawn from a cask—the people of primitive times doubtless chalked them off just as farmers and merchants do to-day. That is, they made parallel strokes until they had four, and then they crossed them with a fifth , symbolizing the four fingers and the thumb of one hand. It took twelve such groups to make a shock. It might be asked why they did not make nine strokes, and then cross that. For the simple reason that  can be counted at a glance and  is hard to count. Similarly, small objects, like coins, were counted by being touched and slid aside one by one, first twelve with the little finger, then twelve with the ring finger, etc. Certainly Hirt has not succeeded in disproving Schmidt's contention that 60 arose independently of 12, and that we have to deal with a decimal-sexagesimal system, and not with a decimal-duo-decimal system.

That in this decimal-sexagesimal system the decimal element in time got the upper hand, was due to the gradual development of the need and the use of large numbers in business, and in those mathematical calculations that had nothing to do with astronomy or the reckoning of time. In this way, that system that had always been the usual one in small numbers extended upward, and thus crowded out the astronomical system that had been imposed upon it. That is, 10×10 took the place of 10×12 , though it long permitted the long hundred and the shock to persist in limited use, especially in certain conservative trades in which any large unit would suffice; and so, too, 10×100 (or 1000) displaced 10×120 (or 1200) but tolerated 600 some time before it made it yield to 500. This tallies exactly with what we

CXX annos incolumis praeteriit, populum Romanum ad MCC perventurum. Here we have 12, 120, and 1200. For the whole matter see the discussion by Gudeman, *P. Cornelii Taciti Dialogus de Oratoribus*, Boston, 1894, p. 186-187. Also Pauly-Wissowa under *centuria*, p. 1961: *Centuria est quadrata in omnes quatuor partes, ut habeat latera longa pedes MMCD, Varro de r. r. i., 10, 2; also, da 1 iugerum = 2 Quadratactus zu je 120 römische Fuss im Quadrat, etc.*

observe of the relative advance in civilisation among the Indo-European peoples. Those that first had need of large numbers, early passed the 60-line, and even the 600-line, while the people of the North, who were longest in emerging out of the condition of primitive life, were also latest in

crowding out the astronomical elements that made inconsistent the essentially decimal character of their numerical system.

GEORGE HEMPL.

ANN ARBOR,
April, 1902.

NOTES.

DERDAS THE LITTLE.—Aristotle, *Pol.* viii. (v.) 10, 10=1311 b 3. καὶ ἡ [scil. ἐπίθεσις] 'Ἀμύντου τοῦ μικροῦ ὑπὸ Δέρδα διὰ τὸ καυχῆσασθαι εἰς τὴν ἡλικίαν αὐτοῦ. Nothing is known elsewhere of 'Ἀμύντας ὁ μικρὸς; and the reference in εἰς τὴν ἡλικίαν is entirely obscure. The old Latin translation, which regularly translates ἡλικία by *aetas*, here (and presently at line 18) turns ἡλικία by *statura*. I suggest that the words τοῦ μικροῦ are out of place, and that we should read ἡ 'Ἀμύντου ὑπὸ Δέρδα τοῦ μικροῦ. Derdas was short of stature, and Amyntas offended him by a taunt on the subject. If asked to account for the transposition, I should further suggest that the words τοῦ μικροῦ were originally a gloss, which has found its way into the text at the wrong place. We may accept the usual view that the Amyntas mentioned here is the father of Philip, and that Derdas is the brother of Eurydike, Amyntas' wife (*Xen. Hell.* V. ii. 38 foll. iii. 1 foll.; *Theopompus ap. Ath.* x. 436 C). There is no ground for holding, with Droysen, *Geschichte des Hellenismus*, I. 78, that Derdas killed Amyntas. Aristotle distinctly says that he is dealing with conspiracies both successful and unsuccessful; οἱ μὲν ἀρρήθσαν, οἱ δ' ἐπεβουλευθήσαν (1311 b 35). Schäfer is no doubt right in holding that it was one and the same Amyntas who, with some intermissions, occupied the Macedonian throne from B.C. 394 to B.C. 370.

E. S. THOMPSON.

* *

ON CULEX, 93, 94.—'O gratissima Tempe fontis Hamadryadum.' For the corrupt 'fontis,' Mr.

Housman (dissatisfied with Leo's 'hortus') has (at p. 340 of the current volume of the *C.R.*) proposed 'frigus' (i.e., 'sedes frigida'). I would suggest, (as being nearer to the tradition and giving an appropriate sense) 'saltus'—s (*f*)=f, a=o, ll=n, u=ti. Compare *Virg. G.*, iii. 40, 'Dryadum silvas saltusque sequamur.'

SAMUEL ALLEN.

*

AN EMENDATION OF TERTENTIUS MAURUS.

573, 579. Lachm.

a brevis dum consonanti t propinque iungitur
tempori suo †ab eadem consona (-nae M) partem
trahet

Lachmann altered *ab* to *de*, which can hardly be right, nor can much be said for *ex* of Keil, still less for the violent alteration of Werth *de Terentiani sermone et aetate* (Teubner 1896), p. 336.

Temporis uocalis eadem consonae partem trahet.

Surely Terentianus wrote *abs*, as Tertullian, or whoever was the writer, quoted by *Hand Turs.* I. p. 7, although as a rule *abs* precedes consonants only (Sandys on *Cic. Orat.* § 158), *adv. Marc.* iv. 4. 103 *Quos in euangelio dominus quoque dixit et hactenus Abs ouibus cerni stantes in parte sinistra; v. 5. 122, Promissa abs alio.*

ROBINSON ELLIS.

* * *

REVIEWS.

CLARK'S ORATIONS OF CICERO.

M. Tulli Ciceronis Orationes. Vol. vi. : Pro Milone, Pro Marcello, Pro Ligario, Pro Rege Deiotaro, Philippicae I—XIV. Recognovit breuque adnotatione critica instruxit ALBERTUS CURTIS CLARK. Oxonii. E typographeo Clarendoniano.

For obvious reasons Mr. Clark has begun his edition of the speeches of Cicero in the *Scriptorum Classicorum Bibliotheca Oxoniensis* with the sixth and final volume. In editing

the Miloniana he is on ground which he has made his own : but even here he has by no means been content with reprinting the apparatus of his edition of 1895. Of course the Turin palimpsest, and the *quadriga* of German MSS. retain their pre-eminence. But as the better representatives of the class of *deteriores* he now takes a Berne MS. *b*, the *cod. Barberinus β*, and an Oxford MS. *σ* (which is not the same as Halm's *Salisburyensis*), of which only the last was

regularly used for the *editio maior*; so that δ, the symbol for the commonest readings of the *deteriores*, does not mean quite the same as before. The text naturally remains for the most part unaltered. In § 36 Mr. Clark now deletes *civium*, which he was previously content to bracket, a safer course, seeing that it is given by all MSS. In § 42 he rightly adheres to his neat conjecture. In § 60 his new conjecture *hic* seems preferable to the alternative suggestion. In § 67 he well prints *non*, which is much more likely to have been corrupted than *quod*, easier as that correction is palaeographically. In § 69 *proximorum* does not call for more than the modest doubt which is now expressed. In § 75 *P. Aponio* seems certain. In § 90 *cui mortuo unus* is rightly retained. I am inclined to think that *quae oblivio* in § 99 can be defended, a view which I am glad to find Dr. Reid sharing. It might have been better to make it quite clear what is the reading of *H* in § 105, i.e. *comprobat*, so that the text given rests on a correction. I agree with Dr. Reid that it is hard to believe in *maneret* in § 77. But on the whole one could not desire a sounder text.

In the *Caesarianae*, avoiding alike the niggardliness of Baier, and the needless lavishness of Halm, Mr. Clark has used 12 MSS., 7 of which he has himself collated. These fall into three clearly marked classes, of which the best consists of an Harleian (2682, second copy), a Vossian, and an Ambrosian. The second class is marked by many interpolations; the third keeps closer to the first, but has also many interpolations. Perhaps Mr. Clark has gone a little too far in rejecting as interpolations words omitted in one MS. only: e.g. in pro Deiot. § 34 *liberi* may well be sound, and only one Harleian omits it. At all events it would be safer to bracket than to strike out. On these speeches Mr. Clark has not many suggestions of his own to offer, but *tum* for *cum* in Deiot. 29 is good, and in § 35 aliquid *quid* is admirably neat.

For the *Philippicae* the Vatican MS. retains the primacy which it has enjoyed since Halm, although Mr. Clark justly abstains from assigning too much weight to the omissions of the first hand. The rest have come from a mutilated archetype, and none of them show such marked superiority that others can be safely neglected. Some of these Mr. Clark has collated afresh, notably a Vossian MS. at Leyden. The elaborate paper which Mr. Clark published in this *Review* (xiv. 402-411) saves a reviewer the

pains of selecting the noteworthy new readings of this text; but a few may be picked out for comment. In i. 35 the correction *carus* for *clarus* seems certain: and is excellently shown to turn the scale in favour of *incundus* as the correction of *unctus*. Excellent too is Mr. Clark's reading in ii. 8: in ii. 55 *profecerit* is good palaeographically and makes good sense. In ii. 76 he is fully justified in printing *an ut tu*, and in ii. 91 the defence of the reading of *D* is cogent. In iii. 26 the correction *Gellius* is very happy and can hardly be doubted. In v. 6 Mr. Clark's emendation is the simplest and most satisfactory as yet suggested; in § 11 it is less convincing. § 12 can hardly be regarded as satisfactorily healed as yet. Mr. Clark's method of dealing with vi. 10 seems to me admirable, and *quasi* is good in viii. 20. The transposition in ix. 16 is an easy and attractive one. In x. 5 the correction of *nam* to *ne* is very neat, and in x. 19 the emendation *capessendum* is irresistible. In xi. 38 the reading *cuiquam* is to be accepted with both hands. In xii. 24 the change of *oderint* into *occiderint* can hardly be doubted. In xiii. 19 the clause *eoque—aut* seems rightly bracketed. In § 25 *deminutus* is almost certain. Dr. Reid's brilliant *dirutus aere* rightly finds a place in the text in § 26, and § 27 is well cured. In § 33 *vi expulsum* for *in expulsum* is excellent. In § 34 the corruption is not very simply removed; in § 35 Mr. Clark's correction is greatly to be preferred to Madvig's; and in § 37 *quam* seems certainly right. Mr. Clark has done well to get rid of *Caesarem* in § 41. In § 42 *sponte adivi* is clever, but finds its right place in a note rather than in the text and perhaps similar caution might have been used in § 47. In xiv. 13 Dr. Reid's bold excision seems to be the best way of dealing with the passage.

Various possibilities are open to the editors of the different volumes of the Oxford *Scriptorum Classicorum Bibliotheca*. Some from the nature of the case have had to be content with sifting materials already accessible, and giving a well-weighted revision of the current text. Mr. Clark has been more fortunate in both respects. He has made important additions to our critical material, and has also proposed not a few emendations, which deserve to find general acceptance. His text of these orations is not only abreast of the best critical science, but in many points it marks a distinct advance.

A. S. WILKINS.

E E

PHILLIMORE'S *PROPERTIUS*.

Sexti Properti Carmina. Recognovit bre-
vique adnotatione critica instruxit
JOANNES S. PHILLIMORE (Scriptorum
Classicorum Bibliotheca Oxoniensis, Clar-
endon Press. 1901).

To this text of Propertius, the work of an editor who on more than one side was well qualified to render service to his author, we turned with high expectations. Unhappily these have by no means been fulfilled. It may at once be said that to all intents and purposes Prof. Phillimore leaves the text of Propertius in the state in which it was twenty years ago. We do not in particular expect to find in an editor subsequent to Bährens such an exaggerated opinion of the merits of N as is enunciated on p. 3 of the preface to this edition: *unum N ceteris universis pluris faciendum*; and it is especially hard to see how any one can hold such a view after studying the brilliant series of articles by Prof. Housman in the *Journal of Philology*, vols. xxi., xxii.: particularly pp. 149 sqq. of vol. xxi.

Let us take a few examples of inferior readings in this edition due to N. At ii. 20, 7-8, we derive from N a most improbable construction of *defluere*:

*nec tantum Niobe bis sex ad busta superbe
sollicito lacrimas defluit a Sipyllo.*

At iii. 1, 23 O reads:

omnia post obitum fingit maiora vetustas.

N has *fumae post obitum—vetustae*, which Prof. Phillimore adopts, with the violent change of *vetustae* to *vetustas*. The difficulty of *fumae* in this reading is great: *maiora* again is felt to be insufficient without some such word as *omnia*: in fact the reading of O is decidedly superior. Nor again is N to be followed in the unintelligible reading of ii. 30, 19:

*non tamen immerito! Phrygias nunc ire per
undas eqs.*

for *nunc (num) tu dura paras Phrygias*, etc., the scribe having taken *non tamen immerito* from iii. 19, 27.

Such a text as that before us can only be explained as arising from an undue conservatism, which has replaced the *lues emendatoria* of the early part of last century. It may be that, in the presence of influences hostile to study of the Classics, the students

of Greek and Latin texts are less inclined now than before to emphasize the undoubted corruptions which exist therein. In Germany there has arisen of late a school of editors whose leading principle seems to be to construe 'through a stone wall.' Among the advocates of this principle is Rothstein, who is singled out for special praise by Prof. Phillimore, as *in tradita codicum auctoritate vindicanda felicissimus* (Praefatio, p. v.). That is the verdict of our critical editor on one who in editing Propertius declares that 'überhaupt kritische Zwecke dieser Ausgabe zunächst fern liegen,' and one is almost forced to conclude that such aims were equally remote from the plan of the present edition. Yet to attempt to edit Propertius without 'kritische Zwecke' is to begin with an initial misconception of the duties of an editor in the presence of an avowedly difficult author and an avowedly corrupt tradition.

But although our editor is such a staunch upholder of 'the MS. tradition,' there are times when even his suspicions are aroused: he has exercised his powers of emendation in several passages of Propertius, and, if we may believe a reviewer in the *Athenaeum* for Aug. 2 last, his success in emending is as great as his skill in defending the text.

Let us examine the corrections by which this reputation is said to be earned.

(1) I, 7, 15-18:

*te quoque si certo puer hic concusserit arcu,
(quod nolim: nostros te violasse deos!)
longe castra tibi, longe miser agmina septem
flebis in aeterno surda iacere situ.*

On v. 16 Prof. Phillimore remarks *nondum sanatus (versus)*. His own contribution to the healing process is the change in the punctuation of the line which once ran (*quod nolim nostros te violasse deos*). In the old form the line was a natural parenthesis, instinct with the soft melancholy which broods over Propertius's best work: with the altered punctuation it becomes jerky and abrupt. 'If Cupid's arrow were to smite you (I should be sorry: think of your having offended mine own deity!),' then etc. The parenthesis is now different from anything that we meet elsewhere in Propertius: see for example the soothing leisureliness of i. 7, 4 (*sint modo fata tuis mollia carminibus*) or i. 20, 2 (*id tibi ne vacuo defluat ex animo*). Moreover, taken

closely with *nolim* the perf. infin. *violasse* is quite in accordance with the idiom by which the perf. infin. accompanies verbs of wishing (Gildersleeve and Lodge, 280, 2 (b)); with Prof. Phillimore's reading we must translate 'think of your having offended—': but Ponticus has not yet provoked Cupid (cf. the futures at vv. 18 *sqq.*).

Ov. Fasti iv. 122, *a! nolim victas hoc meminisse deas*, quoted by Rothstein, is modelled in point of cadence on the line in Propertius, and is another argument for not breaking the verse into two parts.

(2) II. 12, 17–18:

Quid tibi incundum est siccis habitare medullis?

Si puer est, animo traice puella tuo.

Here at v. 18 Prof. Phillimore conjectures *animo* (*año*) for *alio*: he also retains *puer*, which is given up as the second word of the verse by all modern editors except Bährens and Müller. As Mr. Housman pointed out (*Journal of Philology*, vol. xxii. p. 112) *si pudor est* is employed in mild or playful remonstrance: cf. Prop. i. 9, 33 *quare, si pudor est, quam primum errata fateri*. Even Rothstein is unable to support *puer est* or *puella*, which is in all probability a correction based on *puer*, in some measure because of the seeming metrical irregularity of *traice* as trisyllable. For other cases where mistaken ideas as to scansion have corrupted the text cf. ii. 34, 40, iv. 8, 58.

But what is the meaning of the line as Prof. Phillimore gives it? Apparently it is 'if there is a youth to be found' (not one who, like the poet, is world-weary and disillusioned) 'transfix him, O Maiden, with your passion.'

It is surely hard to believe in the Latinity of *animo traice—tuo*. And verses 17 *sqq.* are addressed not to Cynthia but to Cupid. *isto—veneno* for example v. 19 is the poison of Cupid's arrows: cf. ii. 13, 1–2. The use of *puellae* in v. 23 instead of *tua* is also in favour of this view.

II. 32, 5:

cur autem Herculeum deportant esseda Tibur.

So Prof. Phillimore for the vulgate *cur vatem—*. N has *cur uate*.

Apparently *autem* means 'moreover' in this passage. But that is not a possible meaning of the word. We should expect *etiam*.

II. 34, 83.

nec minor his animi est: aut, si minor ore, canorus

anseris indocto carmine cessit olor.

Animi est is Prof. Phillimore's correction for *animis* NDV *animi* FL. It is to be presumed that the sense is 'nor is he (Virgil) less in point of genius in these (the bucolics); or, if his verse be inferior, then the melodious swan has retired with the tuneless strain of a goose.' There seems to be very little point in the addition of *ore* which ought to have a strong emphasis. It is much better to maintain the contrast between native genius and stateliness of diction given by the reading of Housman

nec minor hic animis, ut sit minor ore, canorus

anseris eqs.

'And Virgil, no less inspired here (in his bucolics), though his diction is less stately, is not like a melodious swan retiring, etc.'

III. 17, 17:

dum modo purpureo tumeant mihi dolia musto.

Prof. Phillimore conjectures *tumeant* for *numen, numerem, nũte*, of the MSS. basing his emendation on Aetna 271 (267) *horrea uti saturent, tumeant et dolea musto*. Palaeographically *tumeant* is not improbable, and, as regards the sense, is an improvement on *spument* of the vulgate.

Postgate, who independently conjectured *tumeant* (*v. Classical Review*, xv. p. 409), has well shown how the various corruptions could arise from his reading *canulen*: cf. Ov. Tristia III. 10, 72 *nec cumulant altos fervida musta lacus*. ('On certain Manuscripts of Propertius,' p. 41): and this reading I am inclined to prefer.

IV. 4, 55:

Sin hospes patria metuar regina sub aula.

patria metuar, is Prof. Phillimore's correction of the MSS. readings *patrianne tua* F *parianne tua* N *patiare tua* DV. He also reads *sin* for the MSS. *sic*.

Again there is some doubt as to the meaning of the proposed reading. Is *hospes* vocative; or is it nom. to be taken with *regina*? The latter is presumably the case, as there is no comma before or after *hospes*. The sense is then 'but if I shall be feared a stranger queen neath a palace roof in mine own land, the betrayal of Rome is dower enough.' Objections to this are (1) *sin* is

out of place, for *si minus* states the second alternative at v. 57; (2) Tarpeia could not be a *hospes regina* merely because she was the wife of King Tatius who was *hospes*; (3) the idea of being feared is unnecessarily obtruded, and *metuar* is therefore open to much the same accusation as *pariam*.

IV. 11, 53:

*vel cui, iuratos cum Vesta reposceret ignes,
exhibuit vivos carbasus alba focos.*

Cui iuratos for *cuius rasos* of the MSS. is due to Prof. Phillimore. That *cui* is necessary has been seen long ago. But *iuratos* is a long way from the indications in the MSS. involving as it does a change in three letters. *vel cui, sacra suos*, the reading of Bährens, is distinctly nearer to the MSS.: *sacra* being abbreviated *sra* we should have first *vel cui sra suos* and then by the transposition of one letter *vel cuius rasos*.

I have thus gone through the list of emendations which are spoken of in the *Athenaeum* as being 'very happy.' It will be seen that I am not disposed to go so far, and still less do I admire the emendation of IV. 5, 19 *sq.* which Prof. Phillimore suggests in the footnote, but with timely prudence does not place in the text.

Though the text of Prof. Phillimore's edition is, as has been said, marked as a rule by excessive deference to the authority of N, once or twice we find him deserting the indications of that manuscript without due cause, as at ii. 27, 7, where he adopts the reading of O *flemus* (*fletus* N *fletis* G). The correction of Prof. Housman, *fles tu*, is decidedly preferable from the point of view of symmetry (cf. *tuis*, v. 10) and also nearer to the *ductus litterarum*. Again, at iv. 1, 31 *Luceresque Soloni* is the reading of N: other MSS. have *coloni*, which Prof. Phillimore adopts. But, not to speak of the improbability of *Soloni* being an interpolation, it has been proved to be the true reading by A. Dietrich, *Rhein. Mus.* 55 (1900), p. 201. As early as 1873 R. Ellis defended *Soloni* in a review of Paley's *Propertius* (*Academy* for February). It may here be observed that Prof. Phillimore has made a fresh collation of N, which, however, he was unable to finish. He has also traced back to Beroaldus readings which had been previously attributed to German or Italian scholars. For these services he deserves our thanks.

There are a few mistaken ascriptions in the critical notes. Thus at ii. 28, 62 the punctuation is wrongly ascribed to Postgate

(v. his critical note). At iii. 11, 5 *ventorum* is due not to S. G. Owen but to Postgate (*Journal of Philology*, ix. p. 68), to whom also is to be ascribed *ossa a* at iv. 5, 64 (*Transactions of Cambridge Philological Society*, vol. i. p. 386).

In p. 1, line 5 of the *Praefatio*, *Guelferbytanium* is apparently a slip for *Guelferbytum*.

Our view as to the merits or demerits of his edition ultimately depends on how we answer these two questions:

(1) Is it safe to regard any one MS. of an author as an infallible guide?

(2) In the case of Propertius, should N be so regarded?

On both these questions we cannot do better than cite the reviewer already referred to.

'A MS. invested with supreme or rather unique authority is apt to prove a hard master; and without impugning the pre-eminence which is claimed for N, we think that too much respect has been shown [by Prof. Phillimore] to its readings on the whole. Certainly it makes the poet more obscure and incoherent than ever.' This is, so far excellent: but the words that follow, perhaps by a later hand, betray the loose thinking prevalent on this subject. 'At the same time, if the principle is sound, as we believe it is, Prof. Phillimore deserves credit for having carried it out thoroughly.' The italics are ours. It is wrong to trust N: and yet it is right. Probably when Prof. Phillimore trusts N, the results are happier than when less skilled conjurers try their hand. Under his gentle and soothing spells N may become quite docile and friendly. But the ruder treatment of others it resents.

It is plainly necessary for editor and reviewer alike to make up their minds whether an author is to be regarded as corrupt, or nonsensical by nature. But in the case of Propertius a plot has been laid to brand him as corrupt: 'of late years Propertius has been largely re-written by various hands: and the new recension was threatening to supersede the traditional text.' Thanks to the responsive nature of N, alluded to above, this insidious attempt on the part of the various hands to represent their own handiwork as Propertius has been foiled. They may have thought that they were basing the new text on a thorough examination of the MS. evidence: but no: they were re-writing Propertius.

In conclusion, we think that the book is retrograde in tendency; and that it is markedly inferior to the text which it has

supplanted in Oxford Examinations, viz. that of the late Professor Palmer. And as we have been unintentionally assisted before by the *Athenaeum* reviewer of this edition we have to thank him for another sentence in conclusion: 'If dead poets may be supposed to interest themselves in the fate of

their writings, Propertius we fancy would turn over these pages with equal astonishment and gratitude.' With half of this last statement the present writer is quite able to concur.

J. ARBUTHNOT NAIRN.

ENGELMANN ON THE MSS. OF STATIUS' *SILVAE*.

De Statii Silvarum codicibus. Dissertatio inauguralis quam ad summos in philosophia honores ab amplissimo philosophorum ordine Lipsiensi rite impetrandos scripsit ARTHURIUS ENGELMANN Arnstadiensis. Leipzig. Hirschfeld, 1902. Pp. 144.

THE matter no less than the confident tone of this Leipzig dissertation will raise a commotion in Germany. Dr. Engelmann (for we may assume that he obtained the distinction at which he aimed) seeks to undermine the credit of the recent Teubner text by lowering the Madrid Manuscript of the *Silvae* of Statius from its pedestal of lone pre-eminence and elevating once more at its side Politian's excerpts from the 'ancient codex of Poggio' as an equal and indeed superior witness to the tradition of the text.

Dr. Engelmann's materials are derived not from an examination and recollection of the copy of the editio princeps preserved in the Corsini collection at Rome, into which Politian copied these excerpts, but from photographs of the same belonging to the University of Heidelberg and lent by it for the purposes of this inquiry. Dr. Engelmann asserts that the readings extracted from the 'vetus Poggii,' may be distinguished throughout from the other marginalia of Politian by the character of the ink with which they were written, a faint diffusive fluid which contrasts strongly with the thicker and more stable of the other annotations. He holds that this difference is enough, and was considered enough by Politian, to identify the readings given as those of the V.C., even if no other definite indication is appended. He further claims that his statements as to what these lections really are should be believed rather than those of his predecessors because the characters are clearer in the photographs than in the original and because he used all diligence in examining them and in cases of doubt referred to the well known expert, Prof. Zange-

meister, for his opinion. The care and method observable in Dr. Engelmann's dissertation undoubtedly go some way to justify his claim. All the same it is to be regretted that he did not append to his book a reproduction on a reduced scale of one of the Heidelberg photographs which would have materially assisted his readers to form a judgment of their own upon a question at once disputable and intricate. It is not yet too late, we may hope, for this to be done. It is the more necessary because Herr Vollmer, who has edited the *Silvae*, studied the Heidelberg photographs without making Herr Engelmann's discovery.

For his complete collation (pp. 112-140) of all that appears as marginalia in the Corsini copy Dr. Engelmann is entitled to the gratitude of every student of the text, and to these for this, if for no other reason, his dissertation will be indispensable. The value of the conclusions at which he arrives in the course of his disquisitions is, however, another matter entirely. A lengthy examination of these cannot here be undertaken, and as already hinted it will doubtless be forthcoming elsewhere. I may recur to the subject before long in a different connexion. In the meantime let the following observations suffice.

That the *Matritensis* (M 31), a full collation of which was published in this *Journal*, vol. xiii. (a fact of which Dr. Engelmann betrays no knowledge), is *not* the 'vetus codex Poggii,' should be settled once and for all by the fact that according to the express testimony of Politian, the 'vetus' did not contain the line I. 4. 86a, and the *Matritensis* does, contain it. If it is not, then, for all the good the Corsini copy is for the textual criticism of the *Silvae*, it might be flung into the Tiber. This is the view of the Teubner editor Herr A. Klotz who, confident that he knows better in 1900 what the 'vetus codex Poggii' was than Politian did in 1500, declares it to be the *Matri-*

tensis and Politian's manuscript a copy of this, and accordingly banishes the excerpts from his critical apparatus (praef. p. lxxiii.). Herr Engelmann retorts by declaring that the Matritensis is itself a copy of the 'Vetus Poggii.' With this in view he attempts to write the history of the text of the Madrid MS. by means of an examination of its corruptions. In his solution of this stratigraphical problem as we may call it, which belongs to a class, whose importance in Latin textual criticism is, as I have pointed out more than once, still very imperfectly appreciated, he is not what we should call successful. He spends 16 pages in arguing from internal indications that the exemplar of the Matritensis was a fifteenth century MS. and the exemplar of this a ninth century one. One of his arguments is that the scribe confuses *c* and *t*, letters not formed alike till the thirteenth century; hence the exemplar of M was not older than the thirteenth; nor again was it written between the thirteenth and the fifteenth century, because '*Iam duobus fere saeculis* (all italics are mine) *antequam Poggius Florentinus Constantia profectus monasteria propinqua codices ueterum scriptorum inuestigandi causa uisit* (i.e. in 1416) *in monasteria quae inde a nono usque ad medium fere tertium decimum saeculum litteris tam egregie florerent ut monachorum industriae permulta scriptorum antiquorum opera memoriae tradita debeamus, tanta luxuria et pigritia inuaserant ut monachi libris describendis non iam uacarent et uel artis scribendi plerumque imperiti essent,*' while in the sequel some particular cases of this ignorance are cited, the earliest of which is 1291. Look first at the arithmetic. Dr. Engelmann requires a full 200 years for his argument; and the utmost he can get out of these data is some 150 years (1416 to 1266); so it has to jump half a century or so. Then consider the ratiocination itself. It assumes that the conditions of writing were the same all over the western world unless indeed Dr. Engelmann can show that the original which Poggio had copied was always in the place where he found it. One other point only I will refer to. If there is one thing certain about the exemplar of the Matritensis, it is that in its script *r* was of a form which the fifteenth century scribe readily mistook for *s*. The proof of this is that in the *praefatio* to the first book he wrote *s* for *r* wholesale, but soon learned better; after that the corruption is only sporadic. Now Dr. Engelmann uses this confusion to show that *the manuscript from which the exemplar was copied*

belonged to the ninth century! But though the results of his investigations are fruitless, he must be commended for having undertaken them. His collections of the MS. corruptions will be very useful to future inquirers. His errors are partly those of inexperience, and he has at least some notion of how to set about this sort of task, more a good deal than his countryman at Marburg who has attempted to estimate the value of the 'Lusatic codex of Propertius'; nor is his failure after all much more conspicuous than that of the skilled critics and palaeographers who have essayed a similar problem, though perhaps of greater intricacy, in the case of the text of Catullus.

Dr. Engelmann, as the reader will have seen, holds a brief against the Matritensis, and therefore cannot be relied on to recognise its merits where he should. Thus he admits that 'in matters of orthography the silence of Politian cannot be trusted' (p. 105), which means that a scholar of that time did not trouble himself about such minutiae (cf. p. 108, 'neglectis minutis orthographicis nonnullis a Politiano'); yet on p. 96 he argues in favour of the '*humeris*,' '*humidus*,' '*humentibus*' of the excerpts against the uncorrupted spelling of the Matritensis. A more serious matter is his treatment of the crucial passage, in the encomium of Rutilius Gallicus i. 4. 83 *sqq.*, which stands thus in M:

Libyci quid mira tributi
obsequia et missum media de pace triumphum
laudem et opes tantas nec qui mandauerat ausus
expectare fuit gaudet Thrasymennus et alpes (86a)
attollam cantu gaudet Thrasymennus et alpes (86b)
Cannensesque animae primusque insigne tributum
ipse palam laeta poscebat Regulus umbra.

Here, in spite of what the Teubner editor has most justly observed upon the subject (praef. p. lxii.), Dr. Engelmann reverts to the view that 86a is interpolated. But interpolators aim at making a text more intelligible to the average mind: they do not introduce lines which no commentator on Statius even is able to construe. Herr Klotz is clearly right then in contending that the last half of 86a has been lost through a dittography of the last half of 86b. His proposed supplement <*sed quid tua, Gallice, facta*> is, it is true, unsatisfactory; but this is no argument to convict

the scribe of M or any one else of fraud. What has fallen out is of course irrecoverable: but the following restoration gives the general sense

Libyci quid mira tributi
obsequia et missum media de pace triumphum
laudem et opes, quantas nec qui mandauerat ausus

expectare fuit, <praeclaris impare factis>
attollam cantu? gaudet e.q.s.

Herr Engelmann then cannot claim to have solved the problem which he has attempted: but he has done something to clear the way towards its solution.

J. P. POSTGATE.

BECK'S CUPID AND PSYCHE OF APULEIUS.

L. Apulei Fabula de Psyche et Cupidine.
Praefatus atque interpretatus est J. W.
BECK. Groningae apud J. B. Wolters.
CICEROCCCLII. Pp. xxii, 100.

DR. BECK, of Amsterdam, has done a useful piece of work in giving us in a convenient form an annotated edition of the beautiful story of Cupid and Psyche, contained in the *Metamorphoses* of Apuleius, iv. 28—vi. 24. Few college students can find time to read the *Metamorphoses* as a whole, but from this book and from the *Cena Trimalchionis* of Petronius, recently edited by Professor Waters, they can get some idea of the ancient romance and of the colloquial language.

In his brief preface the editor says that he has a double purpose in view: to provide the story with adequate illustration, since the edition of Hildebrand is now antiquated; and to give his readers some idea of the interests and problems of the modern school of Latinists, which cover the whole field from the earliest to the latest times.

The prolegomena discuss the origin and development of the tale, and of the myth of Cupid and Psyche. The conclusion is reached, that in spite of the existence of similar tales in Africa and in South America, the kernel of the story as we have it is of Indo-European origin. The source of Apuleius is a tale of Hellenic, doubtless Milesian, origin, which he has expanded and embellished with the rhetoric of the African School, of which he is our best representative. One may get an idea of the process by comparing the fable of the Fox and the Crow as told by Phaedrus, i. 13 with the version of Apuleius in *Flor.* iv. 23. 3-4. The representations of Cupid and Psyche in sculpture and in painting are then enumerated and briefly described. The editor differs from some of his predecessors in his conclusion,

‘in der That giebt es kein einziges antikes Kunstwerk, welches auf die Erzählung des Apuleius zurückgeführt könnte.’

The recent edition of the *Metamorphoses* by J. Van der Vliet made it unnecessary to provide the text with a critical apparatus. Dr. Beck has followed Van der Vliet with but few variations: in iv. 31 he reads *effici* with the best MSS., instead of *effice*, regarding the former as a colloquial form; in vi. 9 he it led by the context to read *errati*, instead of *irati*; and in vi. 11 he accepts Traube's brilliant conjecture *gunaecei*, where Van der Vliet reads *aurei cubiculi*. There are also some slight deviations in orthography.

In accordance with the programme stated in the preface, the commentary discusses in a broad general way matters of common linguistic interest, as well as the special characteristics of Apuleius. Some of the longer notes summarize the present state of our knowledge on various questions and are stimulating to further investigation: such are those on *gemens ac fremens*, iv. 30; *domuitionem*, iv. 35; *merendo fluctuat*, v. 21; *protinus pergit*, v. 27; *de fluvio*, vi. 12, in connection with which the text of the *Iusiurandum Argentoratense* (842 A.D.) is given with a version in classical Latin; *alioquin*, vi. 15. Many remarks are of interest to the student of colloquial Latin and to the Romance philologist.

Errors and misprints are few: on p. 45 instead of iv. 35 we should read iv. 34, and on p. 92 *snavi* should be *suavi*. The suggestion on p. 51, that *se* in Hor. *Epist.* ii. 2. 107 has the force of *inter se*, does not seem to be warranted by the sense of the passage.

On the whole the commentary is suggestive and stimulating, especially to those who have not kept track of the work of the Munich school of Latinists.

J. C. ROLFE.

FOWLER'S HISTORY OF GREEK LITERATURE.

A History of Greek Literature. By HAROLD NORTH FOWLER. N.Y., 1902. Pp. 501. Price \$1. 40.

THIS work, containing some five hundred pages and belonging to the 'Twentieth Century Series,' is intended for secondary schools and colleges, but its use by cultured people in general is kept in view. The difficulties, or rather the impossibilities, imposed by these conditions, are as nearly overcome by the author as seems practicable. Though the author lays no claim to originality, still his treatment is independent so far as the great authors of the classical period are concerned. The work covers the whole range of Greek literature from the beginning to the Byzantine period. It is written in an agreeable style with good perspective and sound judgment. In the general survey, perhaps a clearer conception of what is meant by Greek literature would have been advantageous. Sometimes 'literature' is conceived in its modern sense, and works are dismissed, or even ignored, as not belonging to literature, while others of a like sort receive attention. The line is notoriously hard to draw, and perhaps the

best method would be not to attempt to draw it at all, but to include everything which has come down to us in writing from Hellenic antiquity. This would necessitate a chapter on inscriptions; but such a chapter is really needed in a work of this kind. To cite a single instance of the fault referred to, there seems to be no good reason why an account of Aristotle's logic should be given while Apollonius of Perga, who left us a treatment of Conic Sections by means of coordinate axes not inferior to anything which Descartes produced, is dismissed with the statement that he 'was a famous mathematician and astronomer.' The English illustrations of Greek verses are faulty in several respects. Ambrose Phillips's translation of Sappho's Hymn to Aphrodite does not by any means 'show the rhythm of the original.' No 'general reader' ignorant of Greek would make an Adonic out of 'Even though thou wouldst not,' and nobody can make one out of 'Palace golden.' The Sapphics, too, are not Sapphic. But to dwell on all inaccuracies, real or imaginary, would do injustice to a really meritorious work.

M. W. H.

LAMARRE'S HISTORY OF LATIN LITERATURE.

Histoire de la Littérature Latine, depuis la fondation de Rome jusqu'à la fin du gouvernement républicain. Par CLOVIS LAMARRE, docteur ès-lettres, etc. Ouvrage couronné par l'Académie Française. 8vo. Tom. I. Pp. xii, 494; Tom. II, p. 640; Tom. III. p. 598; Tom. IV. p. 472. Paris, Ch. Delegrave. 30 francs.

THIS elaborate history of Latin literature under the Republic well deserves the recognition which it has gained from the French Academy. From the literary point of view it is excellent; and for the general reader, desiring to get full information on the early Roman writers, with a liberal allowance of specimens of their style, nothing better could be desired. But it cannot be said to make any great contributions to our knowledge; or to be of much importance for the student. The scholarship is in some places

of a penultimate or even an antepenultimate type. The author, after a lengthy discussion of the early languages of Italy, comes to the conclusion that we must find in Oscan the fundamental element of Latin, from which it gradually separated itself under the influence of Greek; nothing is quoted on the metre of Plautus which has been published within the last thirty years; on the Ambrosianus of Plautus there is no reference to Studemund's apograph; Publilius Syrus still appears as Publius. On the other hand the work is written from a first-hand study of the writers, whose works are described and analysed with only too great fulness, and illustrated by many and happy quotations from modern, especially French literature. Dr. Lamarre has rather wisely thrown his longer illustrative quotations together, into an appendix which forms Vol. IV, and includes 192 passages from authors

ranging from Ennius to Varro, with a translation *en face*. These translations, like the shorter ones interspersed in the text, are free and spirited but usually accurate, though a point is missed when (I. p. 234) 'vidi ego te astante ope barbarica' is translated 'je t'ai vue dans l'éclat de tes richesses,' and (p. 253) the significant 'hera' is omitted. He has given himself plenty of space. Three hundred and sixty pages are assigned to Cicero, exclusive of a hundred and sixty taken up with illustrative quotations; so that there has been room to give a pretty full account of all his works. One misses both in the biography and in the

treatment especially of the philosophical treatises the critical note. From Dr. Lamarre's easy flowing narrative the reader would gather little notion of the storms that have raged round the man and his work. For the present writer Mommsen is not so much refuted as ignored. In short, to repeat my previous impression, Dr. Lamarre is not so much the scientific historical student of literature, as himself a diligent and agreeable *littérateur*. But what he has seemingly aimed at, he has achieved with a good deal of success.

A. S. WILKINS.

BARTAL'S GLOSSARY OF LOW LATIN IN HUNGARY.

Glossarium mediae et infimae Latinitatis regni Hungariae jussu et auxiliis Academiae Litterarum Hungaricae. Condidit ANTONIUS BARTAL, Socius ascriptus Academiae Litterarum Hungariae. Lipsiae, in Aedibus B. G. Teubneri (Budapestini, sumptibus Societatis Franklini). 1901. 4to.

We gladly welcome this elaborate and learned work on Mediaeval Latin, published by the Franklin Society and the Hungarian Academy of Literature at Buda-Pesth (and Leipsic, Teubner).

Every word printed, and briefly but adequately explained in Latin and Hungarian, in this substantial volume of xxviii. and 724 quarto pages, costing 50 marks, occurs in one or more of the Hungarian works enumerated on pp. xxi. to xxviii., including Latin writers down to the present day.

A good many of the words are already recorded in Du Cange's and Diefenbach's Glossaries, but these the author has marked 'Du C' or 'Dief.,' and sometimes explained better and more fully.

In his preface the author gives many illustrations of the character and formation of Hungarian Mediaeval Latin words, some being derived from classical Latin by means of pre- and suffixes, or alterations in the spelling, while others are vernacular words put into a Latin dress by the same means. The author naturally speaks only of the 'Latinitas Regni Hungariae,' but his explanations are equally applicable to the *Latinitas Angliae, Franciae, Germaniae,*

Italiae or *Hollandiae*, etc., as each country formed its Mediaeval Latin in the same way.

In perusing one or two of the books from which the author has made his collection, it strikes us that he might have made his work still more serviceable by reading his sources a little more systematically. For instance, we miss *squassus* of the *Statuta Civit. Curzulae*, ed. Hanel, p. 60, cap. 132. Du Cange records it from another source, and its meaning is evidently a shaking, a punishment inflicted on a nobleman who had injured another married nobleman. But Du C. has: 'dent ei 5 *squassus* sive botte curli vel turture,' whereas Hanel prints 'debeat habere 3 *squassus* curuli.'

We also miss the form *bullare* (a punishment) of *Stat. Civ. Curz.* p. 7 (cap. vi.), while the author has only the corrupt *bulare* from a later source. He records *pellis mardurina*, but not *pellis marturina* from Ljub. Mon. Slav. i., cap. 3, nor *pellis vulpina* (*ib.* i. 2). We do not find the *solidus romanatus* (*ib.* i. 5), though the author records the simple *romanatus*. He does not give *nauclerius* (*ib.* i. 14), while *havere* quoted from A.D. 1248 (*ib.* i. p. 75) already occurs in A.D. 1187 (*ib.* p. 13). And when the author records *stolium* (a fleet), why not *stolus* (*ib.* i. p. 13)?

If space permitted we could refer to more omissions, and other particulars which we should wish to have found in this Glossarium. In making this remark, however, we do not mean to diminish in any way the great merits and value of M. Bartal's Glossarium, which every library with any regard for scholarship ought to possess.

We conclude this necessarily short notice with observing that, under *arenda* (locatio and conductio), an Hungarian author is quoted who derives this familiar word from the Span. *arrendar* (to let, farm out), or 'better and more probably' from the

Hungarian *áron-adás* (allotting or farming out for money) or from *áron-adá* (pretio dedit). M. Bartal mentions no other etymology of our *rent*.

J. H. H.

CORRESPONDENCE.

SOME RECENT NOTES ON SOPHOCLES' *OEDIPUS TYRANNUS*.

I HAVE no desire to emulate the example of my humorous adversary of the early seventies, but I cannot help remarking that, in Prof. Phillimore's interesting notes on Soph. *Oed. Tyr.*, it remains uncertain whether he is aware of an edition which is not yet out of date.

On 779-781 it needed no Mr. Whitelaw to defend *πετραῖος*, which Peter Elmsley found attractive, as I mentioned in 1871; nor is *ὁ ταῖρος* otherwise than Greek. But I felt and still feel that the *abrupt* introduction of such a metaphor is unlike Sophocles.

I have with me here only my first edition of 1871. In this I find that my rendering of 1276-1280 was

'Both pupils rained blood upon his beard, nor ceased from pouring the wet drops of gore, but from both at once was showered the dark red hail.'

The same meaning is given in my translation (1896) except that *όμοῦ* is 'all at once.' If I took *οὐδ' ἀνίσσαν* otherwise in the interim, it may have been because I doubted whether *μυδώσας* was not otiose in the passage when so understood.

My first edition also agrees with Prof. Phillimore, if I understand him, on 694-6.

And I am glad that, on 44, 45, where

Prof. Kennedy, following the lead of Musgrave and Thomas Young, adopted an interpretation which I had the courage to ignore (*unde illae lacrimae*, forgotten by all save him for whom they fell) recent editors are substantially agreed. I cannot see, however, that much is gained by emphasizing the *fortuitous* aspect of *ξυμφορά*. When once it is realised that the separation of wisdom from success,—of *εὐβουλία* from *εὐτυχία* (whether due to *τύχη*, *θεός*, *δαίμων*, or *μοῖρα*) was natural and familiar to the Greek of the fifth century B.C., *καί* is fully accounted for. 'As a general rule, Fortune' (or 'Heaven'—no matter which) 'favours experienced counsel.'

I still think that in 880 (*πάλαισμα*) any particular reference is out of place. But if such be required, that suggested by Musgrave, who is followed by Linwood, is more immediately appropriate to the action:—'Thebanis *πάλαισμα* est, progressus quem in indagando Laii percussorem fecerant.' The general use of the singular of nouns in *μα* (*μίμημα*, *ἐπίταγμα*, *ἐπιτήδευμα*) is common enough in Plato.

LEWIS CAMPBELL.

Oct. 15, 1902.

DEAN VINCENT AND WARREN HASTINGS.

MR. MOORE SMITH says that 'the day which Dean Vincent honoured by his verses' to Warren Hastings was December 18, 1816. But Vincent died on December 21, 1815. The verses must have been sent, if not written, within a week of the author's

death and in 1815, when Hastings entered upon, not when he completed, his eighty-fourth year. Mr. Smith has been misled by the ambiguity of the symbol 'aet'.

J. SARGEANT.

Oct. 14, 1902.

ARCHAEOLOGY

TWO GREEK VASE CATALOGUES.

Catalogue des Vases Peints du Musée National d'Athènes. Par M. COLLIGNON et L. COUVE. (*Bibliothèque des Écoles Françaises*, Fasc. 85.) Paris, 1902.

Catalogues des Vases Peints de la Bibliothèque Nationale. Par A. DE RIDDER. Première Partie: Vases Primitives et Vases à Figures Noires (11 plates and 50 cuts). Paris, 1901.

THE appearance of new Vase-Catalogues is always a satisfaction to the student of Classical Archaeology, and we hope it will not be long before every one of the principal vase-collections has its scientific and well-illustrated catalogue. French scholars, such as M. Pottier and M. de Ridder, are certainly setting an excellent example in this respect.

Of the two volumes before us the former appears under somewhat melancholy circumstances. The original catalogue of the vases in the Athens Museum, published by M. Collignon in 1877, had been rendered sadly out of date by the enormous series of new discoveries in Greece, with which the vase-collection has been enriched since that time, and by the incorporation of the valuable collections of the Archaeological Society (formerly in the Polytechnion) and of the Public Instruction Department. These enlargements led to the consideration of a revised catalogue and the work was undertaken by a young student of the French School, M. Louis Couve, whose promising career was cut short in October 1900 at the age of thirty-one. His labours on the vases, to which he had devoted eight or nine years, were then nearly completed, and to his predecessor, M. Collignon, was entrusted the task of revising the work and seeing it through the press.

The present volume includes all the pottery now collected under the roof of the National Museum with the exception of that in the Mycenaean Room, and the Acropolis fragments, the work of cataloguing which is in other hands. M. Collignon's Catalogue included 821 vases; the present one, in some 660 pages, describes no less than 1988. Moreover, we are promised a supplement which shall contain an index and plates of vase-forms. One is however tempted to ask why the index could not

have been completed in time to combine with the original volume, to say nothing of the plates of shapes which can hardly have been delayed by considerations of time or expense. And this leads us to what at the present time must be regarded as a very serious defect in any catalogue of archaeological objects, the entire absence of illustrations. We do not demand the elaborate reproduction of the most remarkable vases—this in most cases has been done elsewhere—but M. Pottier's Atlas of the Louvre vases has shown what excellent results for the student's purpose can now be obtained by photography, even where, as in the lustrous vases, it had previously failed; and it is a mere truism to say that a few illustrations are worth pages of description. The Athens collection is too important, and contains too many unique and rare varieties, to excuse the total omission.

In the classification of the early fabrics—admittedly a difficult matter—there are a few small points in which this catalogue proves disappointing. There is no attempt at a classification of the Cyprus specimens (p. 8, Nos. 34 ff.), and No. 35, an example of the 'Graeco-Phoenician' period takes precedence of No. 36, a 'white-slip' bowl from a Bronze Age tomb! Under No. 37 the reference to Ohnefalsch-Richter's *Kypros* appears to be incorrect; the vase there given is in the British Museum. The Mycenaean pottery (in which only Attica is represented) is curiously lumped with the Cypriote and Island fabrics as 'style primitif'; primitive it may be, but to be unable to differentiate it from the pottery of the preceding age is to revert to the state of knowledge of the 'sixties. We have also been somewhat puzzled to disentangle the class of vases usually known as 'proto-Attic,' which are variously distributed under 'Style Géométrique' and 'Ancien Style Ionien et Corinthien.' Still worse is the fate of the Proto-Corinthian pottery which is jumbled up with Phaleron and Boeotian Geometrical wares; but most astonishing of all is the combining of 'Ionian and Corinthian style' under one heading. If the studies of Pottier, Boehlau, Duemmler and other scholars have had any definite result, surely it is the establishment of a distinct Ionic school of vase-painting, developed on entirely different lines from those of Athens and Corinth. M. Couve's published writings

showed him to be so well acquainted with early vase-fabrics and their respective characteristics that we fail to account for this haziness and confusion displayed in his Catalogue.

Apart from these blemishes the descriptions are terse and clear, the technical details adequately indicated, and the bibliographies full and correct; but on the whole the volume is a great disappointment.

M. de Ridder's description of the vases in the National Library at Paris presents several remarkable contrasts to the preceding volume both in contents and appearance. The history of the collection seems to have stopped short about the year 1870; consequently there is an entire absence of many early fabrics which have since become familiar. On the other hand a modern system of classification, so far as it has been possible, has been very carefully observed. In the matter of illustrations M. Pottier's excellent example has been followed, and eleven photographic plates provide admirable reproductions of nearly fifty vases out of 356; these are supplemented by fifty text-illustrations. The chief glory of the collection indeed, the Arkesilas cup (No. 189), does not reappear, but this is hardly a matter for complaint, seeing that it was adequately reproduced in the companion Album, recently published by Milliet and Giraudon. If the volume has any fault, it is its unwieldy size, which, as long as it remains unbound, renders a rapid falling to pieces inevitable.

The present volume extends down to the end of the black-figured style; the second will contain, besides the description of the later vases, the necessary indices and a history of the collection.

H. B. WALTERS.

WISSOWA ON ROMAN RELIGION.

Religion und Kultus der Römer von Dr. GEORG WISSOWA. München, 1902: Beck. Pp. xii. 534.

PROFESSOR WISSOWA has made the study of Roman religion so peculiarly his own that the work, which is now under review, may be regarded as the last word upon the subject for the present. He has gathered the most important materials, and taken account of most of the leading investigations and has treated each succeeding topic with a masterly fulness. He begins with a lucid

sketch of the history of Roman religion. Upon the most primitive stage there break in usages and changes derived from the peoples with whom one after another Rome came in touch, the Etruscans, the Greeks, the eastern nations. This section ends with the worship of the emperors, and the victory of the Christian faith. Next, Prof. Wissowa takes 'the gods of the Roman state religion.' The third and last section of the work deals with 'the forms of divine worship.' In arrangement, therefore, Dr. Wissowa follows to some extent the corresponding volume of Marquardt. And there is also a close likeness of method. The material native to Rome is carefully gathered and sifted, but the author, of set purpose, leaves untouched the comparisons which are furnished by folklore and anthropology, and thus throws down a challenge to the school of Mannhardt and Frazer. 'The mode of treatment of the so-called comparative mythology,' he says, 'has confused the subject rather than helped it' (p. 12). Hence he passes over in silence many of the books which have most influenced English students. Helios less than we might have expected. The historian who follows the order of time, and keeps close to his authorities, can almost bid defiance to speculation about his facts. And so, whatever ideas we may have about the interpretation of Roman usages, we can avail ourselves with advantage of a work so comprehensive accurate and cautious.

Yet he has lost something by his refusal to advance beyond the method of Marquardt. The theory of evolution is not so colourless as some would have it, and does not mean simply that each successive stage of development is conditioned by the preceding stage. This much at least was known before Darwin and Spencer, and it is at this point, I venture to say, Professor Wissowa makes a halt. He does not allow for the orderly sequence of changes, by which what is primitive and undeveloped leads up to that which is more developed, and so he makes the mistake sometimes of reading into primitive thought and usage ideas which belong only to a later stage. I will try to show this with reference to several leading topics.

Religion on its intellectual side, advances from ideas which are attached to visible objects—things, animals, human beings and the actions of all these—to ideas which are no longer 'implicate' as the psychologists would say, but spiritual and free. Hence fetishism in which chance objects are regarded as the abodes of divine influences, comes in early times before men apprehend

clearly the abstract idea of a god or gods. The stone was sacred before it was attributed to this or that deity; note the striking phrase *vivum saxum*. Hence it seems that Prof. Wissowa inverts the order of facts when he speaks of 'Terminus' as a surname which first denoted a part of Jupiter's power, and then was separated from him as an individual deity (p. 46). I am afraid that we have here an error which vitiates much of the speculation upon which even Prof. Wissowa ventures at times. He says (p. 318) that 'the presupposition for the whole worship of the gods is the feeling of dependence upon the divine power and providence' (*religio*). Now this is perfectly true for the later stages of Roman religion, but it does not give us the proper starting point for the explanation of what is primitive. The methods of Roman law may properly afford us guidance. 'All law,' says Gaius, 'pertains either to persons or to things or to actions.' And this last term referred originally to visible acts, the touching of a balance, the taking of a clod of earth and so on. Hence the proper name for Roman religion in its own tongue is not *religio*, but *sacra*. We ought to start, therefore, from the notion of *holy objects*, i.e., persons, things, actions; and, by so doing, to determine the primitive idea of holiness. Robertson Smith in the *Religion of the Semites* has laid down the lines upon which such an inquiry is to be conducted. At Rome the notion of magic is closely connected with the notion of holiness, it is the magical act, no less than the sacred person or sacred thing, upon which stress is laid, as for example in the *legis actio*. Unless, then, we start with a correct idea of what is meant by *sacra*, we run the risk of misunderstanding the term *sacrificium*. Hence while it is true that human sacrifice was not practised at Rome in the sense of communion with a deity, it is a serious mistake to deny it altogether (p. 31). Roman religion, in its earlier forms, remains at the magical view of sacrifice, as for example in the *fordicidia* and the sacrifice of the October Horse, and human sacrifices of this type certainly took place. But there are traces of a more developed view still. I have tried to show elsewhere (*Worship of the Romans*, 255 ff.) that the mode of capital punishment can sometimes be traced to human sacrifice, and conversely, the modes of capital punishment may help us to infer the forms of sacrifice. The gallows of to-day is doubtless descended from the tree in which Odin sacrificed himself. Is there anything like this at Rome?

It would seem so. The Vestal Virgins were punished for unchastity by being buried alive. It is instructive to compare this with the *self-sacrifice* of Curtius, which was all the more a sacrifice for being voluntary. Hence it seems unnecessary to isolate the sacrifice of the Gauls (who were buried alive in the forum) as foreign to the spirit of Roman worship (p. 355). If it is dangerous to argue from later ideas in explaining early institutions, it is also dangerous to argue from later institutions. Prof. Wissowa, I venture to suggest, lays too much stress upon Roman religion as a state religion, and imputes to early Rome that centralisation of which the empire was the first effective expression. Just as Jupiter is declared to include the powers which he delegates to Terminus, so, we are told (p. 411), 'the community delegated to a particular clan the exercise of the religious duties which fell within the province of a particular worship.' The contrary seems more probable. It was the clan rather than the community which was the first repository of those clan worships which we can trace at Rome.

Now it is quite possible to reject this or that explanation of particular usages which is furnished by the comparative method, but taken in mass these explanations throw so much light upon the history of religion, that they strengthen each other, and confirm the validity of the method. If it were possible to state the bare fact and to leave it, the student of Roman religion would find in the pages of the *Religion und Kultus der Römer* all that is important. But it is not possible. Prof. Wissowa, as we have seen, cannot keep clear of theories of interpretation, and his theories need considerable qualifications. So much for the general scheme of his work.

When we pass on to a detailed consideration, there can be nothing but praise for the elaborate and careful scholarship which is entirely worthy of Prof. Wissowa's reputation. In a book containing thousands of references there are not more than one or two errors or misprints. At least, if there are, a close reading has failed to disclose them to me.

One of the most interesting parts of the work is that which deals with the spread of foreign influences within the sphere of Roman religion. I am not sure that Dr. Wissowa allows quite enough to the Phœnician and Carthaginian influences which came indirectly by way of Etruria. In Semitic religion Baal and Astarte and

their son are the chief deities worshipped. They had fewer competitors for popular favour and so were more impressive to the foreigner than the gods who severally made up the larger pantheon of Greece or of Rome. Just as the Babylonian supremacy in Palestine left traces in primitive Hebrew religion, so a similar local supremacy of an Etruscan family may very well explain the curious analogies which can be traced at Rome between the worship of Hercules and the Semitic worship of Baal and his son. Caere furnishes the point of contact. But this question has not yet been thoroughly investigated. The dedication of a temple to the goddess of Eryx in 217 B.C. looks like an attempt to entice the Semitic deity over to the side of Rome, and is almost certainly a case of *evocatio*; the invitation of a god 'to leave a previous abode and assume the new one assured to him in Rome' (p. 39).

I know that some people are very sceptical about these suggestions of foreign influences, and especially when we are dealing with the beginnings of Roman history. It is time to ask, however, whether this scepticism has not been carried too far. Recent discoveries have thrown back the beginnings of European international politics to an era which preceded the foundation of Rome by at least a millennium. And the speculations which delighted older schools of historians are being revived in the light of ascertained facts. Perhaps it is impossible to speak with certainty about Semitic religion as a factor in the early history of Roman belief. But when we come to a later date the case is altered. For instance, the influence of Egyptian religion can be studied from both sides. And those who are interested in such matters, may find the reports of Apuleius about the worship of Isis confirmed in nearly every detail by the Egyptian texts. Dr. Wissowa's section, 'Isis und die Götter Aegyptens' (pp. 292-299) may be illustrated by one or two references. Unfortunately Lafaye's *Histoire du culte des divinités d'Alexandrie*, on which Dr. Wissowa appears to have relied, is very inadequate, as the author deals almost exclusively with Greek and Roman sources, and says next to nothing about the abundant Egyptian material; material which has recently been made accessible in the works of Erman and Wiedemann. Dr. Wissowa has been led into mistake when he says (p. 298): 'a *profeta* seems to have stood at the head of the numerous priesthood, who is probably identical with the high-priest mentioned repeatedly by Apuleius; another priest of

high rank was the *grammateus*.' *Profeta* is the translation of the Egyptian term for the ordinary priest *hen-neter* 'servant of God,' and is therefore not the high priest (Wiedemann, *Religion of the Ancient Egyptians*, p. 9). *Grammateus*, again, translates the phrase *kher-heb* reciter-priest. The organisation of the Egyptian priesthood differed in different temples, and there was no settled hierarchy. *Profeta* and *grammateus*, then, are the usual terms. The 'strict selection of animals for sacrifice' (p. 297 n) had not so much a ritual significance as an economic one. Sheep are rarely mentioned in Egyptian texts. Oxen and geese were reared almost exclusively, and so were usually the victims for sacrifice (cf. *Book of the Dead*, Budge's ed. rubric to c. 125). The instructions about washing and abstinence, which are given to the convert in Apuleius's *Metamorphoses*, find a very close parallel in another rubric (*op. cit.* c. 63). The mysteries of Isis and those of Osiris were practically one and the same, and there is little doubt that the Roman proselyte looked beyond the grave to a resurrection and union with Osiris, like the Cornelius, part of whose sarcophagus is now in the British Museum (6950). This, I take it, is the meaning of the allusions which Dr. Wissowa quotes (p. 298).

FRANK GRANGER.

Revue numismatique. Part 2, 1902.

Blanchet. 'Recherches sur les monnaies celtiques de l'Europe centrale.'—Tachella. 'Numismatique de Philippiopolis.'—Mowat. 'Les essais monétaires de répétition et la division du travail.' Gives a useful descriptive list of Roman coins, Republican and Imperial, on which an obverse or reverse type is twice repeated on the same coin. We find bronze coins of Nero, Trajan, Antoninus Pius, &c., with the head of the Emperor on the reverse as well as on the obverse, and the reverse of a denarius of the Appuleia gens appears both as the 'obverse' and the 'reverse' of the coin. But though the type is repeated, the legend on obv. and rev. is not always the same; thus, we find such discrepancies as *Obv.* bust of Trajan cos v. *Rev.* Same bust cos vi. Nor are even the two heads always identical in detail. Mowat's explanation (which is hardly sufficiently developed) appears to be that these exceptional pieces were not intended for circulation, but were models or proof-impressions used at the Mint for the guidance and instruction of engravers who had to copy the heads and prepare the inscriptions.—Maurice. 'L'atelier monétaire de Carthage pendant la période Constantinienne.'—Héron de Villefosse. 'Le grand autel de Pergame sur un médaillon de bronze trouvé en France.' The paper read before the Academy of Inscriptions (see the *Comptes Rendus*, 1901, p. 823). The coin is a large medallion of Sept. Severus and Domna, of which a specimen was

published in Brit. Mus. Cat., *Mysia*, pl. xxx. 7. It shows an altar raised on steps, a colonnade and, in front, two bulls on pedestals. The identification with the Great Altar, though not without some difficulties, seems very probable.—Rouvier. 'Les rois Phéniciens de Sidon d'après leurs monnaies sous la dynastie des Achéménides' (5th and 4th centuries B.C.).—Reviews. Macdonald's 'Greek coins in the Hunterian Collection,' Vol. ii.

Numismatic Chronicle. Part 2, 1902.

Sir H. Howorth. 'A note on some coins generally attributed to Mazaios the satrap of Cilicia and Syria.' The coins are described in Brit. Mus. Cat., *Lycania*, &c., under Tarsus, Nos. 65–75, and are assigned by Mr. Hill to the time of Mazaios. They are uninscribed (other coins of Mazaios have Aramaic inscriptions) and Howorth is of opinion that they were struck, not by Mazaios but by the Greek governors of Cilicia appointed by Alexander and his successors.—Sir John Evans. 'The burning of bonds under Hadrian.' A brief description of the well-

known sestertii of Hadrian with the inscription *Reliquia vetera H.S. novius mill. abolita*. Reference is made to the sculptured Plutei in the Roman Forum with the representation of the burning (in the Forum Romanum) of the registers, apparently in the reign of Trajan. The burning of the bonds under Hadrian took place, according to Spartian, in the Forum Trajanum.—J. Maurice. 'Classification chronologique des émissions monétaires de l'atelier d'Alexandrie pendant la période Constantinienne'—*Miscellanea*. Th. Reinach corrects a statement in his paper (*Num. Chron.*, 1902) 'On some Pontic Eras.' The Era of Sebastopolis-Heracleopolis has its starting-point in Oct., 3 B.C., not, as previously stated, Oct., 2 B.C.—Haverfield describes three hoards of Roman coins, (i) Third brass. Valerian—Aurelian. Found near Birling Gap, Sussex, 1879. (ii) About 4,000 small brass, Gallienus—Constans. Found near Easton, Norfolk, 1851. (iii) 20 denarii, Tiberius—Faustina, jun., found in an urn in 1895, near Caistor, Norfolk.

WARWICK WROTH.

SUMMARIES OF PERIODICALS.

Revue de Philologie. Vol. 26, 3. 1902.

Κόρου πειρίον, B. Keil. On two Bithynian inscriptions referring to the battle of Corupedium. *La 'Nenia'* H. de la Ville de Mirmont. An historical account of the *Nenia* in Roman classical and later literature. *Les πατρόβουλοι dans l'épigraphie grecque et la littérature talmudique*, I. Lévy. Maintains that *πατρόβουλοι* had no connexion with the Roman *patroni*. The office of *πατρόβουλος* arose spontaneously from circumstances common to the two halves of the empire. *Ad Rev. de Phil.* 26, pp. 224 sqq., F. Hiller von Gaertringen. Produces an inser. of the third century A.D. on *πατρόβουλοι*, overlooked by Cumont. 'Ἀπότολος = αὐτοῦ non *inauidax*, C. E. Ruelle. *Ubi ferrum nascitur*, F. Cumont. On the meaning of this phrase in a dedication to Jupiter Dolichenos. *La conjonction cum. Nouvelles remarques*, F. Gaffiot. A reply to Lebreton in the last no. Maintains that in classical Latin the temporal sense remains confined to the indie. *Un nouveau document relatif à la confédération des Cyclopes*, J. Delamarre. On an inser. discovered in 1860 at Heraclea, a small island between Naxos and Amorgos, and now at Amorgos. *L'influence macédonienne dans les Cyclopes du II^eme siècle avant J.C.*, J. Delamarre. Evidences of this influence as seen in various inscriptions.

Neue Jahrbücher für das Klassische Altertum, etc. Vol. 9, 3. 1902.

F. Leo, *Zur neuesten Bewegung in der griechischen Metrik*. The objections to the latest metrical theories (see the works of Masqueray and Gleditsch) are too little considered by the founders of theories. These objections must be removed by historical rather than by scientific methods. E. Lammert, *Die Entwicklung der römischen Taktik*. Deals with the disappearance of the division of the army by classes, and shows the development of the arrangement (1) by maniples, (2) by cohorts. R. Helm, *Lucian und die Philosophenschulen*. Deals with the relation of Lucian to the various philosophical schools, and his derision of their learning. E. Ziebarth, *Cyriacus von Ancona*

als Begründer der Inschriftenforschung. On the life and work of Ciriaco Pizzecolli of Ancona, who, after the early beginnings of the anonymous Einsidensis and the Sylloge Signoriliana founded by Rienzi, began to collect the evidence over the whole field of antiquity. J. Ilberg, *Die Büchse der Pandora*.

Part 4. A. Bauer, *Neue Bücher zur griechischen Geschichte*. (1) On E. Meyer's *Geschichte des Altertums*, vol. 3. Does not agree with Ullrich's hypothesis of the Archidamian War as an independent work of Thucydides. (2) On K. Breysig's *Kulturgeschichte der Neuzeit*. M. Pokrowskij, *Beiträge zur Charakteristik Ovids* (transl. from the Russian by E. Berneker). Seeks to show Ovid's slavish imitation of his Alexandrian models. Ovid's treatment of the Lucretia episode contrasted with Livy's. R. Helm, *Lucian und die Philosophenschulen* (continued). Lucian treats the Epicureans with goodwill while he throws contempt on the Stoics.

Part 5. B. Delbrück, *Die Grundbegriffe der Kasus und Modi*. With reference to Morris' *Principles and Methods in Latin Syntax*. The spoken language has not the least consciousness of a ground-meaning of the cases. The investigation must proceed upwards and downwards from the Indo-Germanic types. The ground-notion of the subjunctive is will. A. Bauer, *Neue Bücher zur griechischen Geschichte* (concluded). Criticizes Pöhlmann's *Geschichte des antiken Kommunismus und Sozialismus I.*, Guiraud's *La main d'œuvre dans l'ancienne Grèce*, Francotte's *L'industrie dans la Grèce ancienne*, Delbrück's *Geschichte der Kriegskunst I.*, and some essays from Lehmann's *Beiträge zur alten Geschichte*. R. Helm, *Lucian und die Philosophenschulen* (concluded). L. agrees most of all with the Cynics, just because they are in the least degree philosophers. L. Deubner, *Julisura und die Ausgrabungen auf dem römischen Forum*. O. Seeck, *Der Hildesheimer Silberfund*. It is quite probable that this silver treasure belonged to the booty in the fight with Varus, that previously one of the chief Roman officers was its possessor, and that it afterwards came into the hands of one of the leaders of the Cherusci.

Mnemosyne. Vol. 30, 3. 1902.

J. van Leeuwen, *Quis furor?* A reply to Roemer's Studien zu Aristophanes, who there attacks Van L. H. v. H., *Aristoph. Eq.* 504 sqq. S. A. Naber, *Observationes criticae ad Dionysii Halicarnassensis Antiquitates Romanas*. Critical notes. J. J. H., *Plut. Solon*. 10. K. G. P. Schwartz, *Plut. Lyc.* 27. J. Vürtheim, *De Amazonibus*. The native country of the Amazons is not to be sought in the East or in Scythia, but in Greece itself. K. Kuiper, *De Matre Magna Pergamenorum*. Originally it was the Idaean not the Pessinuntian Mother that came from Pergamus. About B.C. 102 came the worship of the Pessinuntian Mother (see *Plut. Mar.* 17). J. J. H., *Ad Plutarchum*. On *Rom.* 29 and *Public.* 22. H. van Herwerden, *Ad Alciphronis epistulas*. Critical notes. J. J. H., *Ad Plutarchum*. On *Coriol.* 32 and 38. J. C. Naber, *Observationes criticae de iure Romano*. Ad formulam actionis arbitariae. Quid sit in rem actio. J. v. L., *Ad Thucyd.* vii. 56. Suggests ἐκεῖ ἐπὶ πολὺ for ἔπειτα πολὺ. J. J. Hartman, *Tacitea*. On various passages. M. L. Earle, *Ad Horat. Serm.* i. 1. 15 sqq. J. van Leeuwen, *Ad Aristophanis Plutum*. Critical notes.

Part 4. K. G. P. Schwartz, *Ad Lucianum*. Critical notes. H. J. Polak, *Paralipomena Lysiacae*. Critical notes. J. J. H., *Ad Plutarchum*. On *Lyc.* 27 and *Num.* 1. J. J. Hartman, *Tacitea*. On various passages. J. v. L., *Horapoll.* i. 55. P. H. Damsté, *Ad Catulli carmen* 49. Catullus was, and boasted that he was, one of the *Cantores Euphorionis*. The date of the poem is probably end of 63 or beginning of 62. J. van Leeuwen, *Ad Aristophanis Plutum*. Critical notes. S. A. Naber, *Ruhnkenii uossii*.

Wochenschrift für Klassische Philologie. 1902.

25 June. *Prosopographia Attica*, ed. J. Kirchner. I. (H. Winther), favourable. J. Strzygowski, *Der Bilderkreis des griechischen Physiologus* (G. Thiele), very favourable.

2 July. W. Nestle, *Untersuchungen über die philosophischen Quellen des Euripides* (W. Gemoll). A worthy completion to the author's *Euripides, der Dichter der griech. Aufklärung*. G. Woerpel, *Questiones de Lysiae oratione ἐπὶ τοῦ ἀδυνάτου* (E. Rosenberg). K. P. R. Neville, *The case construction after the comparative in Latin* (Fr. Fügner), favourable. *Incerti scriptoris byzantini saec. X. liber de re militari*, rec. R. Vári (F. Hirsch), favourable.

9 July. W. Ridgeway, *The early age of Greece*, I. (O. Schrader). 'Though we may not agree with the conclusions, no one can lay down the book without

receiving great advantage.' E. Steinmeyer, *Beiträge zur Entstehungsgeschichte des Oim.* 18140 (G. Pfeilschifter). 'A valuable piece of work.'

16 July. A. Baumgartner, *Geschichte der Weltliteratur*. II. 3 und 4. Aufl. (A. L. Feder), very favourable. J. Sitzler, *Ein ästhetischer Kommentar zu Homers Odyssee* (G. Vogrinz), favourable on the whole. L. Bloch, *Alkestisstudien* (H. Morsch), favourable.

23 July. A. Mayr, *Die vorgeschichtlichen Denkmäler von Malta und die altchristlichen Begräbnisstätten auf Malta* (F. v. Duhn), very favourable. A. Gercke, *Abriss der griechischen Lautlehre* (Bartholomae), unfavourable. *Cicero's Rede für Plancius*, herausg. von H. Nohl (W. Hirschfelder), favourable. C. Diehl, *Justinien et la civilisation Byzantine au V^{ème} siècle* (C. Benjamin), very favourable.

6 Aug. E. Bethé, *Homar und die Heldensage* (Hoerenz), favourable. K. Bürger, *Studien zur Geschichte des griechischen Romans. I. Der Lukios-roman* (P. Schulze), favourable. T. R. Glover, *Life and letters in the fourth century* (J. Tolkiehn), favourable.

13 Aug. *Studies in honour of Basil L. Gildersleeve*. Contains 44 philological contributions. K. Praechter, *Hierokles der Stoiker* (A. Bonhöffer), very favourable. *Der Hildesheimer Silberfund* herausg. von E. Pernice und Fr. Winter (G. Körte). O. Bardenhever, *Geschichte der altkirchlichen Literatur. I.* (J. Dräseke). From the time of the Apostles to the end of the second century. 'Greatly furthers our knowledge.'

27 Aug. *Lysiae orationes*, rec. Th. Thalheim. 1. Ed. maior, 2. Ed. minor (E. Althaus), favourable. F. Skutsch, *Aus Vergils Frühzeit* (G. Eskuche), unfavourable. H. d'Arbois de Jubainville, *Principaux auteurs de l'antiquité à consulter depuis les temps les plus anciens jusqu'au règne de Théodose I.* = *Cours de littérature celtique XII* (A. Holder), favourable. *Symbolae in honorem L. Cwiklinski* (Z. Dembitzer).

3 Sep. *Poetarum graecorum fragmenta*, III. 1. *Poetarum philosophorum fragmenta*, ed. H. Diels (K. Praechter), very favourable. *Hermiae Alexandri in Platonis Phaedrum scholia*, ed. P. Cuvreur (M. Wohlrab), favourable. *Tacitus, Lebensbeschreibung des Agricola*, herausg. von H. Smolka (R. Lange), favourable.

10 Sep. R. Wiensch, *Das Frühlingsfest der Insel Malta* (E. Samter), very favourable. *Papyri graeci musei britanici et musei berolinensis*, ed. a C. Kalbfleisch (W. Crönert). *Libri ab urbe condita libri*, ed. A. Zingerle, VII. 2 (lib. 42). Ed. maior. (W. Heraeus), favourable. *Claudii Hermeri Mulomedicina Chironis*, ed. E. Oder (R. Fuchs), favourable.

The Classical Review

DECEMBER 1902.

THE most notable recent event in our classical world is the rejection by resident Oxford of a proposal that would make Greek an optional subject in her scheme of examinations. That in the University which has long been recognised as the home of the accepted, a proposition to lower this ancient language from its position of long-established supremacy would have been carried, had a dozen votes in a total of not far off four hundred changed sides, is a highly significant circumstance; and it cannot be doubted that there or elsewhere the opponents of Greek will presently renew the struggle. At Oxford this movement hardly possesses a history which can be expressed in dates and figures. It is otherwise at the sister University. There, more than thirty years ago, the question was definitely raised. The first proposal to make Greek optional was declined by the Senate on April 27, 1871, by 51 votes to 48; and, two years later, in February, 1873, a somewhat similar one was thrown out by 90 votes to 81. Nothing more was attempted for over five years, when, in response to an influentially signed memorial, the subject was again considered by a syndicate whose proposals were rejected in November, 1880, by a majority of 40, 185 non-placets to 145 placets. The last attempt in 1891, to reopen the question was nipped in the bud, the Senate refusing to appoint a syndicate by the crushing

majority of 525 to 185. These figures show that for some twenty years the cause of compulsory Greek at Cambridge had made substantial progress. But they prove nothing for the present. And the advocates of Greek at both Universities will be wise to regard the result of the recent division in the light of a reprieve. The supporters of the study of Greek in England have for the moment 'saved' it: it is now not less their duty to see that in future it shall be more worthy to be saved.

For the following communication we are indebted to Mr. T. R. Glover, late Professor of Latin in Queen's University, Canada:—

'For some years past the trend of education in Ontario has been against the Classics. Greek has for long been an optional subject in the Universities, while in the government examinations, though nominally optional, it is in reality almost penalized, by being excluded from the subjects required for the 'Teacher's Certificate.' The result is to be seen in the declining numbers of pupils learning Greek in the Secondary Schools, and it has been prophesied by one, who knows the education system well, that in twenty-five years there will probably not be half a dozen schools in all Ontario, in which Greek will be taught. It is true that with such prophets the wish is father to the thought, but that the prophecy can be made at all is very significant.'

METAPHOR, WITH A NOTE ON TRANSFERENCE OF EPITHETS.

TRANSFERENCE of epithets was in its origin a metrical device for dealing conveniently with proper names, especially geographical. At first it was merely an ingenious expedient, but its elegance was pleasing to artistic sense, and so, as happens, it came to be sought and studied for its own sake. The Alexandrians of course seized upon it eagerly; any technical device of diction, though previously admitted only as a licence, it was characteristic of that school to cultivate as though it were a merit. But it was really useful in altering the termination of a name that was otherwise intractable; it was also a neat plan for accumulating details in description; and it acquired, I think, in some cases an artistic value which has not been understood.

To begin with, we will take the case of proper names: Hom. E 741, λ 634 Γοργείην κεφαλὴν δεινοῖο πελώρου. B 54 Νεστορέη παρὰ νηϊ Πυλοιογενέος βασιλῆος. Lycophr. 58 τοῖς Τευταρείοις βουκόλον πτερώμασι. 1150 Ὀδοϊδόκειος Ἰαίεος δόμος. Nonn. D. 25. 385 Ὀλύμπια θαύματα τέχνης. Verg. A. 12. 739 arma dei ad Volcania. Pind. fr. 112 Λάκαινα μὲν παρθένων ἀγέλα.¹ Hor. C. iii. 29. 1 *Tyr-rhena regum progenies*. Propert. iii. 9. 1 *eques Etrusco de sanguine regum*. Apoll. Rhod. 4. 1780 Ὀπούντιά τ' ἄστεα Λοκρῶν. Nonn. D. 3. 186 Ἡμαθίων Θρηῖσαν ἔχων Κάμον Ἄρεος ἔδρην. 43. 311 Κάμου Θρηῖσαν ὑπὸ σπῆλυγγα Καβείρων. Apoll. Rhod. 1. 1023 ἀνδρῶν Μακρίων Πελασγικῶν ἄρεα. Lucret. 5. 726 *Babylonica Chaldaicum doctrina*. 742, 6. 730 *etesia flabra Aquilonum*. 2. 501 *Thessalico conchiarum tacta colore*. Ov. *Ibis* 384 *Thoanteae Taurica sacra deae*. Catull. 64. 75 *iniusti regis Gortynia tecta*. Hor. C. ii. 12. 22 *pinguis Phrygiae Mygdonias opes*. Lucret. 1. 474 *Alexandri Phrygio sub pectore*. 5. 24 *Nemeaeus magnus hiatus ille leonis*. Valgius *Pylio profuxerit ore Nestoris*.

The use of the adjective in such phrases as Ἀγαμεινονίη ἄλσος in Homer, ὦ Κρόνιε παῖ Πέας in Pindar, Ἀριστομένειον ὦ τέκος in Bacchylides, arose from the same reason.

σὺν ᾧ σὺν Τροίαν ἡπόλιν Ἰλίου πόλιν in *Eum.* 460 seems defensible upon this ground, if we take Τροίαν or Τρώαν as an adjective (see Leaf on Hom. A 129); or if we read Τρώων

as in Aesch. fr. 99. 19² *τρωαν αὐτῷ* is a mistake for Τρώων.

The MS. reading in *Eum.* 292 ἀλλ' εἶτε χώρας ἐν τόποις Διβυστικοῖς is generally taken as an example of this transference of epithet, and so it may be; it would be equally good, however, if χώρας meant 'the Earth,' a partitive genitive substituted for γῆς or χθονός, as in Herodas 3. 75 οὐδ' ὅκου χώρης is for οὐδ' ὅπου γῆς. There is the same uncertainty in other phrases of this type: Simonid. A.P. vii. 496 *Κικωνικὸν οἶδμα θαλάσσης*. Dionys. Perieg. 37 Ἠῶν καλέουσι καὶ Ἰνδικὸν οἶδμα θαλάσσης. Eur. H.F. 410 Εὐξείνου οἶδμα λίμνας. A.P. κατ' Αἰγαίην πόντον πλάκα. Cratin. Troph., in burlesque, καὶ Λεβάδειαν, Βοιώτιον οἶδρα ἀρούρης. Nonn. D. 30. 209 ἀλλὰ καὶ αὐτὴν Ἥλιδα ναϊετάουσαν, Ὀλύμπιον οἶδρα ἀρούρης. 10. 139 ὑπὸ κλίμα Λυδῶν ἀρούρης. 14. 270 περὶ Φρύγα κόλπον ἀρούρης. What is the true nature of the formula? Is the genitive possessive, as in Ar. Av. 250 ἐπὶ πόντιον οἶδμα θαλάσσης, Eur. Hel. 400 ἐπ' οἶδμα πόντιον γλαυκῆς ἀλός, Nonn. 43. 225 Ἰσθμίων οἶδμα λιπῶν Παλληνίδος ἁλμυς, 44. 1 Ἰαλυρίας Δαυλάντιον ἔθνος ἀρούρης, 48. 241 παρὰ σφυρὰ Δίνδυμα πέτρης? Or is it partitive, as Quint. 2. 651 would seem to be, κατ' Ἥλυσιον πέδον αἰῆς? I conceive that in the uncertain cases the writer himself would have been wise to say that you might take your choice.

When epithets transferred are found in Comedy, they are always in burlesque or of Lyric style, or of Tragic, which derived its ornate character from Lyric: e.g. Ar. Vesp. 838 *τροφαλὶδα τυροῦ Κυκελικήν*, Pax 155 *χρυσόχαλινον πάταγον ψαλίων*, Av. 1198 *δίνης περωτὸς φθόγγος*, *Δαξανδρίδες Πρωτ.* 1. 37 *τερονόχρωτες μαζῶν ὄψεις*, Antiphanes Philob. 1. 21 *πρωτοῖς ἀνθρώκων βαπίσμοσιν*, ξανθαῖσιν αἰραις... The sort of expression these allude to are A.P. vii. 219 οὐκέτι χρυσόχαλι-

² In v. 11 of that fragment παίδων ἑμῶν I take to be a gloss on φνευμάτων above.—While Nauck is in the reader's hands I would suggest the following corrections: Aesch. fr. 124 *βῆτον ἰσχυαῖνον χρόνῳ* as *ἐξηβον χρόνῳ* for the meaningless *ἰσχυαῖνον*, Soph. fr. 219 τὰ δ' ὅσα κλέδμεν ὅτ κλέμμεν: ὅτ κλέμμενα would do. 224 *ἐχουαὶ δ' ἐκ τε λύρας ἐκ τε νόμων*, restoring sense and metre; *ἐχουαὶ*=κατέχουαί, the preposition omitted more *Sophocleo*: so in 365 οὔτοι ποθ' ἔξει (for ἔξει) τῶν ἄκρων=ἐφίξει, as perhaps in O.C. 1566 *πημάτων ἰκνούμενον* (i.e. ἰκανῶς ἔχοντα), unless ἰκνούμενον means ἰκνούμενους ἐχόντων. Eur. fr. 815 *κτίσαι for κτείνειν* as in Cho. 440. Aesch. fr. 134 *στάξ* (=στάδην), *κρηρόντων φαρμάκων πολλὸς πόνος*. 182 *δελε καὶ στρατάρχας καὶ ἑκατοντάρχας*.

¹ ἀγέλα MS., which I correct: it is quoted by Ath. 631 c expressly as *hyporchematic* together with a fragment of Bacchylides οὐχ ἔδρας ἔργον οὐδ' ἀμβολῆς.

von ὄρᾳ δρόμον Ἑλλοιο, γ. 270 κομᾶζω χρύσειον ἐς αἰθέριον· χόρον ἄστρον λεύσσω. Symbnus 260 σιδήρεος τε ραιστήρων κτύπος. Verg. A. 8. 526 *Tyrrhenusque tubae clangor*. Eur. *Phoen.* 1350 λευκοπήχεις κτύπους χεροῖν. H.F. 882 ἑκατοκεφάλους³ ὀφίων ἀχρήμασι. Soph. *Phil.* 693 στόνον αἱματηρόν. Aesch. *Theb.* 335 βλαχαὶ δ' αἰματοέσσαι τῶν ἐπιμαστιδίων ἀρτιτρεφεῖς βρέμονται. Eur. *Cycl.* 58 ποθοῦσι σ' ἀμερόκοιτοι βλαχαὶ συμκρῶν τεκίων.

Such examples have usually been held sufficient warrant for the existence of each other; but the old rudimentary sort of comment, which was content merely to collect apparent similarities and to say 'compare' without explaining, does indeed provide material for criticism but will not always enlighten or convince. Thus it has been possible for Dr. Verrall to pronounce βλαχαὶ in *Theb.* 335 "an error by which every word becomes meaningless, converting the sentence into this, 'and the bloody bleedings of those babes, being new-suckled, roar.'" Now if you look at the examples quoted, you will see how commonly they describe impressions made upon the senses; and I think it will appear that in such cases the inaccurate attachment of the epithets has that further value that I spoke of, producing an effect intentionally confused, impressionistic. Infants at their mothers' breast, besmeared with blood, and passionately crying in their bleating voice; if you wish to convey the impressions vaguely flashed upon the eye and ear, you dab the various colours in among the substantives. Suppose, again, the effect you would describe is that of cattle moving slowly over ground and lowing as they go; you may describe it in the Epic manner like Theocritus 25. 96 πᾶν δ' ἄρ' ἐνπελήσθη πεδίον πᾶσαι δὲ κέλευθαι ληίδος ἐρχομένης, στείνοντο (σειόντο C. Hartung) δὲ πίονες ἄγροϊ μνηκθμῶ: or you may do it with the brief pictorial touch of Aeschylus in the Νιόβη (*fr.* 158) which Strabo quotes p. 580:

σπεῖρω δ' ἄρουραν δώδεχ' ἡμερῶν ὀδόν,
Βερέκντα χώρον, ἐνθ' Ἀδραστείας ἔδος,
Ἴδον τε μνηκθμοῖσι καὶ βρυχήμασι
ἔρπουσι μῆλων πᾶν ὀρεχθεύει πέδον.⁴

Instead of saying μνηκθμοῖσιν ἐρπόντων μῆλων he says μνηκθμοῖσιν ἔρπουσι μῆλων:

³ Restored for ἑκατὸν κεφαλαῖς the usual corruption of a compound epithet. The schol. on Hom. Π 170 says Πίνδαρος (*fr.* 259) πεντηκονταερέμους φησὶ τὰς ναῦς τῶν Ἀχαιῶν εἶναι: a copyist being unfamiliar with the word, writes πεντήκοντα ἐρεγμοῦς, 'fifty beans.'

⁴ The MS. reading is πᾶν δ' ὀρεχθεύει according to Coraes, ἐρέχθει or ἐρέχθεον according to Nauck.

but from not perceiving this, the editors have made sad havoc of the passage, abolishing ἔρπουσι, changing Ἴδης to Ἴδῃ, and creating us an Erethean plain in Phrygia. It would be possible to read ὀρεχθεῖον, understanding ἐστὶ as with ἐνθ' Ἄ. ἔδος, but the indicative seems better; and the form ὀρεχθ- I think more probable than ἐρεχθ-: it is Homer's βόες ὀρέχθεον Ψ 30, and so Aristias⁵ has μυκαῖσι δ' ὠρέχθει τὸ (or ὠρεχθεῖτο: ὀρέχθει τὸ MS.) λαῖνον πέδον. The form in -εῖω is a legitimate variety; many such were used in verse: Xenophanes, for instance, has πενταβλεῖν and πενταβλεῖων in the same passage. The natural correction of Soph. *El.* 1070 is ὅτι σφιν ἦδη τὰ μὲν ἐκ δόμου νοσεύει (Dindorf for νοσεῖ), and is also the most rhythmical. See Lobeck *Rhem.* p. 202.

There are two other passages in Aeschylus which I think this trick of language will explain. The first is *Persae* 277, where the Chorus say to the messenger

ὄτοτοτοὶ φίλων
ἀλίδονα μέλεα πολυβαφῇ
καθθανόντα λέγεις φέρεσθαι
πλαγκτοῖς ἐν διπλάεσσι.

The sober sense is ἀλίδονα μέλεα καθθανόντα λέγεις φέρεσθαι πλαγκτὰ ἐν πολυβαφέσι διπλάεσσι; but this is one of those pictorial descriptions; their imagination shows them dead and mangled limbs tossed on the waves adrift in many-coloured garments; and the scattered way in which they jot the details in conveys the impression more effectively than if it were more accurately phrased. The Greek presents no difficulty now: 'in' a dress of any kind is regularly expressed by ἐν, and there is no objection to πλαγκτοῖς as a feminine.⁶ The dyed doublets—coats of many colours—are characteristic of the Orient.⁷

⁵ Quoted by Ath. 60 b under the heading ΜΥΚΑΔΙ 'mushrooms,' and still quoted by the Dictionaries under μύκης, as though a plain could roar with mushrooms; those good little children of the earth are usually seen and not heard. It has long been evident that Athenaeus was mistaken, and that μυκαῖσι should be μυκαῖσι *mitigibus*. Another unrecognised dative has made trouble in *Pers.* 587 τὸ πᾶν δὲ κλύουσιν ἄλγος, like ἀπιστα κλύουσι in P. *Phaen.* 170 and πλίσθουσι may well be a dative in *Cho.* 587, e.g. ἀνταῖων βρύουσι πλάθουσι καὶ τεδαίχμοι . . . κἀνεμῶντ' ἂν αἰγίδων φράσαι κόνον.

⁶ Πλαγκτὸς οὐσα (si vera lectio) *Ag.* 598, στυγνῆτός *P. V.* 617, ἰαλτός *Cho.* 22, as κλυτός in Homer, δυνατός in Pind. N. ii. 14 where I see no reason to suppose with Prof. Bury a suggestion of masculinity.

⁷ It is enough here to refer to Pliny viii. 195, vii. 196, Hdt. vi. 112.

The other passage is the comparison of kings to eagles in the *Agamemnon*, v. 48 :

μέγαν ἐκ θυμοῦ κλάζοντες Ἄρη
τρόπον αἰγυπῶν οἷ τ' ἐκπατίους
ἀλγεσι παίδων ὑπατηλεχέων
στροφοδονούνται

Criticism here has wavered between the MS. ἐκπατίους and ἐκπάγλους the conjecture of Blomfield. ἐκπάγλους ἀλγεσι 'exceeding anguish' would of course be perfectly natural in language; it has been advocated by Prof. Housman, it is adopted by Dr. Wecklein in his school edition, Mr. Sidgwick thinks it very probable, and till recently I had inclined to it myself. But ἐκπατίους is better rhythmically, and I believe there are many who will be glad to find a justification for their vague feeling that it is 'more poetical'.

I must postulate here what I am presently about to prove and illustrate, that it was the peculiar habit of Aeschylus to sustain his figures. Other poets are content with transitory metaphors, and that is one way of writing; no one but Aeschylus has his habitual practice—no one, perhaps, but Pindar had his power—of pursuing a similitude, of carrying a figure through. This passage, *Agam.* 47 *segg.*, is a very fine example. Eagles always represented Kings, but the Kings here—for the two are closely coupled, and one's quarrel is the other's⁸—whose high bed has been robbed are compared to eagles whose high bed has been robbed, ἀλγεσι παίδων ὑπατηλεχέων, δειμνιοτήρη πόνον ὀλέσαιτες. As the Kings launch forth in ships, so fly the eagles πτερύγων ἐρετμοῖσιν ἐρεσσόμενοι—this need not be pressed, but still it happily maintains the parallel. And then the likeness is pursued; the eagles in their lofty haunts are conceived as denizens (μέτοικοι) in the region of the loftiest-dwelling Gods,—Apollo, Pan, or Zeus; and as μέτοικοι when wronged appealed at Athens to their προστάται or 'patrons', so the eagles will appeal to these; One above will surely hear their cry and will defend their right. 'And thus' continues Aeschylus, 'the Atridae are sent by a greater lord, Zeus ξένιος, against Alexander'.

It is in the manner of Aeschylus, then, to choose an epithet which will bear out his comparison : and how such touches could be distributed among the substantives we have seen already. Now eagles and vultures were notoriously remote and solitary; so of course, from the nature of their high degree,

⁸ This is the purpose of *vv.* 42—4.

were Kings,—all Kings, though the more ἀπρόσωτοι they were, the more marked was the resemblance: Horapoll. *Hieroglyph.* ii. 56 βασιλέα ἰδιάζοντα καὶ μὴ ἐλεούτα ἐν τοῖς πταίσμασι βουλόμενοι σημεῖναι, ἀετὸν ζωγραφούσιν· οὗτος γὰρ ἐν τοῖς ἐρήμοις τόποις ἐχει τὴν νεοσιάν καὶ ὑψηλότερος πάντων τῶν πετεινῶν ἵπταται.

I wish I could go further without laying down more laws: but it is just these laws and principles that must be laid down if we are to understand Greek poetry, and I look in vain to find them recognised. The first principle of ornate diction is that it is a heightened style of speech: and this heightening is usually obtained, whether for serious writing or burlesque, for poetry or slang, by substituting synonyms for common words. Thus the common phrase for 'sick' is νόσον ἔχων: heighten this, and you get δύο νόσω κεκτημένος in *Ion* 603; still further and you have τῷ πεπαμένῳ νόσον in *Ag.* 826, in ordinary language τῷ ἔχοντι. This principle is the clue to understanding much that is not generally understood.

If the substituted synonym should carry a special association of its own, you have a metaphor. Πηδᾷ ἡ καρδία is the usual expression for 'a throbbing heart'; use heightened synonyms, and you might say ἄλλεται, χορεῖται, or ὀρχεῖται (*Cho.* 166, *Plat. Ion* 536b, *Ath.* 687 f-688 c); then you have a metaphor from dancing, which might be pursued; this is what it engenders in the mind of Aeschylus: *Cho.* 1022 πρὸς δὲ καρδίᾳ φόβος ἄδειν ἔτοιμος, ἡ δ' ὑπορχεῖσθαι κρότῳ. Reduced to its lowest terms that is merely καρδία πηδᾷ φόβῳ.

Metaphor is frequently developed from the equivocal meaning of a word. πούς for example meant both 'foot' and 'sheet' of a sail; hence *Eur. Hec.* 940 could say νόστιμον ναὺς ἐκίνησεν πόδα,—παρπόδα, (τὰ) παρ ποδός or παρ ποδί meant 'immediate', but the meaning 'sheet' enables Pindar to evolve a metaphor, *N.* vi. 55 τὸ δὲ παρ ποδὶ ναὺς ἐλισσόμενον αἰεὶ κυμάτων λέγεται παντὶ μάλιστα δονεῖν θυμόν.—In *P.* iii. 82 τὰ μὲν ὄν οὐ δύνανται νήπιοι κόσμῳ φέρειν, ἀλλ' ἀγαθοί, τὰ καλὰ τρέφαντες ἔξω the meaning 'bear in seemly fashion' shifts to 'wear becomingly', which leads to the figure from a garment.—In *O.* x. 7 ἔκαθεν γὰρ ἐπέλθων ὁ μέλλων χρόνος ἐμὸν κατασχυνε βαθὺ χρεός· ὅμως δὲ λῦσαι δυνατὸς ὀξείον ἐπιμομφάν τόκος· ὁράτω νῦν ψᾶφον ἐλισσομένην ὅπῃ κύμα κατακλίσσει ρέον it is the word ψᾶφον which undergoes this sort of enharmonic change—a sea-change here—from 'reckoning' to 'pebble', and

then the metaphor proceeds⁹.—In *Agam.* 1179 the figure changes by another sense of λαμπρός.—The ordinary phrase was ἀεὶ γὰρ εὖ πίπτοντο οἱ Διὸς κύβητοι *Soph. fr.* 809; but through another application of the 'fall' we find in *Aesch. Supp.* 95 πίπτει δ' ἀσφαλὲς οὐδ' ἐπὶ νότω κορυφῇ Διὸς εἰ κρανθῆ πρᾶγμα τέλειον.

πνεῦμα means either the breath of the wind or the spirit of a man¹⁰; hence poetry can describe emotions of the spirit in terms belonging to a wind: *Agam.* 229 φρενὸς πνέων δυσσεβῇ τροπαίαν 'with a spirit veered to sin'. *Theb.* 692 ἐπεὶ δαίμων λήματος αὖ τροπαία χρονία μεταλλακτὸς ἴσως ἂν ἔλθοι θεμερωμένῳ¹¹ πνεύματι: νῦν δ' ἐτι ζεῖ. *Ag.* 966 τίπτε μοι τὸδ' ἐμπεδὼς δέμα προσστατήριον¹² καρδίας τερασκόπου ποτᾶται;

ποτᾶται is a word used of wind, whose wings are as it were felt fluttering; as in *Cho.* 388

τί γὰρ κεύθω
φρέν' δ' σείλον¹³ ξμπας
ποτᾶται; πᾶροιθεν δὲ πρὸ φρας
δρυμὺς ἄηται κραδίᾳς
θυμὸς, ἔγκοτον στύγος.

⁹ I suspect another instance in *P.* ii. 90 στάθμας δὲ σίνος (δέ τινος MSS.) ἐλκόμενοι περισσᾶς ἐνέπαζαν ἔλκος ὀδυαρὸν ἐξ πρόσθε καρδίᾳ πρὶν ὅσα φροντίδι μνηστῆρι τυχέιν, the metaphor arising out of the usual sense of σίνος 'physical injury.' But I must argue this another time.

¹⁰ This is the meaning of πνεῦν *Arh.* μένος, and the like.

¹¹ So Badham: Kaibel *Ep.* 824 'Ἀττει...τῷ πᾶσιν καιροῖς θεμερώτερα πάντα φύοντι. It is suitable to wind, since Hesych. explains θεμερῇ by εὐσταθής.

¹² Set stubbornly before my consciousness, as παροῖσιν πρὸ φρας in *Cho.* 390. It alludes to the phrases technically used of wind; στάσις, properly its setting in a certain quarter, ἰσθήμενος, εὐσταθής, ἀντιστοιχεῖν: so οὐροσπάταν νόμον in *Cho.* 817 is an allusion to the οὐρὸς ὕμνων.—*Apoll. Rhod.* 4. 820 has ὡκείας ἀνέμων αἶκες ἐρύθειν νόσφιν εὐσταθείος Ζεφύρου, but I do not think αἶκες or αἰκά has anything to do with Theocr. 30. 32 ἐμε μὲν, φύλλον ἐπάμερον σμῖκρας δεύμενον αἶρας ὁ μέλλων αἶκα φορεῖ: I should complete Bergk's conjectures by reading ὀνέμων αἶσα κάκα ἡς δαίμονος αἶσα κακή *Hom.* λ 61, *Quint.* 6. 416. In *Theocr.* 21. 65 I should read εἰ γὰρ μὴ κνώσσων τὰ πελάγη ταῦτα ματευσεῖς, for τοῦτο χωρία, and in the *Cyriac* vv. 13—17 ᾧ . . . χαρεῖς

for ᾧ . . . χαίροις.

¹³ The MS. φρενοσείον I take to be a misreading of ΦΡΕΝΟΣΕΪΟΝ (ΕΪΟΝ read as ΘΪΟΝ), which is unquestionably in accordance with the Aeschylean use of figure. σείων is a synonym of ταρασσειν, θράσσειν, 'shock' or 'agitate', quassare; and, like δοεῖν, may be said of wind or spirit equally: *Eur. H. F.* 895 θέελλα σείει δῶμα. *Ar. Ach.* 12 πᾶς τοῦτ' ἐσεισέ μου δοκεῖ τὴν καρδίαν, *Liban.* IV. 590. 4 τὸ γὰρ τῆς συμφόρας ἀπροσδίκητον ὕλον μου τὸν νοῦν διέσεισεν. 174. 23 τὸ ἄθες σείει τὰς γνάμους (v.l. ταρασσει). *Hdt.* vi. 109 ἔλπομαι τίνα στάσιν μεγάλην διείσειεν ἐμπεσοῦσαν (like a sudden squall) τὰ τῶν Ἀθηναίων φρονήματα. *Plat. Tim.* 43 D, *Polyb.* xviii. 28. 2, *Bekk. An.* 242. 9.

'—for how conceal the πνεῦμα that still keeps disquieting my breast?' σείων here is a synonym of ταρασσειν. Another synonym applied to a vexed or troubled heart is κυκώμενον¹⁴, which was used most commonly of eddying or tossing waves; hence when Aeschylus would express what Hecuba means in *Eur. Hec.* 80, ἔσται τι νέον ἤξει τι μέλος γοερὸν γοεραῖς: οὐπὸτ' ἐμὰ φρήν ᾧδ' ἀλῆστος (or ἀλῆστον) φρίσσει, ταρβέει, 'this violent agitation of my heart cannot be for nothing; it is surely a true pre-sentiment' (*Pers.* 10, *Trag. fr. adesp.* 176), he can make his Chorus say

σπλάγχχνα δ' οὔτοι ματᾶζει,
πρὸς ἐνδίκους φρεσὶν τελεσφόρους
δίνας κυκώμενον¹⁵ κέαρ.

'Nor idly do these vitals rage:—

My heart, against her barriers hurled,
Is dashed upon the truth, and whirled
On eddying tides of sure presage'¹⁶

All this is developed from the single word κυκώμενον.

Observe the way in which the adjectives ἐνδίκους and τελεσφόρους are used. It is common enough in Greek, as κρητῆρα στήσασθαι ἐλευθρον 'the bowl of freedom' in *Hom.* Z 528, ἀλώσιμος βάσις *Ag.* 10, στόνον ἀντίπνον βαρυβρῶθ' αἵματηρόν in *Soph. Philoct.* 693, αἰδὼ τρυσάνωρ *ib.* 208; and so I should explain the last line of Bianor's epigram in *A.P.* vii. 49 which has usually been treated as corrupt:

Ἄ Μακέτις σε κέκευθε τάφου κόνις· ἀλλὰ πυρωθεῖς

Ζανὶ κεραυνεῖω γαῖαν ἀπημφύσας·
τρίς γὰρ ἐπαστράψας, Εὐρπίδῃ, ἐκ Διὸς αἰθῆρ
ἤγγισε τὰν θνατὰν σήματος ἱστορίαν.

'the lightning struck your tomb and purged away its record of mortality', destroyed,

¹⁴ *Archil. fr.* 66 θυμέ . . . κήδεσιν κυκωμένε, *Frag. fr.* (*Clem. Al.* p. 486) κυκῶσιν ἀνθρώπων κέαρ.

¹⁵ The MS., by a common error, has κυκλούμενον, which is absurd. κυκλῶν, κυκλούσθαι never mean 'to eddy'; they always mean to circle round, and can only be applied to water which encircles, as the Wear encircles Durham, as the Adige surrounds Verona, the Tmolus Sardes, or the Ocean-stream the Earth. Troy was not encircled by the Xanthos or Scamander, therefore ἴαχε καὶ Ξάνθου ποταμοῦ κυκλούμενον ἔδωρ in *Tryphiod.* 325 is nonsense. When I restored κυκώμενον (the regular description of this river, *Hom.* φ 235, 240, 324, and a synonym of its other epithet δινῆεν), I knew no reading but κυκλούμενον, which *Mr. Weinberger* (1896) has not known how to correct; but the variants he now records are typical: κυκλούμενον j, κυκλόμενον χ, κυκώμενον f, κυκώμενον e.

¹⁶ Not 'swirl with effectual throbs' as the latest version gives it (*G. C. Warr*). What notion of Aeschylus can a novice gather from such stuff?

that is, the inscription which described Euripides as mortal. See in the Dictionaries ἀγίζω, ἀγνίζω, ἀφαγ-, καθαγ-: ἀφαιᾶσαι in Hesych. (Menand. *fr.* 1128) should be ἀφαγιάσαι, itself an error for ἀφαγνίσαι: compare Soph. *fr.* 112.—Dr. Postgate (1880) had remarked the same use of the adjective in Latin on Propert. v. 6. 62: "libera signa, *not* 'the enfranchised standards', but rather 'the standards of freedom', i.e. those maintaining freedom's cause. For the adj. cf. Pind. Pyth. 8. 98 ἐλευθέρω στόλῳ πόλιν τάνδε κόμιζε 'in a course of freedom' (Fennell), *ib.* 1. 86 ἀψευδέϊ δὲ πρὸς ἄκμονι χάλκευε γλώσσαν 'on an anvil of truth', with which compare v. 1. 107 *veriusque per astra trames*, 'the path of truth'; cf. Catull. 68. 14 (Ellis)." That is generally the best way to render the effect in English, by a substantive; thus we might render the whole phrase in *P.* i. 86 νόμα δικάω πηδάλιῳ στρατὸν, ἀψευδέϊ δὲ πρὸς ἄκμονι χάλκευε γλώσσαν 'Let justice be the rudder of thy governance, and let thy tongue be forged in truthfulness'. The tongue is a sharp instrument¹⁷, as in *O.* vi. 82 δόξαν ἔχω τιν' ἐπὶ γλώσσῃ ἀκόντας λιγυρᾶς, 'I feel upon my tongue a whetting (θηγάνη 'incentive') as it were to melody', so that there is nothing harsh in what follows, ἃ μὲν θέλοντα προσέρπει καλλιρρόοισι πνοαῖς. *Agam.* 229 φρενὸς πνέων δυσσεβῇ τροπαίαν 'with a spirit veered to sin'. *Supp.* 27 δέξαιθ' ἱκέτην τὸν θηλυγενῆ στόλον αἰδοῦν πνεύματι χώρας 'let the wind that receives us be a spirit of kindness from the land'. At the end of the following passage there is a genitive ἀτης with the same effect; *Io* in *P.V.* 907–12

κραδία δὲ φόβῳ φρένα λακτίζει,
τροχοδινεῖται δ' ὄμμαθ' ἐλγύδην,
ἔξω δὲ δρόμον φέρομαι λύσσης
πνεύματι μάργῳ, γλώσσης ἀκρατῆς·
βολεροὶ δὲ λόγοι παῖονσ' εἰκὴ
στυνγῆς πρὸς κύμασιν ἀτης.

ἔξω δρόμον φέρεσθαι is usually said (as in *Cho.* 1020) of a charioteer whose horses run away with him; but the phrase permitted Aeschylus to make his metaphor a ship carried out of her course by violent wind—the spirit or emotion here of *Io* ¹⁸.

¹⁷ Ach. Tat. viii. 9 τὴν γλώσσαν εἰς ἀσέλγειαν ἀκονᾶ.

¹⁸ Even she is not distraught enough to say her heart is circling round her diaphragm! A strait-waistcoat would have been the only remedy for that. But anatomy and physiology are not the strong points of the editors; in *Ag.* 76 the marrow, regent in its frame of bone and dominating vital functions (*Tim.* *Locr.* 100, *Plat.* *Tim.* 73), they represent as shooting up (ἀνᾶσσω) like a beanstalk!

In Aeschylus a figurative conception will run through a whole play; from the beginning to the end of the *Seven against Thebes* there is the storm-tossed ship of State; the Trojan quarrel is a case-at-law, *Agam.* 41, 58, 458, 530, 537–42; in the *Choeph.* the enterprise of Orestes is an ἀγών¹⁹: the murderous usurpers in the House of Agamemnon are as it were a foul corruption or disease, to be purged out by Orestes, like another Heracles, with drastic remedies, 469–472, 955 βλάβαν ἐγχερονισθεῖσαν *malum inveteratum*, 964 ὅταν ἀφ' ἐστίας πᾶν ἐλαθῇ μύσος καθαρμοῖσιν ἀτᾶν ἐλατρηῖος. Magnificent single passages crowd upon the memory, as *Agam.* 1179 the Spirit or prophetic inspiration, coming like a rushing mighty wind, will wash the unseen horror to the light as though it were a wave rolled up against the Orient rays: 1187 the κῶμος, drunken well with human blood, refusing to be sent away, sits fast against the chambers singing; and their song is deadly Primal Sin; ἐν μέρει δ' ἀπέπτυσαν is part, I think, of the same image²⁰.

In *Cho.* 32 the cry from the women's chambers caused by terror of prophetic dream likened by sustained suggestive language (τορὸς ὀρθόθριξ ἔλακεν etc.) to the cry from the prophetic cell.—In *Eum.* 556–568 the shipwrecked sinner τὸν πρὶν ἔλβον ἔρματι προσβαλὼν Δίκας, which may be compared for contrast with the vague generality of Soph. *Ant.* 854. *Theb.* 839, 'O waft him on the tide of tears with plashing arms like oars about your head. . . to give him passage in his black-sailed mission-barge to the shore untrodden of Apollo.' *Agam.* 445:

Ares, the Body-changer, worth who weighs
In balance where the battling spear assays,
Fined in the furnace back from Ilium sends
A heavy dust in sooth to weeping friends;
Receiving human bulk, returns due load,—
In small jars powder decently bestowed.

Every word here has a double application, down to εἰθέροις: the money-changer gives you small and handy vessels (*habiles*) of gold-dust (the usual sense of ψήγμα); but εὐθετεῖν νεκρὸν was *mortuum componere*: Bekk. *An.* 40. 23, εὐθετεῖν νεκρὸν: τὸ εὖ

¹⁹ *C.R.* 1900, p. 198. I have since found from Blomfield's note that the conjecture ἀναδελφ for ἀνιδελφ in v. 803 had been made before by Musgrave. How Blomfield came by it I do not know, but it has escaped even Dr. Wecklein's notice. Compare the vase-painting described by Prof. Jebb *Electra*, p. xiv.

²⁰ Jeremiah 25. 27, Lucian i. 750.

κοσμεῖν ἐν τάφοις νεκρόν. Cf. *Thesaur.* s.v. τίθημι pp. 2164, 2175 fin.

There are more parallels than are commonly remarked in *Agam.* 718 seqq. ἔθρεψεν δὲ λέοντος ἵνιν δόμοις ἀγάλακτα βούτας ἀνὴρ. . ., where the correction of ἀγάλακτον οὕτως is due to Wecklein after van Heusde's βότας: if any one still doubts it, let him remember that Paris himself was habitually called βούτας²¹ and the like.

ἀμφέρειν in *Cho.* 840 means 'to shoulder' (cf. ἀναφορέυς, ἀνάφορον).—Another example still remains obscured in the editions:

Τροίαν κατασκάψαντα τοῦ δικηφόρου
Διὸς μακέλλῃ, τῇ κατεῖργασται
πεόον

Καὶ σπέρμα πάσης εξαπλόνται χθονός,

he hath digged up Troy

With mattock of Zeus Justicer, whereby
The soil of her is overturned and broke
And her seed rooted out of all the land.

The continued figure is interrupted in the MS. by an illustrative quotation (which has been incorporated from the margin) of *Pers.* 813 βωμοὶ δ' αἴστοι καὶ θεῶν ἰδρύματα (πρόρριζα φύρδην ἐξανέστραπται βάθρων). Not only does it interrupt the construction and the figure, but as a proud boast in the mouth of a Greek herald it would be a monstrous and hideous absurdity.²²

There is another fine Aeschylean image which the MS. has ruined, but a touch of Hermann's has restored. Editors have not been able to receive the restoration, but I hope in future they may feel as I do. Agamemnon, speaking of this most famous fire of Troy, describes it thus, v. 809:

καπνῷ δ' ἀλοῦσα νῦν ἔτ' εὔσημος πόλις
Ἄτης θυγατρὶ ζωσέν, συνθιγήσκουσα δὲ
σποδὸς προπέμπε πύονας πλούτου πνοάς.

The city's capture even now
Shows manifest by the smoke: life smouldering yet

In Doom's burnt-sacrifice, the expiring ash
Pants forth his opulent breath in puffs of wealth.

As Clytemnestra (1434) says she has slain her husband in sacrifice to Ἄτῃ, and as in *Theb.* 938 after the brothers have fallen by each other's hands, the chorus say 'The trophy of Ἄτῃ is set up at the gates where they were slain,' so Troy with all her insolent wealth—the cause of her dam-

nation—is conceived as a burnt sacrifice to Ἄτῃ.²³ Helen, who fired Troy,²⁴ has been already likened to a sacrificial minister of Ἄτῃ in v. 736. I shall add nothing further here to Hermann's argument except that ζῆν, which appears in ζωπνέειν, is a proper word of fire in Greek as *vivere* and *virus* are in Latin: Eur. *Bacch.* 8, Ar. *Lys.* 306, ἄθρακι ζῶντι Arat. 1041, and in a fragment (Nauck p. 607) of the *Phaethon* which I give as scholars have deciphered it: πυροσθερινυσενεκροισθερηναι ζωσατῇδ' ανησιατμονεμφανηπτισα (or πυροσ): there also I think we have the notion of Ἐρινύς, Vengeance, alive still in the embers.

This developed use of metaphor by Aeschylus is but one manifestation of his vast creative and constructive power. No great poet has been less appreciated—I am not saying 'less admired,' but as an artist Aeschylus has been appreciated even less perhaps than Pindar: and in my opinion to enable those who love great poetry to appreciate these two great poets is the task best worth pursuing that remains to scholars. The Athenians were Ionian; and the quality they inherited and developed was *lucidity*; an admirable quality; and by its help the Athenian mind expressed itself eventually in admirable prose; but the defect of it is that by leaving nothing to the imagination, by abolishing suggestion, it becomes the death of poetry. And poetry died soon at Athens; at least it could only survive when it was drunken—in the dithyramb. Now Aeschylus was very far from being a typical Athenian; his moral sympathies are Dorian, Hebraic, Stoic, Puritan—they are all one school—and his sympathies in art were with the Dorian and Pindar, just as those of Sophocles, his opposite in every way, were with Ionian and Bacchylides. But the evolution of Athenian style according to its tendency was rapid; already to the age of Aristophanes Aeschylus appeared ἀξύστατος, *incompositus*, disjointed, ill put together, inconsistent, and the cry has been parroted

²³ In *Ag.* 121 the Kings subduing Troy with her teeming multitude inside are typified by eagles βοσκόμενοι λαγίαν, ἐρικύματα φέματα, γένναν, βλαβέντα λοισθίων δρόμων. Aeschylus I suspect was thinking of that remarkable passage—Hesiodic or Orphic in character rather than Ionic—about Ἄτῃ and the Δαῖτα: Hom. I 505 ἡ δ' Ἄτῃ σθεναρὴ τε καὶ ἀρτίπος, οὐνεκα πάσας πολλὰν ὑπεκπροβέει, φθάνει δέ τε πᾶσαν ἐπ' αἶαν βλαάπτουσι ἀνθρώπους, with βλαφθεῖς in 512. In *Ag.* 406, when Ἄτῃ has her way, λιτὰν ἀκούει οὐδέλς θεῶν.

²⁴ Ach. Tat. i. 8 τὸ μὲν γὰρ Ἑλένης τῶν γάμων πῦρ ἀνῆψε κατὰ τῆς Τροίας ἄλλο πῦρ.

²¹ Eur. *Hec.* 640 ἀνὴρ βούτας, 926, *Andr.* 277, Nicanor. fr. 108.

²² As I pointed out in *C.R.* 1898, p. 246.

through Quintilian and Longinus ever since. He would not have appeared so to the countrymen of Pindar; nor after long and patient study does he appear so now to me. On the contrary, in his elaborated plays at least, the *Agamemnon* and *Choephoroe*, I find what is to me the highest of artistic powers, the power of construction, of designing a composition from the beginning to the end and controlling the relations of one part to another,—the power that corresponds to strategy as opposed to tactics, or the statesman's power as opposed to the mere politician's,—the power that in art is exhibited in the highest degree by Beethoven. Beethoven too has in his time been thought ἀξύστατος: and certainly, if their opinion of his composition is represented by their versions, Aeschylus may well appear ἀξύστατος to modern critics too! But from not knowing the effect of particles, from not understanding the order of the words, and from being unfamiliar with ideas, they are unable to see more than single passages, and fail to appreciate the connexions and construction of the whole.

For example, it has been usual to ridicule the behaviour of the elders at the crisis of the *Agamemnon*. They are forbidden of course by the exigencies of the stage to leave their place and interfere; and, besides, if they were to interfere they would prevent the tragedy.²⁵ Now early in the play they have themselves pathetically dwelt upon their feeble ineffective age; they are in their second childhood, and the ἀλκά of song is the only puissance that now remains to them. The beauty of the single passage has of course been felt; but no one has ever noticed that it is carefully designed: the object of it is to prepare you for their inaction at the crisis; the instinct of their senility then causes them to fall at once into a regular debate, which is regularly summed up. To any one familiar with Greek ideas their conduct would appear quite natural, for ἔργα νέων βουλαὶ δὲ γερόντων was proverbial. It would be easy to show that in this department of the playwright Euripides, who sneers at him, is himself the clumsiest botcher in comparison.

It was in the construction of sustained and varied lyrics that the genius of Aeschylus for design was most at home.

If any one should wish to estimate it, let him study the second *stasimon* of the *Agamemnon*, from 367 to 480, and observe what happens. It opens, in the preliminary anapaests, with a confident *Te Deum* after triumph; by the time you reach the end you have gradually been plunged into the deepest gloom of apprehension: and the result has been achieved by the consummate skill of the transitions, which carry you from shore to shore, from thought to thought, as boldly and rapidly as the reflections of an active mind; they are meant to represent the rapid movement of men's thoughts. The connexions are not always obvious, because they assume the ideas that would be in a Greek man's thoughts to be familiar; and from the causes I have mentioned the development of such a Chorus is quite unintelligible in the translations. I will only explain here a few of the points that have been missed.

In 374 Δία τοι ξένιον μέγαν αἰδοῦμαι τὸν τάδε πράξαντα means 'This is the Lord's doing', 'It is Zeus ξένιος that I acknowledge as the author of this act': the emphatic words are Δία τοι, where τοι insists upon the statement; every one knows the use of it in hailing a person, ὦ σέ τοι καλῶ, but that is only one case of a more general use. τοι makes an appeal to the knowledge or conscience of the hearer and so is often used in *assertion*, as οἱτοί in *negation*, to lay stress upon the word it goes with. Examples are *Ag.* 913, 1031, 1039, *Cho.* 913, *Supp.* 375, 545, *Eum.* 758, *Soph.* *El.* 582, 624, 773, *Phil.* 1095, *Pind. P. v.* 122: so in ἐκ τῶνδέ τοι 'this is the reason' *Ag.* 867, 1603, *Cho.* 1054, not as Mr. Tucker renders it 'in such a case, you know'.

Then, at the beginning of the lyric, they corroborate this declaration and pursue it:

Διὸς πλαγὰν ἔχουσιν' εἰπεῖν
πάρεστιν τοῦτό τ' ἐξηχνέσσαι
ἐπραξεν ὥς ἔκρανεν.

"The stroke of Zeus it is which they have felt" may be pronounced and fully traced: his act was according to his determination'. ἐπραξεν ὥς ἔκρανεν takes up τὸν τάδε πράξαντα: 'his act was merely the deliberate execution of premeditated purpose: not only may we safely ascribe the fall of Troy to Zeus, but we may trace the cause and see his motive in retribution for the sin of Paris, made insolent with riches'.²⁶

²⁵ The Nurse in the *Trachiniae* 890, 927 does not attempt to interfere with Deianira, but seeing her on the point of committing suicide, runs off to inform Hyllus. See the excuses which the Chorus make in *Eur. Med.* 1273, *Hippol.* 776.

²⁶ For the remainder of the strophe see *C.R.* 1901, p. 105.—Perhaps the original was ἔκρανεν ὥς, ἐπραξεν as in 1658 I would write χρῆν τάδ' ὥς, ἐπράξαν· and in 921 εἶπον τάδ' ὥς, πράσοιμ' ἂν . . . In 924 correct ἐρδειν to ἐρξειν.

435 τὰ μὲν κατ' οἴκους ἐφεστίονες ἄχρη
 τὰ δ' ἐστὶ καὶ τῶνδ' ὑπερβατώτερα.²⁷
 τὸ πᾶν δ' ἀφ' Ἑλλανος αἶας σιννορμένους
 πένθει ἀτλησικάρδιος
 δόμων ἐκάστου πρέπει
 πολλὰ γοῖν θιγγάνει πρὸς ἦπαρ

Such within doors at home the suffering
 is ;

Yea, more exceeding bitter yet than
 this :

Abroad, the large host parted from their
 native shore,—

For them their portion due

Is loud heart-broken rue ;

Their own have cause enough, may touch
 the core !

The long-lost men they sped

They know ; but in their stead

Those to their several homes return

Are ashes and an urn.

The dative *σιννορμένοις*, which editors have been content to leave without construction, is dependent upon *πρέπει* : the fitting tribute to a conqueror are praise and honour as in Pind. N. iii. 67 βῶα δὲ νικαφόρῳ σὺν Ἀριστοκλείδᾳ πρέπει : praise also is the fitting tribute to the dead, only in their case it takes the form of regretful lamentation.²⁸ Now you see that *γοῖν* is not without a meaning ; it depends on *πρέπει* : there is cause enough why lament should be becoming.

In 471 *παλιντυχεὶ τριβᾷ βίον* the meaning of *τριβᾷ* is 'attrition of his life' or 'estate' : as Fortune caused him to wax great unrighteously, so the Erinyes cause him eventually to wane again and dwindle, minishing him to a faint shadow, till at last

²⁷ Or *ὑπερβατώτερα* as Prof. Herwerden has lately proposed ; it is an extremely easy alteration, and so would be *ὁ πολυπότος τ' ἀγὼν βροτῶν* in *Theb.* 759, if not in Pind. *fr.* 75 : cf. *P.* xi. 47, Hom. *B* 50 and the oracle in *Hdt.* v. 78.—*ὑπερβατον* in Aesch. *fr.* 90. 21 may be for *ὑπέρφατον* or *ὑπέρβατον*.

²⁸ In accordance with this idea I should like briefly to propose a new view of *Cho.* 314 τί σοι φάμενος ἢ τί ρέξας τύχοιμ' ἂν σ' ἕκαθ' οὐρίσας (!) ἔνθα σ' ἔχουσιν εὐναί ; σκότῳ φάος ἀντίμοιρον, 'χάριτες' δ' ὁμοῖος κέκληνται γόος εὐκλείης προσδοχόμοις Ἀτρεΐδαις. 'By what word or act can I waft you hither ? Light is the counterpart of darkness, and accordingly (in the underworld where all things are reversed), belauding lamentation is 'called a gratification to the dead', who are in this case 'the former Atreidae of the house'. Cf. *Soph. El.* 1066. I don't see why *προσδοχόμοις* should not admit this sense as well as 'before the house'.—In *Theb.* 195, by the way, I would suggest *πρόδρομος* for *πρόδρομος*, a common error.—Or, with the same punctuation, a slightly different application is suggested by Pind. *O.* viii. 77 *σφγγ.*, 'Both Light and Darkness have their corresponding chains'.—In *Cho.* 329 *μαγεύει* for *ματεύει* is a tempting change, 'acts like an ἐπὶ δὴ on the dead'.

he vanishes to nothing,—disappears in Hell.²⁹ The working of a curse—of which the Erinyes are the embodiment—upon the conscience of the victim is more fully pictured in the *Eumenides* : they suck his blood, until they have worn him away to a shadow (264–7, 302, 360, 371, 938), and then drag him down to Hell (267) from which there is no escape (175, 341).

The Chorus for dramatic purposes are made to doubt the evidence of Agamemnon's beacons ; in a conversation among themselves, 481 sqq., they pooh-pooh it :

What man so childish or so warped of wit

Would let the tinder of his brain be lit

By fiery messagings in flame,

To sink when contradiction came ?

'Tis woman's lightness, the consenting
 'yes'

To pleasure ere the plain apparentness.

Feminine assenting where her wishing
 lies

Makes fiery way ; like fire in hay,

So quickly perisheth fame a woman cries !

Their phrases are mockingly borrowed from the fire, *πυρῳθέντα καρδίαν* in 487, and 491 *πιθανὸς ἄγαν ὁ θῆλυς ἔρος*³⁰ *ἐπινέμεται*—for there were two things *ἐπινέμεσθαι* was so commonly applied to that the original metaphor from grazing cattle was forgotten in their case and became appropriated to themselves,—the ravages of fire or of disease ('the disease spreads like wildfire in dry grass' is a phrase I lately read). There is a playful application of the word in *Plut. Mor.* 415 F ὁρῶ τὴν *Στωικὴν ἐκπύρωσιν* ὥσπερ τὰ Ἡρακλείτου καὶ Ὀρφείως ἐπινεμομένην *ἐπὶ οὗτω καὶ τὰ Ἡσιόδου καὶ συνεξάπτουσιν* : and what the Elders mean (with an undercurrent of allusion to her amorous intrigue and protestations) is that a woman is ready to accept good news upon the slightest warrant (*quo rumorem reconciliationis*

²⁹ See Hes. *Op.* 321–6, and observe the Aeschylean treatment of the abstract notion. It may have been developed more in Orphic poems.

³⁰ Blomfield's suggestion for *ὑπος* of the MS., which some still think can be interpreted with Donaldson *New Cratylus* p. 296 'From excessive credulity the boundaries of a woman's mind are easily encroached upon' : they see nothing unlikely in the passive sense of *ἐπινέμεται* (the present tense) or in *ἐπινέμεσθαι ὕπον* as a phrase. *ὑπος* was a limit, boundary, dividing line, or stone to mark it ; to cross this limit was *ὑπερβαίνειν*, which might be heightened to *ὑπερπηδᾶν* or *ὑπερθορεῖν* : but *ἐπινέμεσθαι ὕπον* 'to range over the surface of a limit' no Greek ever said, nor ever will until a line shall be a space. But with some minds the wish to believe in manuscript tradition *πιθανὸς ἄγαν ἐπινέμεται ὥστε δαΐως τοὺς ὅρους τῆς Ἑλληνικῆς φωνῆς ὑπερπηδᾶν*.

*efficeret, acciperetque Agrippina, facili
feminarum credulitate ad gaudium Tac. Ann.
xiv. 4), without waiting for proof visible and
palpable, πρὸ τοῦ φανέντος: such premature
rejoicing is presently apt to be extinct as
the fire among the thorns. The next
moment, however, they descry τὸ φανέν in
the person of the herald, evidently bringing
definite important news, such dust he raises
(or has gathered) travelling. This mes-
senger will not σημαίνει κα πινῶ πινός—
another sneer³¹—ἀλλ' ἢ τὸ χαίρειν μᾶλλον
ἐκβάσει λέγων,—τὸν ἀντίον δὲ τοῖς δ' ἀποστέρω
λόγον· εὖ γὰρ πρὸς εὖ φανεῖσι προσθήκη
πέλοι: '—or else—but nay, no more now
of the sceptical despondent view! Here is
patent evidence; in seeming, joyful: may
there be joy to cap it!'*

We must not, however, look to discover
this method of pursuing images in poets
whose way of writing was entirely different.
In *Class. Rev.* 1888 p. 224 Prof. Bury
sought for more consistency in the imagery
of Soph. *Ant.* 782 Ἔρως ἀνίκαστε μάχαν,
objecting to ὁ δ' ἔχων μέμνηεν 'inasmuch as
Love is not conceived as a disease but as a
warrior.' Now no one is more different
from Aeschylus in his way of work than

³¹ Timon in Lucian i. 100 says Zeus' thunderbolt
is καπνὸς ἀτεχνῶς. Schol. Ar. *Av.* 822 λέγεται ὅτι
μεγαλέμπορος τις ἐβούλετο εἶναι περαιτέρης ἀλάζων,
ψευδοπλούτος. ἐκαλεῖτο δὲ Καπνός, ὅτι πολλὰ
ὑπὸ πνεύματι οὐδὲν ἐπέχει.

Sophocles; he does not carry figures through,
but works by transient allusive touches:
and in this Chorus he is touching upon all
the familiar commonplaces about Ἔρως. One
was that Love was a disease; another was
his empire over gods as well as men, and
over creatures of the sea and sky as well
as of the land: there are critics who resent
any reference to this in φοιτᾷς δ' ὑπερπόντιος
ἐν τ' ἀγρονόμοις αἰλαῖς, but the audience
must inevitably have felt it, and it would
be strange if it had not been intended by
the poet. But the principle I stated in
C.R. 1900 p. 12^b in remarking on Bacchy-
lides has yet to be appreciated, and the critics
of Greek lyric poetry are all at fault because
they start from a wrong point of view.
They look with modern eyes for originality
of idea; what a Greek audience looked for
was the established permanent ideas, with
perfection—which gave scope for originality
—in the treatment. The motto of Greek
lyrics would have been τὰ κοινὰ καινῶς, and
what correspond to them are *variations on a
theme* in modern music. So that what we
have to do is to become familiar with the
themes. The main theme on which Sopho-
cles is playing in this Chorus is θεσμὸν
Ἔρως οὐκ οἶδε βινμάχος, the proverbial
phrase of which Paul. Silent. makes a clever
application in *A.P.* v. 293.

W. HEADLAM.

OVID ART. AM. I 337.

Fleuit Amyntorides per inania lumina
Phoenix.

This verse has both a superfluity and a
defect. It is not the usual practice of Ovid
or of other Latin poets to add the name
when the patronymic suffices: their usual
practice is seen in 11 *Phillyrides*, 17 *Aeac-
idae*, 334 *Atrides*, 509 *Minoida*, 743 *Actorides*,
(I omit 691), to which may be added 187
Tirynthius, 327 *Cressa*, 527 *Gnosis*, 682
Scyrius puella (I omit 556). Examples of
the contrary, like Ib. 480 *Crotopiden Linum*,
are uncommon. This however is little in
itself, and only becomes noteworthy when
taken together with a second point. *inania*
for *caeca* is a use which I find only in the
silver age, and which even in the silver age
perhaps occurs no more than once. Seneca
writes in *Phoen.* 42 sq. '*inanes* manibus
infestis petit | foditque *uultus*' and in *Oed.*
1011 sq. 'quo auertis caput | *uacuus*que

uultus' and Statius in *Theb.* i 53 sqq.
'tunc *uacuus orbes* (see iv 471 *cauos orbes*),
crudum ac miserabile uitae | supplicium,
ostentat caelo manibusque cruentis | pulsat
inane solum' and in x 697 'cui *uultus
inanis*'; here however the substantives de-
note not the eyes but the face or the sockets
of the eyes, and the adjectives signify not
'blind' but 'eyeless'. The one parallel
that I know of is Val. Fl. iv 435 '*oculos
attollit inanes*'. When Ovid himself else-
where employs the word in this connexion
he explains its meaning by adding a genitive,
met. xiv 200 '*inanem luminis orbem*'.
And when he elsewhere speaks of Amynto-
rides and his blindness he neither adds
Phoenix nor omits *luminis*: Ib. 259 sq.

id quod Amyntorides uideas, trepidumque
ministro
praetemptes baculo luminis orbus iter.

So I retrench the superfluous to repair the defective, and write

fluit Amyntorides per inania lumina
lucis,

comparing met. i 720 'quodque in tot lumina lumen habebas | extinctum est'. This conjecture of mine was made public in 1894 by Mr G. M. Edwards in the *Corpus Poetarum*.

It is known, or rather it ought to be known, that marginal glosses are a worse danger to poetry than to prose. Into prose they intrude, and there for the most part their mischief ends. When in Tac. hist. ii 28 is found 'sin uictoriae sanitas sustentaculum columen in Italia uerteretur', Nipperdey has only to strike out *sanitas sustentaculum* and compare gloss. Placid. v 11 10 *columen uel sanitas uel sustentaculum*. In Cic. ad Q. fr. ii 10 1 are these words, 'nam pridie Id. cum Appius senatum infrequentem coegisset, tantum fuit frigus, ut populi conuicio coactus sit nos dimittere', where *populi* is unintelligible and Mr Tyrrell corrects *pipulo*. But *conuicio* is to be expelled at the same time, for these two words are synonyms and the one is the conventional gloss upon the other: see Non. 152 3 *pipulo pro conuicio*, corp. gloss. Lat. v 133 *pipulo conuicio*, 233 *pipulo conuicio*, 473 *pipulo conuicio plorat* (i.e. *ploratu*), 607 *pipuli conuicio plorati*, 630 *pipuli conuicio plorato*. Here the insertion of the gloss has caused a slight further injury to the text.

But into the rigid framework of verse a gloss can seldom intrude without extruding something else. Verg. georg. iv 355 sq.

tristis Aristaeus Penei genitoris ad undam
stat lacrimans.

Penei (Πηνειοῦ) is a molossus and destroys the verse. 'Crediderim dedisse poetam

tristis Aristaeus magni genitoris ad undam,

mox inter lineas glossema additum *Penei*, et postea ab indocto librario textui insertum' Bentley at Luc. iii 191. Or take Catull. 63 75

geminas deorum ad auris noua nuntia referens.

deorum, as Lachmann says at Lucr. i 824, is 'ineptissimum': he substitutes *matris*, over which some reader had written *deorum* to explain that Cybele was meant.¹

¹ It is true that this correction, though accepted by Haupt and Vahlen, is rejected by many editors and even by Lucian Mueller. Most scholars have

'Haec Ehwaldi causa exponenda putauit; qui si haec recte percipiet, fortasse iam per se dicere poterit unde in Ouidii uersum uenerit superuacaneum illud *Phoenix*.' Here I have adapted to the present occasion the words which Lachmann ad loc. addressed to Forbiger. Mr Ehwald, recording my conjecture in Bursian's *Jahresbericht*, Band cix p. 277, exclaims '*lucis st. Phoenix*!' There you see the modern editor of Ovid: unacquainted with textual criticism, and content to remain so; unwilling to learn, unwilling to think. He has not heard that glosses are written in margins and find their way into texts, and he has no desire to hear it. If he chances upon critics who have learnt their trade and practise it, the spectacle does not arouse his curiosity nor induce him to reflect; it only sets him exclaiming in blank astonishment at the existence of human beings so unlike himself. *magni st. Penei! matris st. deorum!*

Again: in her. xx 198 most MSS have '*anxia sunt uitae pectora nostra tuae*,' but the oldest extant has *uita...tua*. Since it is not apparent why the genitive, which makes sense, should have been altered into the ablative, which does not, I conjectured (*C.R.* xi p. 430) *causa...tua*, and quoted examples of *causa* (cā) confused with *uita*. Mr Ehwald, p. 252, utters another exclamation: 'die Konstruktion *anxius c. gen.* sollte doch ein Ovidkritiker nicht antasten'—nobody that I know of has made any attack on *anxius c. gen.*—'und *causa tua st. tua causa!*' This is Mr Ehwald's way of telling the world that he does not know of Hor. serm. i 4 97 sq. '*causaque mea per multa rogatus | fecit*,' Ter. eun. 1070 '*causa mea*,' Plaut. aul. 799 '*causa mea*,' Bacch. 89 '*causa tua*,' 436 '*causa mea*,' 521 '*causa mea*,' 524 '*causa mea*,' Cas. 269 '*causa mea*,' Curc. 150 '*causa mea*,' Men. 1147 '*causa mea*,' merc. 151 '*qui me rupi causa currendo tua*,' most. 1169 '*causa mea*,' 1177 '*causa mea*,' Poen. 370 '*causa mea*.'

In vol. xiv of this *Review*, p. 413, I withdrew the conjecture '*amaro pascitur eruo*' for *amara...herba* in met. i 632, which I had published ten years before in 1890, and said 'this is wrong: Ovid is imitating the verse of Calvus quoted by Seruius at Verg. buc. vi 47 *herbis pasceris amaris*.' This was in November 1900; and my note was duly indexed under the heading '*Ouidius*' in the

their own notion of the galliambic metre (which they pronounce like *The love that I have chosen, I'll therewith be content* or *Die alten bösen Lieder*, die Träume schlimm und arg) and do not enquire what notion the Romans had of it.

Bibliotheca Philologica Classica which forms an annual appendix to the *Jahresbericht*. Mr Ehwald, who in reviewing the Ovidian literature of 1890 mentioned none of the conjectures which I published in that year, now, in what purports to be a '*Jahresbericht über Ovid von Mai 1894 bis Januar 1902*,' writes on p. 279 as follows '632 *amaro pascitur eruo* (so trotz des Licinius Caluus *amaris pascitur herbis*!).' This note of exclamation is perhaps meant to signalise the remarkable hexameter 'a uirgo infelix, *amaris pascitur herbis*,' which is not the work of Licinius Caluus.

At her. xiii 74 I proposed (*C.R.* vol. xi p. 201) to substitute the 'ut rapiat Paridi quam Paris ante sibi' of other MSS for the 'hostibus e mediis nupta petenda uiro est' of PGV. Mr Ehwald comments, p. 250, 'die Fassung von P ist demnach interpoliert;'—appalling contingency,—'ich glaube, dass dem Zusammenhang nach *petenda uiro est* unentbehrlich und der metrische Fehler *Paridi* ein sicherer Beweis für die Interpolation ist.' The same 'metrische Fehler' is therefore 'ein sicherer Beweis für die Interpolation' of her. viii 20 'nupta foret *Paridi* mater ut ante fuit' and remed. 711 'utraque formosae *Paridi* potuero uideri.' I sometimes wish that Ovid's editors, instead of editing Ovid, would read him.

And when I express my opinion of the group to which this metrist and grammarian and critic belongs by saying 'who was Haupt, that an editor of Ovid should listen to him?' he is aggrieved, and protests 'ich bestreite Herrn Housman das Recht, in dieser Weise zu urteilen.'

I will try to remove two more glosses from verses which they seem to have invaded.

Nemes. cyneg. 199–201.

admixco Bacchi latices Tritonide oliuo
admiscere decet, catulosque canesque maritas
unguere profuerit tepidoque ostendere soli.

Pretty Latin is *Tritonis oliuum*. They conjecture *oliua*: but the corruption of *oliua*, with *Tritonide* beside it, to *oliuo* would be a strange event; and what you would mix with vinegar to make an ointment is not the berry of the olive but its oil. Expel the gloss and write *Tritonide pingui* or *dulci* or the like. Ou. her. xix 44 '*Pallade iam pingui tinguere membra putas*,' trist. iv 5 4 '*uigil infusa Pallade flamma*,' Mart. vii 28 3 '*nec Tartesiacas Pallas tua, Fusce, trapetis | cedat*.' *Tritonide* in Stat. silu. ii 7 28 '*Tritonide fertiles Athenas*' means *oliua* rather than *oliuo*. In Nemes.

buc. ii 42 a similar gloss has invaded only part of the MSS: '*nostri pocula Bacchi*' V, uini NG.

Prop. iii 19 17–20.

nam quid Medeae referam quo tempore
matris

iram natorum caede piauit amor
quidue Clytaemestrae propter quam tota
Mycenis

infamis stupro stat Pelopea domus?

The first thing to consider is the construction of 17 sq. Whether Propertius would say 'quid referam quo tempore *piauit*?' instead of *piarit*, it is superfluous to enquire; because the question 'why should I mention the date of Medea's crime?' is absurd. Therefore, unless the words are to be altered, 'quo tempore *piauit*' is a temporal clause; and an accusative noun for *Medeae* (and *Clytaemestrae*) to depend upon and for *referam* to govern must by some means or other be procured. Passerat airily says 'supple nequitiam et scelus'; Burmann 'ex praecedenti disticho *crimen* subintelligendum est', which sounds well enough so long as you fix your attention firmly on the six letters *c, r, i, m, e, n*, and abstain from enquiring what they mean. The preceding distich is this, '*crimen et illa fuit, patria succensa senecta, | arboris in frondes condita Myrrha nouae*'; and *crimen* means 'an object of reproach', 'an infamous woman'. Now attach to it the genitives *Medeae* and *Clytaemestrae* if you can. Lachmann could not, and even said '*ferri non potest*'; the present generation however can do and suffer many things which were out of Lachmann's power.

Construction and sense, though not elegance of diction, might be obtained in this way: 'quid Medeae referam quo *pectore* (Palmer) *matris* | *iram natorum caede piarit* (necio quis) *amor*, | quidue *Clytaemestram* (Guietus)' etc. But this piecemeal patching carries no conviction with it: all can be set straight by a single assumption, and that the simplest possible,—that *Clytaemestrae* is a gloss.

nam quid Medeae referam, quo tempore
matris

iram natorum caede piavit amor,
quidue tuum facinus, propter quam
tota Mycenis

infamis stupro stat Pelopea domus?

Or eius furias or anything similar and suitable. The construction is 'quid Medeae facinus referam, quidue tuum?': for the

postponement of the substantive compare Hor. carm. iii 1 5 sq. 'regum timendorum in propriis greges, | reges in ipsos imperium est Iouis', and i 34 5 sq. 'te pauper ambit sollicita prece | ruris colonus, te dominam aequoris | quicumque Bithyna lacescit | Carpathium pelagus carina', where every Roman child felt in the marrow of his bones that *ruris* depended upon *dominam*, though in modern times only a handful of scholars have recognised it even after Markland pointed it out. Propertius himself appears to have employed a still bolder construction of the same sort at ii 1 5-8:

*sive illam Cois fulgentem incedere coccis,*¹
hac totum e Coa ueste uolumen erit,
seu uidi ad frontem sparsos errare capillos,
gaudet laudatis ire superba comis;

which is exactly like frag. trag. adesp. ap. Stob. flor. 64 31:

*εἰ μὲν πρὸς αὐγὰς ἡλίου, χρυσωπὸν ἦν
νόστιμα θηρός· εἰ δὲ πρὸς νύφῃ βάλ' οἱ,
κυανωπὸν ὥς τις Ἴρις ἀντήγει σέλας,*

and similar also to Ou. trist. ii 147 sq.

spes mihi magna subit, *cum te*, mitissime
princeps,
spes mihi, *res p i c i o cum mea facta*, cadit.

Burmah's attempt to juggle with *crimen* must be imitated by those who will defend the vulgar reading of Ou. ex Pont. ii 3 75 sqq.

me tuus ille pater, Latiae facundia linguae,
quae non inferior nobilitate fuit,
primus, ut auderem committere carmina
famae,
impulit.

Here we have an expression like i 2 69 sq. 'suscipe, Romanae facundia, Maxime, linguae, | difficilis causae mite patrocinium': *Latiae facundia linguae* is in apposition with *pater*, and it therefore does not denote a quality possessed by Messalla, but means Messalla himself, 'orator Latinus facundissimus'. But then the relative clause 'quae non inferior nobilitate fuit' is

¹ *coccis* Lachmann, *cogis* MSS 'sensu aut inepto aut nullo,' retained by a few editors who know the meaning neither of *cogere* nor of the 2nd pers. indic. Imagine Maecenas (or, if you prefer it, the gentle reader, who has just been addressed in the plural with *quacris*) insisting that Cynthia should parade in Coan stuffs. *cogis* would be a greater change than *coccis*, and the verb would remain unsuitable. It is possible however that *cogis* is merely a dittography of *Cois* and has ousted *cerno*.

nonsense: in order to make sense of it, *facundia* must be divested of this meaning and must denote the quality of eloquence; for it was Messalla's eloquence, not Messalla, which equalled Messalla's birth. So the passage should be written thus:

me tuus ille pater, Latiae facundia linguae
quo i non inferior nobilitate fuit,
primus etc.

i.e. qui Latiae linguae facundiam habuit nobilitati suae plane parem, 'who possessed a Roman eloquence as lofty as his birth.' Compare ii 2 74 'nec uigor est Drusi nobilitate minor', 3 1 sq. 'claris nomen uirtutibus aequas | nec sinis ingenium nobilitate premi', trist. iv 4 1-6 'nominibus cum sis generosus auro, | exsuperas morum nobilitate genus.... cuius in ingenio est patriae facundia linguae, | qua prior in Latio non fuit ulla foro'. At this Mr Ehwald exclaims on p. 285 'also soll *facundia* Subjekt zu *non inferior* sein!'. *facundia* is subject to *fuit*. On the same page he writes 'der Archaismus *quo i* sollte doch endlich einmal, ebenso wie *quom*, aus den Konjekturen für den Ovidtext verschwinden'. Mr Ehwald calls *quo i* an archaism; Quintilian inst. i 7 27 says that *quo i* was the usual spelling in his boyhood (about 50 A.D.) and that *cui* came into fashion later: which am I to believe? Madvig's remarks on Fickert, as well as Lachmann's on Forbiger, will serve for Mr Ehwald: adu. crit. ii p. 412 'certissimae emendationi Gruteri ex *quod* facientis *quo i* (Sen. de ben. iii 26 2) imperite obloquitur Fickertus, negans se *quo i* in Senecae codicibus reperisse. ideo, quod, quo tempore nostri codices scripti sunt, desitum erat sic scribi, tantum uestigia supersunt in mendis inde ortis, quae non pauca repererisset, si intellexisset'. The proof that *quo i* once existed in Ovid's text is the fact that our MSS present forms beginning with *qu* in places where the sense requires the dative singular, as at her. iv 26 *quae*, met. viii 640 *quo*, trist. iii 7 41 *quod*, and here at ex Pont. ii 3 76, where the best MS has *que*, others *quae*, others *qui*.

Mr Ehwald is an industrious scholar, and his record of Ovidian studies in the Jahresbericht, in spite of some grave inaccuracies,² is a very useful piece of work. But he does not enhance its value by interposing his own opinions upon matters which lie beyond his

² For example, in this *Review* vol. xi p. 427 I proposed *cum uoluit uento iam dare uela rates* at her. xvi 122: he says on p. 251 that I proposed *cum uento nostrae iam dare uela rates*, and enquires 'wie soll denn dann der Vers konstruiert werden?'

ken. Many of the conjectures which he has to report are the conjectures of thoughtful persons: Mr Ehwald is not thoughtful, and must expect to be puzzled by the proceedings of those who are. I thank him for one

correction: in my text of the Ibis, u. 283 'nec tibi praesidio sit praesens numen', *praesidio* is a mistake for *subsidio*.

A. E. HOUSMAN.

ADJECTIVAL FORMS IN PLAUTUS.

I.—FEMININE FORMS OF -o AND -a STEM ADJECTIVES.

1. Nom. s. in -ā.

alterā, B. 1128, Poen. prol. 85.

liberā, E. 498.

meā, Cas. 696, Curc. 602.

Similarly we get -ā in the plural of neuters of both declensions:

ceterā, As. 199.

factā, Pers. 761 (?).

omniā, Men. 900, Mil. 1314, 1338.

More doubtful are, *auarā*, Truc. 459, and *ebriolā*, Curc. 192.

On the other hand, -ā is found in the penultimate syllable of iambic senarii, and trochaic septenarii very frequently in adjectives and participles (in nouns we get only four such instances):

Verse endings such as

cērtā rēs (25), *sānā ēs* (3) ... 28

Neuters, such as *curātā sint* ... 9

2. Genitive singular.

magnai, Mil. 103, prol.

malai, Merc. 693; Ps. according to Rufinus.

meai, Aul. 121.

nostrai, Mil. 519.

publicai, Mil. 103, prol.

tuai, Aul. 121.

3. Dative singular of pronominal adjectives.

aliae, Mil. 802.

alterae, R. 750.

solae, Mil. 356, 1019.

totae, Frag. Fab. Inc. 3 (Varro).

Probably also, in pronouns, Mil. 348, S. 560, Truc. 790.

II.—MASCULINE AND NEUTER FORMS OF -o STEM ADJECTIVES.

1. Nom. s.

Two *u*'s are avoided, so we get, e.g., *saluū*s (Most. 1128), not *saluus*; similarly in the

acc. s., *saluom* (Men. 1038), not *saluum*.

Instances of -ūs are few, and certainly illusory. Verse endings like

absūptūs ēs ... 32

commōnitūs sum (-tu' sum) ... 16

sānū ēs 3

moribūndū ēst (B. 192) ... 1

Form: *morigerus* (not -ger), occurs five times in nom. s. m.; cf. *socerus*, Men. 957, and the voc. *puere*; possibly, also *pu<e>rus* in Truc. 906.

2. Genitive singular.

(a) Of -io stems should end in -ii, not -i as in nouns with -io stems; but as it happens we find no such genitive in all of Plautus. If we may trust Neue (II.³ p. 44) the first instance is in Lucretius.

(b) Of pronominal adjectives.

ali modi, Frag. Inc. 74 (7), Paulus.

coloris ulli, Truc. 293. MSS. and Priscian.

uni animi, S. 731 (so BCD; *unanimi*, F and libri ueteres Lambini).

al[e]rius, Capt. 306.

nullius coloris, Ps. 1196 (ABCD).

utriusque // *uerba*, Truc. 794.

3. Vocative singular.

aureus, As. 691.

dulciculus, Poen. 390.

festus, Cas. 137.

meus, Cas. 137, Cist. 53, Most. 311, Pers. 765, Poen. 366, 367, S. 764; add As. 664 and Cas. 138, where *meus* occurs along with *mī*.

molliculus, Poen. 367.

pullus, Cas. 138.

mei, Men. 182 (BCD), 361 (B'CD'), 541 (A), Merc. 503 (A), 525 (A). Surely not so written by Plautus himself.

amice uue, Frag. 89, Friulolaria (Priscian).

4. Locative.

di<*e*> *crastini*, Most. 881.

die septimi, Men. 1156.

mane sane septimi, Men. 1157.

die septumei, Pers. 260.

5. Genitive plural.

Like *bonorum*, 41 instances, 25 different words.

Like *aureum*, 30 (31?) instances, 14 different words, viz. —

aur<*e*>*um*, Trin. 1139.

celatum, Trin. 241.

cognatum, Am. 841.

cognoscendum, R. 1145.

diuom, 4.

doctum, Ps. 678.

duom, Men. 542. (*duorum* twice).

inimicum, As. 280.

meum, 8 (9?) (*meorum* 3).

nostrum, adj. not pron., 3 (*-orum* 1).

Philippeum, Trin. 152.

Philippum, B. 272, Trin. 955, 959, 1158.

tuom, 2 (*-orum* 7).

uostrum, Mil. 174.

Add *quoium*, Trin. 534, as if from *quoius*, *-a*, *-um*, not from *quis* directly.

6. Dative-ablative plural.

alieis, dat. m., Most. 154.

Epidamnieis, abl. m., Men. 258.

meeis, abl. n., Merc. 787.

mieis, dat. m., Men. 202 (Ba C).

mieis, abl. f., Truc. 709 (*miles* MSS.).

mis, abl. n., Trin. 822 (BC).

These are all credible forms.

7. Accusative plural masculine.

ambo, before vowels, 10.

before consonants, 1 (Ps. 1079, according to A).

at verse end, 1, (B. 1187).

ambos, before vowels, 3.

before consonants, 6.

at verse end, 1 (Ps. 251).

duo, *o* never elided, 7.

at verse end, 2 (E. 187, Ps. 1000).

duos, in interior of verse, 4 (Am. 1138 [E J F], Cas. 692, twice [bacchiac], Cist. 701).

duos, at verse end, 13.

8. Vocative plural.

mi, Cist. 678, twice; R. 1144. This is more credible than *mei* for *mi* in the voc. s.

9. Possessives with suffix *-pte*.

These are chiefly ablatives singular: Truc. 471, Most. 156, Ps. 803, Trin. 666, Capt. 371, Mil. 605, 391 (acc. s.), Am. 252?, Merc. 970. Similar are *nepte*, Men. 1059, and *meāmet*, Poen. 446.

10. Of the adjective *quoius* we find 21 instances of feminine singular forms, out of a total of 24. The MSS. usually give the spelling *cuiā*, etc.

quoia, nom. s. fem., E. 294 (*quoia*, B), Merc. 200, 529 (A), 719 (*quia*), 720, 721, R. 478, S. 370 (A).

quoia uox, Curc. 111, Merc. 864, Ps. 702 (A). R. 229 (*quia*), 332, Trin. 45 (*quia* A), B. 979.

quoiam, Cist. 632 (*quo iam* BEV), Ps. 1042

quoiam uocem, Curc. 229 (*quo iam*, EJ.)

quoia, abl., B. 948, R. 90 (*quia* D), Truc. prol. 9 (*quia* D.)

de quoio, Poen. 535 (*quoio* B).

quoiae, nom. pl., R. 745.

quoium, gen. pl., Trin. 534 (B).

III.—THIRD DECLENSION.

1. Nominative singular.

(a) *quālv̄ sit*, at verse end, B. 786, 856.

(b) *infimātis*, nom. s.m., S. 493, all MSS. and Priscian.

quoiātis, nom. s.m., Curc. 407, Men. 341, Poen. 109 prol., 993.

Sarsinātis, nom. s. f., Most. 770. Total *ātis* 6.

Two doubtful places in the Truculentus have been thought to show the shorter form in *-ās*:

campas, (= **campatis*?) Truc. 942 (cf. *campas*, Trin. 545, BCD, *-anis* A) and *damnas* (= **damnatis*?) Truc. 893, MSS. *-is*.

(c) Quantity.

auctiōr, Capt. 782, bacchiac.

habitiōr, E. 10, change of speaker.

leniōr, R. 203, cretic.

longiōr, Am. 548.

miniōr?, Merc. 112.

stultiōr, B. 123.

uorsutiōr, E. 371.

We do not find such a verse-ending as *habitiōr ēs*.

⁵*ampliūs*? Cist. 777, change of speaker.

ampliūs, Men. 846, " " "

ampliūs, Trin. 247, cretic. " "

ampliūs, Trin. 249, " "

So in adverbs, Men. 327, R. 1232, Curc. 312, Most. 326 (?); but on the other hand *satiūs est* Poen. 1337, Ps. 449.

2. Nominative plural in *-is*.

There are at least 98 instances of this in nouns and adjectives. The adjectives are

amantis, Truc. 182 (ABCD).

benevolentis, Cas. 435 (B).

Carthaginiensis, Poen. 1377 (B'C'D').
confidentis, Curc. 477 (B).
dotalis, Mil. 1278 (BCD).
familiaris, Mil. 183 (BCD).
gerentis, Truc. 145 (CD).
grandis, B. 992 (D').
immortalis, 5 instances.
liberalis, Cas. prol. 74 (B').
manip(u)laris, Mil. 815 (B), Truc. 491 (BCD).
mortalis, Trin. 212 (BCD).
muliebris, Mil. 1359 (BCD).
omnis, 23 instances.
quoiat, Poen. 994 (A).
rapacis, Men. 1015 (BCD).
scientis, Mil. 893 (BCD).
 44 instances, 17 words.

3. Dative-ablative plural.

omnibus, Merc. 920, Most. 337 (cretic; syllaba anceps?), R. 975 (change of speaker).
 Extremely doubtful.

IV.—NUMERALS.

oenus, Truc. 103 (B); cf. *noenum*, Aul. 67, B. 34.

V.—INTERCHANGE OF DECLENSIONS.

A.

-O and -a stems usual, third Declension Forms rarer in ordinary Latin.

decōrus and cases, 6 times.
fraudentus, 5 „
gnarus, As. 551, R. 210.

mansuetam, As. 504.

perpetuōs and cases, 16 instances.

advb. *perpetuo*, 7, and *perpetuēn* 1 (E. 17).

sācer, 16 and 3 superlatives. At verse end,
 Am. 1013, Aul. 606, Curc. 471, Ps. 109;
 in interior of verse, 15.

duo, duos, see above.
tris, acc. pl. 13 instances.
treis, „ 1 (Men. 219, A).
tres, „ 3 (As. 131, B. 832, R. 315, a)
quatuōr, Most. 630. So all but A and C—

Servius has *centum*; however B and D are very prone to give *quatuor* even where the scansion is clearly $\bar{\cup} \cup \bar{\cup}$ —so in Am. 303, 306, Men. 1052, Merc. 673, Mil. 629 (B has 1111^{er}), Ps. 1303, S. 553 (D).

quincto, Merc. 66, Trin. 524; *quintus* and cases in at least 7 places.

uicensimus, Capt. 980, BE; similarly Plautus regularly uses -iens in adverbs, *decies*, etc., not *decies*. Cf. *centissimam*, Capt. 421 (J), but -esi- Mil. 763.

ducentōs, B. 272 (but $\bar{\cup} \cup \bar{\cup}$ B. 230).

quādringēntis, B. 934, (B; *quadragentis* CDF).

quādringēntos, B. 974, R. 1324.

quādrigēntis, B. 1183 (so C only).

As a large round number we find *centum*, etc., (3), *ducentos* (2), *trecenti* (4), *quingentos* (2), *sescenti*, etc., (7), *octingentos*, *centiens* (5), *miliens*. The duodecimal system does not predominate.

B.

Third declension forms usual; first and second rarer ordinarily.

alearis, not in Plautus.

dapsilis, etc., Most. 982, Ps. 1266.

hilari, abl. Most. 318.

inermis, no instance.

militaris, 6.

haec pauper, Aul. 174; 14 instances clearly of 3rd decl., 10 indeterminate.

in procliui, As. 710, Capt. 336.

procliue, nom. s.n., As. 663.

aleāriāē, dat., Mil. 164.

dapsilas, Aul. 167, Nonius.

dapsilis dictis? Ps. 396.

hilarus, etc., Am. 961, As. 837, 850, E. 413, Mil. 1199, Most. 566, Pers. 760, R. 419, S. 739. Advb. *hilare*, Merc. 99, Poen. 1367.

inermus, B. 966.

militāriis, abl., Ps. 1049.

paupera, nom. s.f., Vid. frag. 1, and also Frag. Fab. Inc. 53.

ex procliuo, Mil. 1018; R. 1132 indeterminate.

ridicularia, As. 330, Trin. 66, Truc. 684 may come from *ridicularis* or from *ridicularius*, both of which occur elsewhere. *Ridiculus* and its compounds occurs 22 times; advb. *ridicule*, Trin. 905.

singularis, not Plautine.

unanimis, " "

singuláriās, Capt. 112.

únanimi sumās, S. 731 (729); so F and libri Lambini, but *uní animi*, genit., BCD.

OTHER PARALLEL FORMATIONS.

manifestus, 5 times, all medio versu; *manifestarius*, 4 times, all at verse end; *manifesto*, advb. 14.

necessus, Cist. 626, Mil. 1118 (CD').

necessum, As. 894, Cas. 344, R. 1331, S. 219 (-us, A).

necessarium, R. 252, cretic.

potis, 35; *pote*, 7; *potine* or *potin*, 29.

primus of course common; *primarius* twice at verse end, twice medio versu.

subtilis, 4, all in interior of verse; *subtílaría*, Mil. 225; adverb *subito*.

7 8

It appears that most of the forms that are especially fitted for verse end, or for bacchiac and cretic verse, occur only in such places. Besides the above there are many parallel formations of less importance, such as *Babylonius*, *Babylonicus*, *Babyloniensis*; *barbarus*, *barbarius*, *barbaricus*; *exanimatus*, *exanimalis*; *paulus*, *pauucillus*, *pauucillulus*, etc.

VI.—NUMBER.

singulum uestigium, Cist. 701.

Plural forms of *unus* occur in Ps. 54, B. 832, Trin. 166, Cist. 735.

Plural forms of *uter*, twice; of *uterque*, three times.

VII.—COMPARISON.

(a) Comparatives formed with the help of *magis* or *mage* are very numerous; in some instances the adverb might be regarded as modifying some other word than the adjective, but most of the cases are clear.

- (i) *aequiperabile*, acc., Curc. 168.
ecfertum, acc. m., Capt. 466.
excruciabilem, Cist. 653.
expectatum, acc. m., Am. 679-680.
idoneos, Poen. 583.
immortalis, acc., Poen. 276.
laetantem, Ps. 324.
maleficum, acc. m., Ps. 939, a.
mulum, acc. m., Ps. 939, a (cf. Ps. 1017).
manifestum, acc. m., Men. 594.
utile, acc., Trin. 748.

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- (ii) *aequom*, nom., Merc. 898?
amicus, Mil. 660.
argutum, nom., Trin. 200.
auxiliarius, Truc. 216.
cita, nom. f., B. 738.
conducibile, nom., Cist. 78.
consiliarius, Truc. 216.
decorum, nom., As. 689.
dulce, nom., Pers. 764.
[dura, nom. f., Am. 166, by emendation.]
exercita, nom. f., Cist. 379.
fidelis, nom., As. 573.
mirum, nom., Am. 596, 829.
miser, Am. 167.
nimbata, nom., Poen. 348.
obnoxios<a>e, nom., Trin. 1038.
occupatus, Most. 1009.
par, nom. n., Am. 990, B. 619, Curc. 110, Pers. 800, Poen. 522, S. 512.
potis, S. 773.
propitii, Aul. 810.
pulcer, Mil. 1086.
religiosa, nom. f., As. 782.
sapiens, As. 704.
simile, nom., Am. 601.
solae, nom., R. 227.
solutum, nom., Ps. 641.
stulta, nom. f., Poen. 1194.
tranquillus, B. 1174.
unicus, Capt. 150, Cas. 264.
uerum, nom., Merc. 971.
 (iii) *continens*, Most. 31.
decòre, nom., Capt. 321, by emendation.
Graecum, nom., Men. 9 prol.
impetrabilis, nom., Most. 1162.
inimicus, Men. 675.
mirum, nom., Am. 595.
op<p>ortunus, Most. 574.
utibile, nom., Mil. 613.
uorsutus, As. 119.
 (iv) *amico*, abl., As. 66.
beneuolo, abl., As. 66.
inimicis, abl., Mil. 314.
iratis, abl., Mil. 314.
libera, abl., Cist. 128.
miris, abl., Mil. 539.

Similar is *plus lub-us* in the doubtful verse Aul. 420. Adverbs compared by *magis*, six instances: Poen. 752, Mil. 539, Most. 157, Cas. 182, Most. 197, Ps. 1017.

G G

Add *magis amator*, Men. 268 (A); *magis asinos*, Ps. 136; *magis curionem*, Aul. 563; *magis eundem*, Mil. 530; *magis meus*, Mil. 615; also the expression *haud uidi magis*,

(4 instances) and *magis* in rejoinders, the adjective not expressed (four times, and once, Merc. 445, with an adverb understood).

(b) Both forms of comparatives.

-ior.

E. 425, Merc. 897.
Frag. Fab. Inc. 7(21).
As. 614, S. 704 (699), Truc. 371.
Ps. 154.
Capt. 346, 716, Mil. 1354.
Merc. 605.
B. 500.
20 instances.
14 instances.
5 instances.
E. 525, R. 359.
5 instances.
7 instances.
Poen. 1236.
R. 752.
E. 371.

magi(s).

amicus As. 66, Mil. 660.
citus B. 738.
dulcis Pers. 764.
durus Am. 166, by emendation.
fidelis As. 573.
impetrabilis Most. 1162.
inimicus Men. 675, Mil. 314.
malus Ps. 939, a, (cf. 1017).
miser Am. 167.
pulcer Mil. 1086.
sapiens As. 704.
similis Am. 601.
stultus Poen. 1194.
tranquillus B. 1174.
uerus Merc. 971.
uorsutus As. 119.

Add *lubentiores*, As. 268, in contrast with Aul. 420. The double formation occurs also in the three adverbs *benigne*, *lubenter*, *saepe*.

(c) Double comparatives.

apertiore magis, S. 485.
magis certius, Capt. 643.
contentiores muge, Poen. 461.
magis dulcius, S. 704 (699).
inimiciorem magis, B. 500.
magis m<ai>orem, Am. 301.
magis maiores, Men. 55 prol., Poen. 82 prol.
mollior magis, Aul. 422.
magis plus, Poen. 212.
magis unctiusculo, Ps. 220.

So with adverbs, Men. 978, Merc. 898 (?).

(d) Diminutives of comparatives.

complussculos, R. 131.
liquidiusculus, Mil. 665.
maiusculam, Poen. 155.
meliusculam, Capt. 959.
meliusculum, Curc. 489.
meliusculas, Capt. 968.
minusculam, Poen. 498.
minusculum, Trin. 888.
nitidiusculum, Ps. 220.
tardiuscula, Cist. 380 (Nonius).
magis unctiusculo, Ps. 221.
Similarly, in adverbs,
nitidiuscule, Ps. 774.
plusculum, Am. 283, Pers. 21.
saepiuscule, Cas. 703.

(e) Superlatives with *maxime*.

adulescentem maxumē, Mil. 788.

maxime aequom, Ps. 269.

maxime alienum, Capt. 99.
amantem maxumē, As. 857.

maxime clarum, Trin. 664.
maxime concinnum, Mil. 1024.
cupiens maxumē, Am. 132 prol.

leibera maxime? R. 217.
merito maxumē, dat. m., Capt. 936.

maxime moro, Men. 571.
par maxumē, Am. 832.
uera maxumē, Ps. 433.

In Men. 572 *molesto multum* is joined by *que* to *maxime moro* (abl.) and to *maxime habent*; there are at least 13 other instances of superlatives made with *multum* and a positive.

(f) Both forms of superlatives.

-issumus.	maxime.
Nine instances.	<i>aequos</i> Ps. 269.
As. 737, E. 430.	<i>meritus</i> Capt. 936.
Curc. 506.	<i>par</i> Am. 832.
Merc. 206.	<i>uerus</i> Ps. 433.

Similarly:

(i)ssumus, etc.	multum.
As. 521, Aul. 745, Ps. 288.	<i>audax</i> , Men. 731.
Over 40 instances.	<i>malus</i> Men. 731.
11 instances.	<i>miser</i> S. 206.
Am. 907, B. 1098, Merc. 211.	<i>stultus</i> Mil. 370, 443.

(g) Miscellaneous comparatives and superlatives.

factius, Trin. 397.
minus multi, Mil. 733; *paucioris*, Aul.
 486; *pauciorum*, Trin. 34.
Poenior, Poen. 991.
cumulatissumē, Aul. 825, vs end.
³ *exclusissumūs*, Men. 698.
⁷ *geminissumūs*, Pers. 830.
⁷ *ipsissumūs*, Trin. 988.
⁷ *meritissimo eius*, As. 737; cf. E. 430, Capt.
 936.
¹ *occlissumūs*, Cas. 694, bacchiac.
⁵ *occlissumūm*, Curc. 16.
⁵ *oculissumūm*, Curc. 15.
⁵ *oculissumē*, Curc. 121, a.
patruissumē, Poen. 1195? 1197, vs end.
⁷ *penitissumō*, Cist. 63.
⁷ *penitissumā*, Pers. 522, 541, vs end.
penitissumae, Frag. Dub. 16 (Nonius).
perditissumus, Aul. 723.
periturissumē? R. 1375, (BCD).
⁷ *saepissumā*, adj. not advb., Pers. 633 (A);
 so *penitis*, adj. As. 40.
 Similarly in adverbs, *impunissumē*, Poen.
 411, *paenissumē*, Aul. 466, 668, Most. 656.

VIII.—SYNCOPATED AND UNSYNCOPATED FORMS.

alt[e]rāst, Pers. 226.
alt[e]rius, Capt. 306.
alt[e]ri, Truc. 48 (so Bücheler).
ar[is]tus, Aul. 297.
ar[is]dos, Pers. 266.
audi in a pun with *audi*, imperative, B.
 276. Word play involving adjectives also
 in Cas. 527, Mil. 1424, Poen. 279, R. 811,
 Trin. 27.
contechnatus or *contech<i>natus*? Ps. 1096.
dextera etc.: 10 times in interior of verse,
 7 times at verse end, twice in cretics. Five
 of these have the shorter form in the MSS.
 against the requirements of the metre; in 3
 the MSS. vary.
dextera etc.: Am. 333 (-ter- MSS.), Merc.
 965, Frag. 108 Parasitus Piger (Varro);
dextrorsum, advb., Curc. 70, R. 176, 368.
dinam, E. 316 (B'); E. 4191; *d[ui]nis*
 Mil. 675.
diues and its cases, 30 instances: 26 show
 the full form (*diuitis* at verse end, 7) and
 four are syncopated, viz. *d[ui]s* As. 330,

dites, nom. pl., Curc. 475, *ditis*, acc. pl.,
 Curc. 472, 485.
diuitior, anapaestic verse, Ps. 1323.
⁷ *d[ui]tiōr*, troch. septen., Aul. 809. Com-
⁸ pare *diuitiae*, noun, 23 instances; *ditiāē*, at
 verse end, 4; and *diuitiāē*, either with or with-
 out syncopation, 13 instances.
obl[ui]scendi, four syllables, Mil. 1359.
perpur<i>gatis, Mil. 774.
praeheusus, √ √, As. 563; *praensus*,
 √ √, As. 569.
quadrup<u>lari, Pers. 62; *quadrup<i>*
 Truc. 762; cf. *quadrup<u>lator*, Pers. 70.
sinisteram, Merc. 879 (-tr- B); *sinistra*,
 Ps. 762. Plautus perfers *laeuōs* (17 times).
sur<ru>pta, R. 1105. Other similar in-
 stances become unnecessary by scanning
nemp, etc.
un[i]cus, Capt. 150 (i), 321, Cas. 264, Poen.
 65 prol.?
āncipēs, R. 1158, interior of verse; MSS.
 metre, Charis., Prisc.
praecipēs, Cas. 931, end of hemistich
 (MSS. *preceps*).
praecipēs, R. 671, verse end, cretic.
praecipēs, Frag. 59, Commorientes (Pris-
 cian), possibly at verse end.
Campanis, Trin. 545; so Nonius, F, Lam-
 binus; *campas* BCD (cf. Truc. 942); *cam-
 panes* A, against metre.

U VOWEL OR CONSONANT?

ārūōs, Truc. 149.
lārūātus, Am. frag. 6, frag. 12, Men. 890,
 Frag. Fab. Inc. 55(75) Servius.
miliūnam, Men. 212, Ps. 852.
perduellis, etc. Am. 250, 642 (i), Cist. 201,
 Mil. 222, Ps. 583, 589. *duēllicā*, E. 450.
rēlicūōs, etc., four syllables; 17 instances
 of this word,—all but one require four-syl-
 lable scansion, and that one (Merc. 666)
 permits it. We get *rēlicūōs* at verse end,
 in Trin. 14 prol., 510, Truc. 15 prol.
cōmptiūalēm, R. 976 (so B¹; *coempt*- B²);
 cf. *coemulonius*, Pers. 100.
quīeto, √ —, E. 338; *quīetus* as 3 syllables,
 some 7 times. Cf. Merc. 448, Pers. 78.

IX.—QUANTITY.

Acherunticus. with long a, B. 198, Merc.
 290, Mil. 627; so in the noun *Acheruns*.
Chūm, Curc. 78, Poen. 699; similarly
⁶
Pēllāō, As. 333, but — √ —, As. 397.
⁷ *defrūtum*, Ps. 741.
dierectus, -e, -a, -um, 13 instances; *dī-*
 G A 2

will fit everywhere except Trin. 457, and -ē will fit everywhere. It is noticeable that in Trin. 457, where we have the most trouble we get *derecte* in all the better MSS. except A.

dinūs?, As. 330.

Dium, As. 23 (*deum* MSS.).

Hiluriōs, Men. 235; *Hilūricā*, Trin. 852.

impōs?, Cas. 629.

metuculosus, Am. 293; -sa, Most. 1101.

Philippi or *Philippe* 21 instances.

prior?, Cas. 839; cf. B. 932, Cas. 571, adverbs.

proprium?, Capt. 862; cf. Merc. 338, Trin. 1130.

rēducem, Capt. 923, R. 409, both in bacchiac verse; *rēducem*, five times.

rūbidō, Cas. 310, *rūbidām*, S. 228.

sospēs?, Cas. 817.

X.—MISCELLANEOUS.

ei for *ī* appears frequently in the more carefully transcribed plays, both in root syllables and in terminations; in such instances as *aliei*, nom., Merc. 318, *alieis*, Most. 154, it undoubtedly represents Plautus' own spelling; in other instances we may be in doubt, or even feel sure that it was not Plautine, e.g., *ameicus*, Poen. 1213.

There is great wavering in the MSS. between *u* and *i* before labials in certain large classes of words, such as *maxuma*, Trin. 413 (B), *decumam*, S. 233, *marituma*, B. 342, *lubens*, S. 373 (A); there can be little doubt that Plautus himself wrote *u*.

ii sometimes appear for *i*, e.g., *maiores*, Trin. 642 (A), *peiurium*, Ps. 975 (A), *petiurius*, Trin. 201 (A); *quōiia*, E. 294 (B).

Gerunds and gerundives, not including the words *eundus*, *oriundus*, *secundus*, show -undus 82 times, -endus 71 times.

formo||sam, Merc. 229 (D).

laboriossi, Merc. 507 (A).

negotiossam, S. 356 (A).

obnociosse, E. 695 (B).

odiosae, Trin. 37 (A).

odios<*s*>*sici*, Capt. 87 prol., to make a better play on the word *molossici* in 86.

otiosse, Trin. 1077 (B), advb.

ratiossus, S. 365 (A).

<*s*>*quamossas*, Men. 919 (B). Cf. *centessimam*, Capt. 421 (J).

aemolōs, Ps. 196 (A).

aequōs and cases appears in a variety of forms: *aequom*, acc. m., Cas. 966; *aequum*, nom. neut., Mil. 730 (A); *aecum*, Merc. 1026 (B; *equum*, CD); *equm*, B. 1017 (B); *ecum*, Trin. 392 (B). Similarly, *eloqutus*, Merc. 155 (*eloquius* B), *eloquutus*, Am. 420 (E), As. 350 (BDE), *quomplures*, S. 198 (*qui amplures* B).

auscul[t]antem = *osculantem*, B. 478 (A); cf. Cas. 133.

beniuol, Capt. 350, Cist. 23; so *malific*, Mil. 194, Ps. 195, a; *maluol*, S. 208, 385—cf. Merc. 28.

caeleps, S. 543 (ABC).

comfragosas, Men. 594 (A); so *comuiuas*, Men. 224; so in inscriptions.

corcolārii, to avoid *crōcolārii* of the MSS., Aul. 521; cf. Aul. 508 and *tarpezita*, etc.

duplic?, B. 641.

gnatus, *gnata*, frequent both as plpls. and as nouns.

incolomis, Truc. 168 (BC).

metucolosa, Most. 1101 (C; Priscian H).

nuperum, Capt. 718.

pauxillus and cases, 8 instances; 5 show *x* only, while in B. 833, Most. 865, and S. 175 the MSS. waver between *x* and *s*. Similarly in the adverbs, *pauxillatim*, E. 248 (x), R. 929 (x), and *pauxillisper*, Truc. 913 (-s BCD; -x, L, Nonius).

pauxillulus and cases, 6 instances at verse end, 2 in interior of verse; in 5 of these *x* alone is attested, but in R. 729, S. 163, Truc. 940, the MSS. give *x* or *s*.

praegnās, nom. s., so *accented*, Truc. 199, 389; oblique cases, -atem, etc., 6 instances. The MSS. vary, but their testimony is strong for -atem, not *antem*; in Aul. 163 only we fail to find MS. authority for -atem. *praesente nobis*, Nonius 76, 14; cf. Am. 400.

purporissatas, Truc. 290 (BCD against A; no other trace of -o- in words on same stem).

puplicus, etc., Pers. 65, 68, R. 572, S. 614, Trin. 286; corrupted into *pullicus*, six instances.

tam magno, Cast. 430.

uociuōs, etc., Cas. 29 prol., 596, Ps. 469, Trin. 11 prol.; *uo-* is implied in the joke in Cas. 527; *uaciuom*, B. 154 (B).

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THEORIES CONCERNING EPICURÆAN THEOLOGY AND METAPHYSICS.

In a long chapter, entitled 'The Epicurean Gods and the doctrine of Isonomia,' Giussani discusses the doctrine of 'Isonomia,' that is to say of the 'Balance of Forces in the universe' as bearing upon Epicurus's theology. A singular theory has been propounded on this subject by Scott which Giussani adopts and develops farther. Both scholars find a very essential connection between the two doctrines.

After the passage on the Epicurean God-head quoted in the former paper Cicero adds a further argument, which he states very briefly, for the Divine existence.

Summa vero vis infinitatis et magna ac diligenti contemplatione dignissima est, in qua intellegi necesse est eam esse naturam ut omnia omnibus paribus paria respondeant. Hanc *ισονομίαν* appellat Epicurus, id est aequabilem tributionem. Ex hac igitur illud efficitur, si mortalium tanta multitudo sit, esse immortalium non minorem,¹ et si quae interimant innumerabilia sint, etiam ea quae conservent infinita esse debere (*De Nat. D.* i. 50).

'Surely the mighty power of the infinite universe is most worthy of our great and earnest contemplation; we must understand that the constitution of the infinite whole is such that all its parts are exactly balanced one against the other.² This is called by Epicurus Isonomia, that is to say 'an equal distribution' of things. From this principle it results³ that if there is so great a number of mortals, there must be no smaller number of immortals, and if the forces which destroy are innumerable, those which preserve things in being must also be innumerable.'

This passage is criticised by the Academic disputant, Cotta, at § 109: Cotta refuses to grant to Velleius that, if the constant stream of Divine images is due to the infinity of matter, he is justified in inferring from the same cause the eternity of the Gods.

¹ According to Zeller the words from *et si quae interimant* to the end 'belong to Cicero only' *Stoics, Epicureans, and Sceptics*, p. 442, note (Eng. Tr.) Brieger has, I believe, somewhere expressed an opinion that the doctrine stated in this passage (§ 50), does not come from Epicurus himself but was added to his system by some later Epicurean.

² We follow Mayor's rendering.

³ Whose inference is this? Epicurus's or Cicero's?

Quomodo enim probas continenter imagines ferri? aut, si continenter, quomodo aeternae? 'Innumerabilitas,' inquit, 'suppeditat atomorum.' Num eadem ergo ista faciet ut sint omnia sempiterna? Confugis ad aequilibratam (sic enim *ισονομίαν*, si placet, appellemus) et dicis, quoniam sit natura mortalís, immortalē etiam esse oportere. Isto modo, quoniam homines mortales sunt, sint aliqui immortales, et quoniam nascuntur in terra, nascuntur in aqua. 'Et quia sunt quae interimant, sunt quae conservent?' Sint sane, sed ea conservent quae sunt: deos istos esse non sentio.

We find the doctrine stated by Cicero expressed in more limited application but in much more explicit terms in Lucretius,⁴ though not under the name of Isonomia. No other writer refers to the subject.

The doctrine has a broad and simple meaning which has been thus stated by Munro: 'In the universe of things death and destruction are evenly balanced by life and production.' This statement covers all the definite references to this tenet in Lucretius.

Cicero, however, gives us a wider application of the doctrine not merely as a Balance of opposing Forces but as a pairing of opposite things, one of which implies the other. Thus mortality implies immortality: if so many mortals exist, there must be an equal number of immortals; if life is produced on land, living things must be produced on water too (§ 109) and so on.

Scott explains the doctrine thus:

'The words *omnia omnibus paribus paria* respondent means that "*in infinity all things have their match.*" By this Velleius seems to mean a law of *averages* or *chances*; the law, namely, that of two alternatives equally possible, each will occur with equal frequency if an infinite number of cases be taken.' The balance of opposing forces may be preserved, he explains, in two different ways. 'The processes of growth and of decay, of combination and of dissolution, may either prevail *alternately* in each individual object so that the result on the whole will be a perpetual decay of existing things, accompanied by a perpetual growth of fresh things in their place; or the two processes may go on *simultaneously* in a given object so as to

⁴ ii. 569-580.

produce an *equilibrium*, the result of which will be *eternal duration*' If we consider the whole universe, the *alternate* and the *simultaneous* action of the two processes must go on to an *equal extent*. In our world (and, by analogy, in all the worlds) the *first* alternative universally prevails; that is the motions of growth and decay operate *alternately*, both on the world as a whole and on each individual within it. Hence, *outside* the worlds or in the *intermundia*, room must be found for the *other* alternative; that is the '*motus auctifici*' and the '*motus exitiales*' must there work *simultaneously* and instead of producing successions of different beings, must result in the immortality of such beings as exist.' Referring to Cotta's criticism in § 109, he adds, 'Here we see that the exact point proved by the principle of *isovopia* is the perpetual continuance in the case of the gods and in their case alone of the '*auctifici motus*' and that it is on this perpetual continuance that their immortality depends.'

'The Epicurean asked by Cotta how it is that the stream of matter in the form of images which goes to form the gods, never fails, replies at first, "Because there is an infinite supply of matter to draw upon"; but to the objection that this argument would tell equally for the immortality of all things, he answers in effect that the principle of *isovopia* determines the supply of the infinite matter in such a way as to produce death and birth in some beings and immortality in others.'¹

[The italics are Mr. Scott's. From this exposition of § 109, the student should turn to Mayor's excellent commentary in order to see how very vague is the passage so positively expounded by Scott and how variously scholars have interpreted it].

Giussani sets forth Scott's conclusion still more emphatically—'*Isonomia* was devised to prove precisely the perpetuity of the '*auctifici motus*' in the case of the gods and in their case only.'²

We have seen that, according to Scott who is followed by Giussani, the '*Form*' of the Gods abides, while their matter is absolutely fleeting, never the same. Is not the Platonic term applied in a rather superficial way to such '*Beings*' (?) as these '*river-like*' or, as Giussani calls them '*water-fall-like*' Gods? Plato would have used the term '*Form*' of the river, but never of the water rushing through a single point on the course of that river. Giussani even thinks

it not impossible that '*the Platonic Realism*' may have influenced Epicurus in this part of his theology!³ To students of philosophy a surprising opinion indeed! Two thinkers more hostile, less allied even on any single point than Plato and Epicurus could not be found.

So far Giussani has followed closely in the steps of Scott, but he goes on to develop his theory further. That theory, he says, is '*substantially true*,' but '*it is not the whole truth*.'

Giussani assumes that the immortality of the Gods is exposed to special danger from the over-assimilation of nourishment because they live in the *intermundia* '*amidst an enormous superabundance of food*' from the atomic ocean surrounding them. According to or as an inference from *Lucr.* II. 1115–1140, if the Gods assimilate '*more matter than is sufficient for simple preservation*,' such excessive growth must be followed by a period when the organism cannot assimilate enough to repair what is being lost.—[This difficulty, by the way, is assumed by Giussani himself: but he solves the whole problem of the Divine immortality in a subtle enough way.]. What is the cause, he asks, of the death of men and animals? It is because the matter of which they are formed is temporarily '*persistent*.' The matter forming my body, which is, for a time at least, '*my matter*,' may be so suddenly injured or dispersed by an accident, or it may waste so much faster than slow assimilation of food can restore it that death must follow. (Even in the *intermundia* the Gods are exposed to accident from the ruins of surrounding worlds breaking up). The persistence of matter which preserves the stone in being becomes, in an organism, the cause of danger and death. To make it possible for everlasting Beings, composed of atoms, to exist, it is not enough, Giussani maintains, that the two processes of waste and assimilation should go on simultaneously and the gain be equal to the loss. For the immortality of such Beings '*an absolute non-persistence of matter*' is necessary. Such a condition his '*cascade-like*' Gods supply.⁴ [They can no more be injured by accident than the vortex-atoms, which would twist round the knife, can be cut].

It is enough to answer Giussani that the notion of Personality implies an organism and that '*organism*' implies the assimilation of food, and that, before assimilation can take place, the matter of the organism must

¹ *J. of Philol.* for 1883, pp. 222–4.

² Vol. i. p. 263.

³ *ib.* p. 257 (note).

⁴ *Studi L.* pp. 255–6.

be more or less permanent. But it is difficult to take his theory seriously. The exchange of waste or gain in the bodies of the Gods must he says, be not only constant and equal but also 'instantaneous,' that is to say in the Divine Beings digestion and assimilation must be 'instantaneous' processes!

Both scholars build their astonishing theories on the foundation of Cicero's line or two at § 49, repeated, with slight variation, at § 109, of the *De Natura Deorum*. Further, a corrupt passage of Diogenes and a number of clauses and shreds of sentences from Philodemus are twisted in highly uncritical fashion to support their view. Cicero's words *Ex hac illud efficitur* do not mean 'Hence Epicurus infers,' but merely 'It follows as a consequence of this.' Did Cicero find the inference drawn in his Epicurean author or did he draw it for himself? The former looks probable; but we cannot be sure. Cicero has given us an admirable account of Epicurean ethics, but his whole exposition of the details of Epicurus's theology is too vague and hasty, not to say contemptuous, the data he gives are far too slight and too unsteady to justify the dogmatic tone which the Italian scholar adopts. Until we know much more about it, any interpretation of the doctrine of Isonomia, except in its broad meaning of a 'Balance of Forces,' can only claim the value of an inference of the most tentative kind.

The consequences implied in the infinity of matter according to Epicureanism are well understood and have been fully set forth by various writers. To sustain the *plagae*, the constant succession of atomic collisions and resulting constant upstreaming of fresh atoms to feed the world and maintain the balance between preserving and destroying forces, matter must be infinite.¹ As of the world, so also the continued existence of the Gods depends on the infinity of matter. There is nothing new in this. But why should Giussani re-label all these doctrines with the title 'Isonomia'?

It is only natural that the question should be put. If the bodies of the Gods are atomic, how then are they to escape destruction?

If all be atoms, how then should the Gods,
Being atomic, not be dissoluble,
Not follow the great law?

Schoemann with characteristic acuteness offers an answer which is far more in accordance with Epicurean science than the

theories which we have been discussing. In the treatise of Philodemus 'On Piety' occur the words 'We must consider the Gods to be neither atoms nor yet compounds of atoms.'² Munro suggests that these words mean that the Gods are not compound bodies but quasi-compound bodies: 'their atoms stand in eternal juxta-position and have come together so that they cannot be separated.'³ The whole question turns on this—How are the atoms of the Divine bodies held together? Schoemann says 'It is not improbable that, while Epicurus asserted that all other things are formed of atoms of various different shapes, he held that the bodies of the Gods were formed of like atoms only, the union of which would be more firm and less liable to dissolution.'⁴ Any one at all acquainted with Epicurean physics will see at a glance how much is implied in this suggestion. The atoms of the Divine bodies are solely of the finest and most ethereal kind. A compound of purely homogeneous atoms would hold together as if by mutual attraction in an almost organic way and cohere far more closely than ordinary matter formed of unlike atoms grossly tangled. Such bodies would be different enough from ordinary matter to be called 'no compounds.'

Epicureanism has indeed its pitfalls for the historian of philosophy as Guyau's remarkable interpretation of the doctrine of Atomic Declination shows. Guyau's theory of 'Spontaneity in Things,' which he expounds as the meaning of that doctrine and as the actual teaching of Epicurus has a certain philosophical value. It will from time to time be returned to and discussed afresh. The theory of the Epicurean Gods which we have been examining carries no such interest. Epicurus's theology is, indeed, the centre of his teaching: his science exists but for the sake of it and yet this theology so little meets the demands which the human heart and conscience make of 'the Divine,' it so little satisfies the requirements of philosophy that it has been matter for merriment or contempt to his critics from Cicero and Seneca to the Fathers and from the Fathers to the present day. Giussani's theory is not only without evidence, but it conflicts with Epicurus's most cherished doctrines. Epicurus would have shuddered to see the foundation-stone

² Μῆτε γὰρ ἀτόμους νομίζειν τοὺς θεοὺς μῆτε συγκρίσεις...ἀπασαν γὰρ τὴν σύγκρισιν φθαρτὴν. Tab. 121-2.

³ On v. 152.

⁴ *De Epicuri Theologia* (Opuscula IV. p. 350).

¹ See *The Atomic Theory of Lucretius*, (Bell and Sons, 1884), pp. 29-31.

of his theology thus moved from its place.¹ The theory of the Italian scholar neither grows organically out of Epicurean doctrine nor does it bring Epicurus's theology any more than before into touch with the actual facts of the world or of human nature. These Deities-in-flux are merely the figment of a scholar's brain. It is only as a fanciful distortion of Epicurus's actual teaching that this theory falls to be mentioned in the history of that strange and indeed sad 'Comedy' of the Epicurean Gods.

Giussani's commentary and prolegomena contain much valuable matter that is fresh and suggestive.² His wide range of knowledge and illustration lends the book an interest which ordinary editions have not. It is however disappointing that, in his introductory volume of dissertations, though it contains much that either throws new light or is at least highly ingenious, he is often misled by a desire for novel opinions which leads him to build theories upon very slight foundation. For an instance of this, I may refer to the chapter 'Atomia.' Formerly I called attention³ to Lucretius's well-marked use of the word *concilium*, pointing out that it implies 'something more than a mere mechanical combination' of the atoms, and that it 'foreshadows, though faintly' the doctrines of 'chemical combination and the molecular composition of matter.' Giussani, however, far outstrips this very cautious suggestion. Without referring to any previous writer, he goes so far as to say that Epicurus and Lucretius both held the existence of 'molecules' of different kinds, that is to say of small bodies which have the same nature as the substances which they form, iron, stone, wine, oil, or so on. 'Lucretius's *cacumina*,' he says, 'when regarded as extension, are the smallest points within the field of the visible: when regarded as substance they are the molecules of a body or the *partes minimae* which have the character of that body or substance: any further division resolves them into atoms' (p. 58). Epicurus's *ὄγκοι* (when the term is used of any *res*) are its 'molecules' (p. 58). At ii, 454 Lucretius uses *glomeramina* to denote 'the molecules of liquids' (p. 81). Giussani would even translate *exordia rerum cunctarum* at iv. 112, and *primordia* at 118 by 'molecules' (p. 83). At ii. 686, he would like to translate:

Dissimiles igitur formae glomeramen in
unum
Conveniunt

'unite to form a molecule of that substance' (! see the context) but thinks it might be rash (p. 82). His assumption is entirely unjustified. Neither Epicurus nor Lucretius ever speaks of 'molecules.' The notion of molecules as groups of atoms, small bodies intermediate between atoms and various compound substances is utterly foreign to both. Both of them conceive the various bodies to be formed *directly out of atoms*. To support his view Giussani relies on a corrupt passage of Epicurus (ad Herod. § 69) which may refer to bodies as composed of larger or smaller pieces of matter, but where the argument excludes any reference to the notion of 'molecules.' Giussani assumes fantastically enough that Epicurus holds the *cacumina* or smallest visible parts of compound bodies to be molecules (pp. 58-9), forgetting that the power of the human eye varies, a fact which Epicurus was not likely to overlook.

I shall refer to one other chapter in which Giussani discusses at great length a very interesting but excessively difficult doctrine of Epicureanism. It is the section (pp. 124-169) entitled 'Clinamen and Voluntas.' Giussani's view coincides with that set forth by Guyau in his remarkable chapter on Atomic Declination.⁴ Guyau holds that the power of the atoms to decline from their path does not disappear after they have combined in matter but still remains and gives to bodies, to masses of matter, the power of spontaneous movement 'in a quite imperceptible degree.' This blind latent force of spontaneity-in-things, working imperceptibly around us, issues in those events which we ascribe to 'Chance' or 'Accident,' 'Chance,' says M. Guyau, 'is only the form under which this spontaneity reveals itself to us.'

Guyau's view is based upon various texts and, in particular, upon a passage of Lucretius (ii. 243-250).

quare etiam atque etiam paulum inclinare
necesses
corpora; nec plus quam minimum—*ne fingere
motus
obliquos videamur et id res vera refutet.*

⁴ *La Morale d'Epicure* (pp. 71-102). This remarkable work was produced by a youth of twenty. It was the first half of a treatise crowned by the French Academy in 1874. It appeared in 1878. It is not surprising that the career of 'the French Spinoza,' as his admirers call him, ended at thirty-four.

¹ See *Classical Review*, June, p. 280.

² The chief qualities of the commentary are described in an admirable notice by Mr. J. D. Duff (*Class. Review*, April 1899).

³ *Atomic Theory of Lucretius*, 1884, pp. 43-6.

namque hoc in promptu manifestumque esse
videmus,
pondera, quantum in sest, non posse obliqua
meare,
ex supero cum praecipitant, quod cernere
possis;
*sed nil omnino recta regione viai
declinare quis est qui possit cernere sese.*¹

This passage, he says, proves that Lucretius believed in 'the declination of heavy bodies,' as well as in 'the declination of minds,' and, of course, in the original swerving of the solitary atoms.

At first and even second reading this passage might seem, especially to those unfamiliar with Epicurean logic, to bear the meaning which M. Guyau gives it. We seem at first compelled to admit its accuracy, especially if with Guyau (p. 91) and Giussani (p. 102) we detach from it the first three lines. Taken in its context it amounts to this 'We never see falling bodies swerve, it is true,' says Lucretius, 'but that does not prove it to be against nature and impossible for such a thing to happen. The human eye is incapable of deciding that falling bodies move in an *absolutely straight* line. A stone falling to the ground may slant to an exceedingly small extent for all that we can tell. Therefore, so far as the evidence of sense is concerned, it is not impossible that the atom should swerve (nec plus quam minimum) to a very slight degree.' It is the apparent sense of sense (*res vera*) which Lucretius is combating in the last two lines.

When Lucretius says that it is not impossible that falling bodies may swerve, one may indeed ask, 'Why do such masses swerve?' As to this Lucretius says nothing. He has before asserted that we believe the atoms to fall vertically because we *see* bodies fall vertically. He is now anxious to assert that the all-important evidence of sense does not contradict an imperceptible swerving of the atoms. We can infer nothing more from these two lines. We have no right to assume that Epicurus and Lucretius held that the swerving of single atoms has the power to give masses of matter a potency of corporate movement. This is merely an ingenious but very uncritical inference.

Giussani refers to this passage as proving that Epicurus 'admits a certain spontaneity in created nature manifested in things which do not possess free-will.' . . . 'The argument of these lines could not have any value if it were not implied in it that, ac-

cording to Epicurus, some bodies such as stones, falling and deflected by no force, may deviate and at times do deviate spontaneously.' . . . 'The possible eventual declination of bodies perceptible by sense proves the possible eventual declination of the atoms.' . . . 'And here (let it be said in passing) is a new argument against the principle, non plus semel atomum declinare: since the declination of a stone can result only from the declination of the atoms or of its own atoms.'

Giussani here assumes far too much. It is a specialty of Epicurean logic that it presses the absence of arguments to the contrary as positive proof of a proposition. Such a negative proof we have here in ll. 249-250. Here Lucretius says merely *οὐκ ἀντιμαρτυρεῖται* (see Diog. L. x. § 33: Sextus Empir. i. 210 ff.). According to both grammar and logic the words might bear the meaning supposed. Yet the brief reference is purely controversial and does not amount to an assertion of the proposition that masses of matter can decline. Lucretius refers merely to the evidence of sense and does not need to go further.

Giussani continues 'We have here a declination in full created nature (in *piena natura creata*) which stands midway between the primeval declination of the isolated atoms and voluntary declination [of living creatures]: hence we have a gradation corresponding to the gradation of facts relatively to their causes referred to from Sextus Empiricus and to the gradation of Epicurus himself in the passage cited in the preceding note.'²

² τὰ μὲν τῶν γινόμενων κατ' ἀνάγκην γίνεσθαι, τὰ δὲ κατὰ τύχην, τὰ δὲ παρ' ἡμᾶς, Sextus Empir. p. 736 (ed. Bekker, 1842). But Sextus does not name or refer to Epicurus either here or in the context. The only ground for assigning these words to Epicurus is that Stobaeus, on the subject of 'Causes,' sums up Epicurus's view in a rough jotting to the same effect as Sextus's sentence: 'Ἐπίκουρος [προδιαρθεῖ τὰς αἰτίας] κατ' ἀνάγκην, κατὰ προαίρεσιν, κατὰ τύχην (Ecl. Phys. i. 206). In his section *περὶ τύχης* the pseudo-Plutarch (De Plac. Phil. i. 29) says 'Ἐπίκουρος ἀόριστον αἰτίαν προσάπτει, χρόνους, τόποις (for which read *τόποις*), 'Epicurus holds Fortune to be an unstable cause operating in respect of persons, times, and places.' The passage of Epicurus is at Diog. L. x. 133, where Giussani adopts the text of Usener who inserts more than a line of Greek to improve the sense. The addition is most ingenious and may be true, yet has only the authority of a conjecture. At § 134 Epicurus goes on to say that Fortune is neither *θεδν* nor yet *αἰτία*: she does not give us either good or evil but only puts to our hand the 'beginnings' or 'opportunities' (*ἀρχαί*) of either.

The question 'Is Fortune a Cause?' was often debated in the schools of Greece.

¹ For *sese* Giussani reads *sensu*, an alteration not required.

In these passages Giussani adopts and expands Guyau's theory of a three-fold declination, mounting gradually upwards, from the blind swerving of single isolated atoms in the void to the 'spontaneity' of unconscious masses of matter and culminating in conscious human volition.

There is much that is plausible in Guyau's view. Epicurus supposed atomic Declination to have a two-fold action, firstly as causing the falling atoms in the void to swerve and come into contact so that the worlds can come into being; secondly, the same latent force coming into action in the soul-atoms, makes free-will possible for human beings. It is only natural that we should ask, What comes of this force in the interval between the isolated atoms flying free in the void and these atoms as combined in the soul? Does it disappear and cease to act in the whole realm of inorganic matter and come into activity again, only after a vast interval, in the atoms which compose the soul? It would be logical to say that it does not; but that it must work on and manifest itself in masses of matter, in bodies of all kinds. At the same time I believe that Epicurus and Lucretius did not carry out their doctrine to this logical conclusion. The texts referring to Declination (and we have very full and reliable ones in Lucretius and Cicero) declare that Epicurus applied the doctrine solely in two purposes, to allow the origin of the worlds and to explain our Free-will; for the latter item later writers sometimes substitute 'in order to destroy Necessity,' sometimes 'to allow room for Chance.' The Epicurean writers speak much of Chance. It was only natural that the adherents of a system which took away all power from the Gods should refer events to 'Fortune.' 'Chance' must have been often enough in the mouth of an Epicurean just as naturally as 'Providence' in that of a Stoic or 'the hand of God' in that of a Puritan. Thus it is only natural that Lucretius should pray that the abstraction, *Fortuna gubernans*, should avert the end of the world.—Whether logically or illogically, Epicurus makes no reference to the action of Declination in bodies without life; probably he believed that the combination of atoms in masses of dead matter must nullify it, the swerving of one atom counteracting that of another: thus I fancy that he conceived the power, if we may so speak, to 're-awake' in the soul-atoms of living creatures. This, however, is to be wise above what is written.

There is one very strong argument which

Guyau and Giussani seem to ignore. Both Epicurus and Lucretius had a very strong grasp of the principle of Law in Nature. Epicurus's whole science of Nature is based on this. He must at once have seen that such a power as Spontaneity, working in masses of dead matter, *must interfere with the course of natural law.*

Guyau's theory of Spontaneity-in-things is, I believe, merely an inference, to some degree a logical inference, from the Epicurean doctrine of atomic Declination. It is nowhere stated as a part of Epicurean belief that Declination by its activity in inorganic matter produces those events which we call 'Chance.'¹ Epicurus would not have left a doctrine so important to be merely *inferred* from another doctrine implying it. This is not his manner.

One cannot help asking, What after all does 'Spontaneity' mean? We are inclined to take the meaning of such a term for granted. Is it Will without consciousness? Guyau says 'Everywhere where the atom is found, in external objects as well as ourselves, there will exist, more or less latent, the power of breaking necessity. . . . *The Free-will which man possesses will exist everywhere in inferior degrees but always ready to awake and act.*' We are reminded of the enchanted world of the Fairy-tales where every object possesses personality and consciousness each after its degree. Not many centuries ago the notion of a certain degree of consciousness spread through all nature was common even among men of science and philosophers. We find it even in Bacon and in so logical and clear-headed a writer as Gassendi. Thus Gassendi explains the action of the magnet by the existence both in the magnet and the iron of something analogous to sensation. The iron is drawn to the magnet 'by a kind of appetite.' There is present in the iron something which, if not soul, is 'at least analogous to soul.' 'In whatever manner we may explain the way in which a living creature is irresistibly attracted towards an object of sense, in the same fashion must we explain the attraction of the iron to the magnet.' Again, to describe the attraction of the stone to the earth he uses the term 'it feels the earth' (*sentit terram*) and adds 'It is very like the case of a boy who is attracted towards an apple; it is necessary that the apple should transmit either the picture of itself to the eye or its odour to his nostrils

¹ For a discussion of the later texts supposed by Guyau to support his theory I must refer again to the *Atomic Theory of Lucretius* pp. 225-8.

before the boy is drawn towards it.¹ But Guyau's words are hardly in keeping with the science of the nineteenth century!

Many years ago I contributed to the *Journal of Philology* (vol. xi.) a criticism of Guyau's very remarkable chapter on Atomic Declination, so far as known to me the only examination of that chapter which has appeared. Guyau with a certain truth calls the doctrine 'the central and truly original point of the Epicurean system, namely the relation of Free-will to Atomic Declination.' Students of philosophy have generally taken Guyau's theory for granted on the strength of his brilliant reputation. Thus Professor Sidgwick (*Mind*, October 1879) says: 'M. Guyau defends vigorously the well-known *clinamen* . . . He shows the mistake of supposing that Epicurus attributed this spontaneity to his atoms only in the origination of the world, afterwards suspending its exercise and he plausibly suggests, on the strength chiefly of a passage of Plutarch² (De Sollertia animal. 7), that the *τύχη* which Epicurus admitted as a third cause, side by side with mechanical necessity and Free-will, was merely the form in which this essential spontaneity reveals itself to us.' So reasonable and logically consistent with part of Epicurean doctrine is M. Guyau's theory, so skilfully does he handle and combine the evidence which apparently makes for his opinion that it is not wonderful that Professor Sidgwick should have assumed its truth. The theory is fascinating in its way. Only—Epicurus never held it.

It seems as if the doctrines of all later philosophers were destined to be rediscovered in Aristotle. Guyau's theory is an outgrowth from Aristotle's doctrine of

Spontaneity (*τὸ αὐτόματον*³) which he conceives as 'a variable element inseparably accompanying "Nature," modifying, frustrating, distorting her full purposes' as seen in deformities, monstrosities, superfluous organs, and in other ways.⁴ 'Aristotle views Matter as the cause of every obstruction of the plastic energy of Form.' The resistance of Matter to Form 'is the cause of all contingency in Nature,' whether as manifested in the unessential qualities of a thing which do not appear in every individual of a class, *e.g.*, blueness in the eyes, or in those human actions which issue in results not contemplated, *e.g.*, a voyager setting sail for one place but carried by a storm to another.⁵ Aristotle defines 'Spontaneity' as occurring, strictly speaking, only in things without life, Fortune (*τύχη*) where reasoning beings are concerned, the results of both being unpredictable. But surely in any human action where one is concerned, both must be so, more or less.—No thinking mind can stop at 'Fortune' as a cause of anything in human experience, *e.g.*, what thought or feeling prompted the traveller to choose a given vessel which is destined to be driven from its course? or to sail on that occasion?

'It chanced. Some chance that chance did guide.'

Naturally Epicurus was repelled from a system like Aristotle's, which conceived the Divine thought to be everywhere immanent in the world, more or less completely dominating matter, expressing itself in animal, plant, or stone. But the Aristotelian theory of Spontaneity conflicted with Epicurus's teaching in one way almost as absolutely as did the doctrine of Forms in another.

JOHN MASSON.

¹ In his commentary on the Tenth Book of *Dionigenes Laertius* (Lyons, 1675). Vol. i. p. 245 and 200.

² See *Atomic Theory of Lucretius*, page 226, where Guyau's partial version of the sentence from Plutarch and the entire passage are quoted side by side.

³ He discusses it specially in his *Physics* II. cc. 4-6.

⁴ Grote's *Aristotle*, Second edition, p. 115.

⁵ See Zeller's *Aristotle*, Eng. Tr. Vol. I. p. 359 ff.

ΝΑΡΔΟΣ ΠΙΣΤΙΚΗ OR 'SPIKENARD.'

EVER since Patristic times the New Testament expression *νάρδος πιστική*, which occurs in Mark 14, 3 and John 12, 3 has been a vexed question to critics and exegetes, and this puzzle has been relegated to our English versions which render it by the equally meaningless 'spikenard.' The in-

terpretations or explanations *genuine* and *drinkable* foisted into *πιστική* cannot be admitted, seeing that *πιστικός*, even assuming that it came from *πίστις* or *πιστός* (both from *πείθω*) would mean 'pertaining to faith' or 'persuading'; the meaning 'faithful' or rather *reliable*, *confidential* being a

Byzantine and modern Greek development. Hence the paraphrases of Euthymios *καταπιστευμένην εἰς καθαρότητα*, and Theophylact *τὴν ἄδολον νάρδον καὶ μετὰ πίστεως κατασκευασθεῖσαν* may be safely dismissed. Again, if it came from the doubtful word *πιστός* (from *πίνω*), once found in Aischylos (Prom. 480 *πιστὰ φάρμακα*, i.e. medicines 'for internal use'), *πιστικός* would denote not 'drinkable,' but fit for *ποτίζειν*, i.e. for irrigation (of fields), to be given as a drink ('for internal use'), or rather 'able to drink,' 'fond of drinking.'

Another view, suggested by Mr. Bennet in the *Classical Review* of July 1890, p. 319, is to take the reading *νάρδον πιστικῆς* as standing for *νάρδον πιστακῆς* (sic), and meaning *Pistacia Terebinthus*. But this conjecture is open to the double objection that there is no such adjective as *πιστακός*, and that, even if it existed, the product so named would be not a *μύρον πολύτιμον* or *βαρύτιμον*, as the evangelists expressly state, but a kind of cheap 'turpentine,' which cannot suit the passages in question, and which, moreover, would have been conveniently expressed by the term *ῥήτινη*.

Not satisfied with any of the above explanations and suggestions, commentators still continue to tax their ingenuity, and now no less a classical scholar than Naber comes forward with a new theory. In the current number of the *Mnemosyne* (vol. xxx, 1, p. 1-15), the great Dutch critic subjects the vexed term *νάρδος πιστικῆ* to a special

long study, written in delightful Latin and abounding in interest. The conclusion at which Naber arrives (p. 141) is that for *πιστικῆς* we should read *σπειστικῆς* 'Apud Plinium xviii. 105 panis *speusticus* est a festinatione, *παρὰ τὸ σπεύδειν* dictus itemque *νάρδος σπειστικῆ* dici potuit *παρὰ τὸ σπένδειν*. The proposed emendation is undoubtedly ingenious, and palaeographically unobjectionable, but unfortunately labours, like that of Mr. Bennet, under the double difficulty that the suggested adjective *σπειστικός* does not exist, as far as we know, and that, even if there was such a term, it would be associated not with perfumery (*μύρα*), but with a *σπονδή*: *libatio*, 'a drink-offering,' or with *σπονδαί* 'a truce,' 'treaty.'

For my part I hold that Augustine was right in suggesting that 'quod ait "pistici" locum aliquem credere debemus, unde hoc erat unguentum pretiosum.' Now such a place could well be *Pisidia* (Πισιδία) mentioned in Acts 13, 14, so that *νάρδος πιστικῆ* would be *νάρδος Πισιδικῆ* mispronounced or misheard. The following passages from contemporary writers lend additional probability to this reading. Strabo 12, 7 (p. 570) *ἐπαίνεται δὲ καὶ ἡ Σεληκικὴ ἶρις καὶ τὸ ἀπ' αὐτῆς ἄλειμμα*. [*Σέληγη* was an important city in Pisidia.] Plin. 12, 55 *styrax laudatur post supra dicta ex Pisidia Sidone Cypro Cilicia Creta minime*. Ex Amano Syriae medicis sed unguentariis magis. id. 21, 19 (*iris*) non improbat et *Pisidica*.

A. N. JANNARIS.

THE HOLKHAM MS. OF CICERO.

As Prof. Peterson persists in calling this valuable MS. the *Cluni* MS. in spite of my protest in a public lecture delivered last February, and deliberately calls it so again and again (I have counted eighteen cases in five pages), I feel bound to renew my former protest, and to state as emphatically as I can that this identification of Lord Leicester's codex with the MS. described in the old Cluni Catalogue, rests on very slender evidence indeed. By its owner's permission the MS. was sent to the Bodleian at the beginning of this year (1902), and I examined and re-examined it there a great many times, under various lights, with and without a magnifier. In no case was I able to make out of the half-erased *titulus* on the first folio, on the strength of which the MS.

is ascribed by Mr. Peterson to the monastery of Cluni, more than the words *de conuentu cl*, and two friends whom I consulted (one of them extremely well versed in MSS.), expressed the same opinion. Indeed the indications of the smudged letters which follow *cl* point in a rather different direction. *Nothing* can *certainly* be made out; but still it seemed to me and my friends tolerably clear that above the line and over the smudged letters the remains of a stroke curling upwards from right to left were perceptible, suggesting a half-erased *d*, corresponding in form to the first *d* of *de conuentu*. This is of course inconsistent with *Cluniacensi*; the *d* might point to the monastery of S. Claude in the Jura; but it is not for me to make guesses where there is hardly the very foundation

for a guess. As for the assertion that the Holkham codex agrees too well with that described in the old Cluni Catalogue to be any but it, I have argued against this in the above-mentioned lecture, and shall not repeat what I said there; but I must deny that the Holkham MS. is 'bien nettement décrit' by the words of that description *Volumen in quo continetur Cicero in Catillina et item pro Quinto Ligario et pro rege Deiotaro et de publicis litteris et de actione idemque in Verrinis*: a point however which is quite separable from the other, and on which opinions will doubtless vary. I may observe that M. Delisle whose judgment on

the smudged *titulus* would be invaluable, does not appear to have seen it: yet the matter cannot be decided until the MS. has been submitted to the eyes of a great many palaeographical experts. But Mr. Peterson has quite decided this point to his own and Mr. Clark's satisfaction; he has reiterated 'the Cluni MS.' or 'Cluni' nearly twenty times in one paper (*Classical Review* 8. 401-406), as if a thing resting on little or no evidence could be proved by reiterated assertion. Against any such hazardous conclusion, I conceive myself bound once more to offer a determined and emphatic protest.

ROBINSON ELLIS.

REVIEWS.

RODIER'S *DE ANIMA OF ARISTOTLE*.

Aristote. Traité de l'Âme. Traduit et annoté par G. RODIER, Maître de conférences à la faculté des lettres de l'Université de Bordeaux. Paris. E. Leroux. 2 vols. 1900. Pp. xvi. 269, 589. Frcs. 25.

THE amount of work that has been bestowed on the *de anima* during the quarter of a century since the second edition of Trendelenburg might be taken to justify a new edition which did no more than put the results of those and earlier labours in an easily accessible form. M. Rodier's notes contain a copious record of the opinions of the scholars who have preceded him: but apart from this the independence and moderation of his own judgments make his book a valuable addition to the literature of the subject.

It is of course easy to suggest improvements. The notes are often on such a scale that it is difficult to see the wood for the trees, and there are many cases where particular interpretations are discussed at a length quite disproportionate to their merits. Wallace for instance is frequently treated with a ceremony which one would hardly have expected from the curt sentence with which he is dismissed in the preface. On the other hand, for all the wealth of detail there is little attempt at a general treatment of the subject. The book is nothing but text translation and notes: and I think that even at the cost of increasing its already formidable bulk an introduction might have been very useful, while there are many

questions which could be more satisfactorily treated in appendices than in notes.

The translation of a book like the *de anima* is often inevitably rather paraphrase than metaphrase, if it is to be of any assistance to the understanding of the text. M. Rodier has attempted to combine the two by the method of inclosing in square brackets the words which do not form part of the literal translation. The effect is not always happy, as for instance in the following translation of B 5 41^a 30-³² ἀμφότεροι μὲν οὖν—τρόπον 'Les deux premiers sont donc, l'un et l'autre, savants en puissance, mais l'un [devra, pour passer à l'acte, avoir été] modifié par l'étude et avoir passé, plusieurs fois, de l'habitude contraire [, à la science], tandis que ce sera d'une façon différente que l'autre passera, de [l'état qui consiste à] posséder la sensibilité ou la grammaire, sans les exercer [actuellement], à [celui qui consiste dans] l'acte [même de sentir ou de mettre en œuvre la science grammaticale].'

Perhaps the most marked characteristic of M. Rodier's work is his conservative treatment of the text and in particular his steady refusal to admit dislocations. I think he sometimes carries this conservatism to an extreme point; but there are many passages where his defence of the vulgate appears to me successful. Instances may be found in A. 3. 406^b 2, 3 (where he retains κατὰ τὸ σῶμα and ἐνδέχεται, while in the main accepting Bonitz's criticism): in A. 4 408^a 24-29 (where he points out very forcibly in opposition to Bonitz that the close re-

semblance between the *ψυχὴ ἁρμονία* theory and Aristotle's own makes it natural and appropriate to indicate before leaving the subject that the *ἁρμονία* theory really does give an answer to some of the most difficult problems involved; and in *Γ* 3. 427^b 14 ff. Instances might be multiplied. But I think it will be more useful if instead of indicating the many passages where I think M. Rodier is right I refer to some of those in which I find myself unable to agree with him.

In *B* 1. 412^a 16–17 M. Rodier does not seem to me to have fully grasped the argument. He appears to have taken the text in *l.* 17 as *οὐκ ἂν εἴη σῶμα ἢ ψυχὴ* for he translates 'l'âme ne doit pas être le corps,' though he prints *τὸ σῶμα ψυχὴ*. But neither reading is satisfactory in view of the following words, *οὐ γὰρ ἐστὶ τῶν καθ' ὑποκειμένων τὸ σῶμα, μᾶλλον δ' ὡς ὑποκείμενον καὶ ὕλη*, which give a reason neither for the proposition that the body is not soul nor for the proposition that the soul is not body; but for the proposition that the body is not form. The argument as I believe it must have stood may be stated as follows:—

In the case of body which being alive is not mere body but a substance composed of form and matter, the body cannot be form; for body is not predicable of a subject but is rather the subject or matter; the soul therefore must be the form of the composite substance.

The paraphrase of Themistius gives the argument substantially as I have given it, ending with the conclusion *ἀναγκαῖον ἄρα τὴν ψυχὴν εἶδος εἶναι καὶ ἐντελέθειαν καὶ οὕτως οὐσίαν ὡς εἶδος*. It then proceeds *ὅτι γὰρ οὐ σῶμα ἢ ψυχὴ οὐδὲ ὑποκείμενον χώραν ἔχει*.... This appears to me to suggest that in his text the conclusion that soul is the form was based on the two propositions (1) that body is not the form, and (2) that the soul is not body. If this was so, our text would seem to have preserved only the second of the two propositions together with the argument used in support of the first. However this may be, I feel clear that some such words as *οὐκ ἂν εἴη τὸ σῶμα εἶδος* should replace the words *οὐκ ἂν εἴη τὸ σῶμα ψυχὴ* in their present position.

In *A* 1. 402^b 5–7 where the question is raised as to the possibility of defining soul as a whole, and in *B* 3. 414^b 19–28 where it is taken up and answered, M. Rodier devotes considerable labour and ingenuity to showing that the objection to a single definition is that the kinds of soul are not

co-ordinate but subordinate, i.e., that the nutritive soul is comprehended in the sensitive, and so on. As he summarises it (*p.* 20) 'l'âme n'est pas un genre, et il n'y en a pas, à proprement parler, de définition, parce que les diverses sortes d'âmes ne sont pas des espèces coordonnées; qu'il y a, entre elles, de l'antérieur et du postérieur.' So again, (*p.* 217) 'Aristote ne songe pas à la question de l'existence des genres; il dit seulement que l'âme n'est pas un genre.' I think this involves a misconception of the two passages in question and perhaps of the position of universals in Aristotle's theory of knowledge. What Aristotle says in *B* 3 is not that 'l'âme n'est pas un genre' at all; but that in the case of kinds of soul as in that of geometrical figures the only general notion which will fit all is one which is not proper to any particular kind of soul or any particular figure, and that it is absurd to look for a general notion in these as in other cases without investigating the infimae species. He does not base the argument on *τὸ ἐφεξῆς* at all, but brings that in subsequently as a mere note of the closeness of the analogy between geometrical figures and the kinds of soul. The point of the words *οὔτε γὰρ ἐκεῖ σχῆμα παρὰ τὸ τρίγωνον κ.τ.λ.* is not peculiar to classes of which the components are in series, as may be seen in *Met.* *Z.* 13. 1038^b 10–1039^a 2; nor I think would Aristotle recognise it as accurate to say that *σχήμα* and *ψυχὴ* are not genera (see for instance *Met.* *B* 3. 999^a 10–12). The case is in fact a particular application of the doctrine that in strictness the object of knowledge is the form which is common to all individuals of a species, not the genus.

In *Γ* 2. 425^b 15–17 *ἐπὶ δ' εἰ καὶ ἑτέρα εἴη ἡ τῆς ὄψεως αἴσθησις, ἢ εἰς ἄπειρον εἰσὼν ἡ αὐτῇ τις ἔσται αὐτῆς* M. Rodier translates 'En outre, alors même que le sens de la vision serait autre [que la vue], ou bien il faudrait aller à l'infini, ou bien ce second sens devra se sentir lui-même.' The obvious translation of the words *ἢ εἰς ἄπειρον—αὐτῆς* seems to me however to be 'either the series [of senses each having its predecessor for object] will continue to infinity or some one of the series will have itself for object.' And the logic of the argument also favours this view: for strictly the necessary alternative to the continuation of the series to infinity is not that the second of the series but that some one of the series should be its own object.

In *Γ* 2. 426^b 15–17 M. Rodier prefaces his own explanation by arguing chiefly on the strength of *de part. an.* *B.* 10. 656^a 27 ff. that the organ of touch and the organ of the

common sense are identical, and also from *de an.* B. 11. 422^b 34–423^b 26 that flesh is not the organ of touch: and then proceeds 'Aristote remarque donc ici que l'organe immédiat du sens commun ne peut pas être la chair. Et il en donne la raison suivante: le sens commun doit saisir la différence des sensibles qu'il discerne; il faut donc qu'il les sente l'un et l'autre, ce qui revient à dire que l'organe du sens commun doit être affecté par l'un et par l'autre. Comme la chair n'est affectée que par contact, il faudrait, pour qu'elle fût l'organe du sens commun, que les sensibles visuels et sonores, par exemple, exerçassent un contact sur elle. ce qui, en fait, n'a pas lieu.' This appears to me eminently unsatisfactory as an interpretation. If Aristotle is here assuming the correctness of the argument of B. 11 according to which flesh is not the organ of touch but a medium whose function in relation to the sense of touch corresponds to that of air and water in relation to sight hearing and smell, I do not see that there is any possible point in considering at all whether it is the organ of the common sense. On the other hand if, as the words ἀνάγκη γὰρ ἡν' ἀπτόμενον αὐτοῦ κρίνειν τὸ κρίνον to my mind suggest, the popular opinion that σάρξ is the organ of touch and that touch requires no medium is here assumed, the argument is consecutive enough: flesh, the organ of the fundamental sense of touch, cannot be the immediate organ of the common sense, for if it were, a judgment could only be passed by touching the object itself: nor indeed can a judgment involving qualities perceptible by different senses be formed by means of any of the organs of sense taken separately. I do not think the analysis of B. 11 is at all fatal to this view. Aristotle is quite capable of dissenting from the popular opinion and then returning to it and using it where his distinction is unimportant for the question under discussion. In fact he has already done so in regard to the argument of B. 11 in Γ. 1. 424^b 27–30,

καὶ ὅσων μὲν αὐτῶν ἀπτόμενοι αἰσθανόμεθα, τῇ ἀφ' ἣ αἰσθητὰ ἐστίν, ἣν τυγχάνομεν ἔχοντες· ὅσα δὲ διὰ τῶν μεταξύ, καὶ μὴ αὐτῶν ἀπτόμενοι, τοῖς ἀπλοῖς, λέγω δ' οἷον ἄερι καὶ ὕδατι.

An instance of conservatism verging on the heroic is to be found in Γ. 6. 430^b 14–20. Prof. Bywater (*Journal of Philology*, vol. xvii. p. 58) has pointed out that the clause κατὰ συμβεβηκὸς δὲ—ἀδιαίρετα (ll. 16, 17) and the following sentences are appropriate if not necessary as a supplement to the words εἰ δ' ὡς ἐξ ἀμφοῖν καὶ ἐν τῷ χρόνῳ τῷ ἐπ' ἀμφοῖν (ll. 13, 14): and his reconstruction of the passage, by simply transferring τὸ δὲ μὴ κατὰ ποσόν—ψυχῆς (ll. 14, 15) to a position after μήκει in l. 20, and reading ὁ νοεῖ for ὁ νοεῖ in l. 16 appears to me quite convincing. M. Rodier keeps the order of the vulgate but in ll. 16, 17 reads κατὰ συμβεβηκὸς δὲ, καὶ οὐχ ἡ ἐκεῖνα, διαίρετὰ ὁ νοεῖ καὶ ἐν ᾧ χρόνῳ, ἄλλη ἀδιαίρετα, the only changes being the placing of the comma before instead of after διαίρετὰ and the substitution of ἄλλη for ἀλλ' ἡ. He understands the sentence as referring to the νόσις τῶν τῷ εἶδει ἀδιαίρετων, and takes ἐκεῖνα as meaning τὰ κατὰ ποσὸν ἀδιαίρετα. His interpretation may be put shortly as follows: 'the ἀδιαίρετα τῷ εἶδει are apprehended in an indivisible time and by an indivisible mental operation: the time and the mental operation can only be regarded as divisible accidentally, and not as in the case of ἀδιαίρετα κατὰ ποσόν (which are δυνατόι διαίρετά): and in all other respects they are indivisible.' Apart from the question whether ἡ ἐκεῖνα and ἄλλη ἀδιαίρετα can bear the meanings assigned to them the result seems to me both clumsy in expression and inept in substance. It does not perhaps necessarily follow that it is not what Aristotle wrote; but I cannot believe that it is.

In conclusion I would repeat that students of Aristotle owe M. Rodier a debt of gratitude for a really valuable book.

H. M'LEOD INNES.

CHOLMELEY'S *THEOCRITUS*.

The Idylls of Theocritus. Edited with Introduction and Notes by R. J. CHOLMELEY, M.A., Assistant Master at the City of London School. London: George Bell & Sons. 1901. Pp. viii, 392. 7s. 6d.

PROBABLY in no country has Theocritus been

more diligently studied or had greater influence upon the native literature than in Britain. Yet though this study dates back more than three hundred years, the helps supplied to students by scholars have on the whole been curiously meagre. A goodly number of editions have appeared but com

mentary in most of them has hardly extended beyond critical notes. The most pretentious of these editions—Warton's edition of 1770—is in several respects the worst. Warton had more advantages than fall to the lot of most editors; he had at his disposal the collected materials for two editions that were never completed. The most industrious and most careful collator of the MSS. of Theocritus that has ever lived, James St. Amand, of Lincoln College, Oxford, had bequeathed in 1754 his great collection of materials, the work of a lifetime, to the Bodleian. The collection contained admirable collations of ten MSS. in the Vatican with some details regarding the readings of several others and less good but still valuable collations of the best MSS. at Florence and at Paris. Warton knew so little how to handle his materials that in an appendix he lumped together the readings, drawing from St. Amand's Vatican Collations under the general heading Vat. without ever taking the trouble to record from which of the numerous Vatican MSS. the reading was taken.

The next important English edition was Gaisford's with critical notes only and founded as ill-fortune would have it rather upon the careless and comparatively worthless collations of D'Orville than upon the much more valuable materials left behind by St. Amand. In 1821 Thomas Briggs, a former Fellow of King's College, Cambridge, published his edition with Latin translation and notes which for long held the field deservedly as the student's book. His text and his notes alike were constructed on a sensible and business-like method. Wordsworth was a far greater scholar and his conjectures with the possible exception of those by the unknown scholar who wrote the best MS. k. are the best that have been made on Theocritus. But to the beginner who knew nothing of Doric and found Theocritus difficult, Wordsworth gave very little help. His illustrations often drawn from the Christian Fathers illustrated nothing to the undergraduate but the profound learning of the bishop. Paley's edition was hurried, as unfortunately much of his work was, but it was useful to the student. Dr. Kynaston's book was intended for still younger students. Though much more elementary it is modelled to some extent upon Fritzsche's German edition, which, as revised by Hiller, is the best edition ever published for young students. Mr. Cholmeley aims at supplying the English reader with a similar work in English. His read-

ing of Theocritean literature is wide, thorough, and up to date. Nothing of any importance seems to have escaped him. In his introduction and commentary he discusses the views propounded by innumerable critics and gives the substance of them in a nutshell. His *conspectus* of readings, however, is disproportionately short, seeing that the book is so thorough in other respects and the account of the dialect at the end is too brief and often expressed in a phraseology which to the beginner will be misleading. Thus to say (p. 379) that 'η always becomes α in terminations' is to turn the history of the language upside down. It is not enough to say of the hyperdoric ποίμάν (p. 381) that 'in stems of words α appears for η in many cases, but by no means universally, ποιμήν not ποίμάν; ἀπεχθής not ἀπεχθάς.' Nowhere apparently is it explained to the beginner that in Attic η two original sounds are confused which Doric keeps distinct. Equally unhistorical is it to say that ᾱ stands 'for ου (=ao) in genitive first declension.' The inclusion (p. 36) of ἀνέρεσι among 'long obsolete Homeric forms' when in Theocritus' own time the engravers were still writing Aeolic inscriptions containing similar forms, shows that Mr. Cholmeley has devoted less attention to the history of the language of his author than it deserves. For a second edition the account of the dialect should be rewritten and a clear statement made at the beginning of the relation in which the sounds of Doric stand to the sounds of Attic. Nor should such an account be founded like the present on Ahrens' work of 1843 but on the more recent treatment by Boisacq, Pezzi, and others.

The introduction which occupies nearly sixty pages is clear and precise. It is divided into four sections: *A.* The Life of Theocritus, *B.* Theocritus' Verse, Style, and Dialect, *C.* Authenticity of the Poems attributed to Theocritus, *D.* The Pastoral. For the Life of Theocritus the ancient authorities are collected and their value discussed. To the poet's relations with the Ptolemies considerable space is devoted. It is argued that Theocritus was in Alexandria as a court poet before 271 B.C.; that to a still earlier period, 275 B.C., belongs the address to Hiero; that Theocritus was a native of Sicily; that the theory of his Coan origin is without foundation and that the Scholium on *Id.* vii, 21 does not prove 'that Theocritus was a Coan or even that he had relations in the island.' On the other hand Mr. Cholmeley argues that the story of

Theocritus' connexion with Philetas (or should we now write Philitas?) is to be trusted and that Theocritus along with Leonidas of Tarentum, Asclepiades, Alexander the Aetolian, Nicias and Aratus of *Idyll* vii. (who, as the quantity of the first *a* in his name shows, is not the poet of the *Phaenomena*) were in Cos probably between 290 B.C. and 285 B.C. (p. 14). The birth of Theocritus is therefore dated about 310 B.C.; his visit to Cos twenty years later; his pastoral poetry, the scene of some idylls being certainly laid in Cos, between 284 and 280 B.C. After this Theocritus returned to Sicily and finding but a cold welcome departed to Alexandria about 274 B.C., whence later, after a coolness had arisen between him and Ptolemy, he retired to Cos about 270 B.C. (p. 35). The evidence on which any life of Theocritus can be founded is so slight that scholars are never likely to agree on its details. But of Mr. Cholmeley's piecing together of the facts it may at least be said that it does less violence to probabilities and is much less a product of fancy than those of Gercke and others whom he confutes. For the whole of his introduction he has made good use of his predecessors especially Legrand's excellent book on Theocritus and Couat (misprinted throughout as Conat) on Alexandrian poetry. His account of the MSS. evidence for the authenticity of the poems is founded on Ahrens' paper in *Philologus* xxxiii and on Hiller's *Beiträge zur Textgeschichte der griechischen Bukoliker*. To no scholar has the criticism of Theocritus owed more than to Ahrens, wild as his transpositions in the text are. Though apparently he never saw with his own eyes a single MS. of the first rank, he was well served by his collators and in particular Dübner deserves to be remembered for the care with which he collated the Paris MS D and distinguished the various hands which have corrected it. One piece of erroneous information regarding it, however, he sent to Ahrens which bids fair to be perpetuated in spite of the contradictory evidence of the old Paris Catalogue, M. Omont's brief catalogue, and of the writing of the MS. itself. Dübner unfortunately asserted that the MS. belongs to the fourteenth century. There are few hands of which it could be said with more certainty that it is not older than the very end of the fifteenth, the Paris Catalogue assigns it to the sixteenth. The value of the MS., notwithstanding its late date, is very great, but obviously its lateness invalidates all theories which are

founded upon its being from one to two hundred years earlier. Another misconception which seems to prevail regarding this MS. is with regard to the portions into which the part of it containing Theocritus is divided by blank spaces. The whole MS. is in one handwriting. The symbols D¹, D², D³ as Mr. Cholmeley gives them, or D^A, D^B, D^C according to Ahrens, only indicate that the portions of the MS. so named are drawn from different texts or collections of the poems. Mr. Cholmeley no doubt knows this, but his remarks on the MS. might possibly convey a different impression to the reader. Moreover, it is not clear that it was the scribe of D who drew his text in different parts of his MS. from different sources; the gaps which he leaves in his MS. are clearly intended to show that he considered there were *lacunae* in his source or sources and that he could guess approximately how great these *lacunae* were. Thus it seems that somewhere about 1500 A.D. a copyist made the MS. D from a source which he recognised as defective and which therefore, as may be argued from the points where the *lacunae* come, had once contained more Theocritean poems than we now possess. It may be added that Vat. 23 is no longer quite so mutilated as it was, having been rebound in one volume instead of being in fragments throughout two volumes as it was when the published collations were made from it.

Mr. Cholmeley's discussion of the poems after *Id.* xviii. which cannot with certainty be attributed to Theocritus is good. *Id.* xxi. he ingeniously but hesitatingly attributes to Leonidas of Tarentum; xix. he, like others, assigns to Bion; xx. xxiii. xxvii he rejects absolutely, the last (1) on the ground of its style, an argument which may be valid, and (2) on the ground of its coarseness, which, considering what Theocritus can write on occasion in poems undoubtedly genuine, is surprising. He seems to me right in taking *Id.* xxv. and *Megara* together as the work of one author, whether Theocritus or another.

Of the commentary it may be said that it is sufficient for all practical purposes. I am sorry Mr. Cholmeley does not accept the reading *πορθμῆι Καλὸνδίνῳ* in *Id.* i. 57 which is practically the reading of κ (*πορθμῆι*) and is also suggested by Vat. 20 *πορθμει*. His argument that verse 24 suggests Sicily is of doubtful value. That Chromis the Libyan could as easily be found in Cos as in Sicily is shown by the mention of a Libyan in an inscription of Cnidus (Collitz-Bechtel, 3510), while verse 65 occurs in the song, which is

certainly a Sicilian song though its setting need not be Sicilian.¹ Six verses later his explanation of ἐκλεάθοντα as a present formed from the perfect stem is doubtful on account of the quantity. That the perfect stem is short in feminine participles is true but not to the point.

In iv. 20–22 Mr. Cholmeley rightly takes τοὶ τῷ Λαμπριάδα separate from τοὶ δαμόται as 'I hope Lampriades' folk, the demesmen,' etc., but his further note 'Who Lampriades was is wholly unknown; perhaps an eponymous hero of the deme,' seems very doubtful. Deme heroes in the south of Italy would not have been much better known to the majority of Theocritus' readers than they are to us; the reference must have been more generally intelligible. May it not have been to a proverbially envious and mischievous character whom the Demesmen resembled? Such an one was Πατακίσκος ὁ Λαμπρίωνος in Herondas iv. 63 who is apparently the same as the Πατακίων of Aeschines in *Ctes.* 189 and appears again in the proverb Πατακίωνος σκυοφαντικώτερος in Mich. Apost. xiv. 13. A patronymic directly formed from Λαμπρίων could not find a place in hexameter verse; hence therefore Λαμπριάδα like Δευκαλίδη (voc.) from Δευκαλίων in *Iliad* xiii. 307. If this explanation is possible the passage means 'May the Sons of Belial the Demesmen get such an one when they sacrifice,' and the reading κακοφράσμων or κακοφράδμων of the Harleian MS. might then be justified in the next line. In *Id.* v. there are many points where the text is uncertain or unsound but the number of various readings given is very small. In v. 125 τὰ δέ τ' οἶσνα καρπὸν ἐνείκει is read without variant or comment although the reading is only a conjecture of Fritzsche's and far from certain. In the note on vii. 99 discussing who Ἄριστος might have been, the conjecture of E. Maass (*Aratea* p. 320) that he was Aristotherus the astronomer might have been mentioned. In ix. 26 Ἰκαρίασι is rightly kept but surely with the wrong explanation. The rocks can hardly be those of the Island of Icaros; there seems no difficulty in the ordinary explanation that they are the cliffs of the Icarian Sea which according to the scholia on *Iliad* ii. 145 was the name of the sea between Crete and Sicily. Bergk's Ὑκαρίασι is rightly rejected. Greeks were not

likely to talk of a place which was always a barbarian town and which moreover had been destroyed 150 years before.² Reading, text and commentary of *Id.* xvi. 63 are curiously confused. The text and the lemma of the note are παρελθεῖν but the explanation is of παρειπεῖν. On the very corrupt verse xxi. 15 Mr. Cholmeley makes the ingenious suggestion to read οὐδεὶς οὐ σισύραν εἶχ' οὐ λίνα κ.τ.λ. which if not quite convincing is at least as good as any other that has been made. A better illustration for the battered ears of the boxer Amycus (p. 341) would be the statue of a boxer found in Rome in 1885.

One merit of this edition deserves the reader's special gratitude,—the number and excellence of the parallels from Greek and English literature. They are not dragged in by force but are really to the point. On the other hand in closing this review it is necessary to mention one serious drawback to the book from the point of view of the serious student. This is the number and grossness of the misprints. No blame attaches to Mr. Cholmeley for the sorry condition in which his book appears. Owing to his absence from the country the proof reading was left to a friend and the tender mercies of the Clarendon Press reader. The friend must be made responsible for the way in which the names of writers on Theocritus are presented to us. As already mentioned Couat appears uniformly as Conat; Kuiper is disguised as Kniper, Futh as Fath and again as Frith. But the press reader might surely have corrected such sentences as 'the road...must have laid to the north of Pyxa' (p. 247) or 'neither of these are given in Liddell and Scott' (p. 315). The ingenious suggestion to emend νύμφα γαμεθεῖσ' ἀκάχοιτο in viii. 91 to νύμφαν γα μεθείς ἄ. will first require to be emended itself, for it has been printed νύμφαν γαμεθείς. After such things as these one hardly expects on turning to the last leaf, to find that the book has been printed at Oxford by the Printer to the University. It is to be hoped that the demand for a second edition will soon afford Mr. Cholmeley an opportunity to set these and various other points to rights. At present they are blemishes on a book which will be very useful.

P. GILES.

¹ Apparently Mr. Cholmeley changed his opinion afterwards, for in the introduction to *Id.* iii. (p. 212) *Id.* i. is said to be a Coan poem.

² If Cluverius is right in saying that the modern name Carini represents an older Muro di Carini (for d'Icarini), the place must have revived enough to perpetuate the name.

MOHL ON THE CHRONOLOGY OF POPULAR LATIN.

Introduction à la Chronologie du Latin Vulgaire, étude de Philologie Historique.
Par F. GEORGE MOHL, Lecteur à l'Université de Prague (Bouillon, Paris, 1899, 10 fr.).

THIS is a most interesting and important book. It appeals, in the first place, to all students of Latin as a language, and in the second, to all who are interested in tracing the historical influence of the Roman dominion upon the civilisation of Europe. And if its conclusions or even its general standpoint be made good—and the author has certainly 'rendered it extremely probable'—it marks an epoch, and it may be fairer to say that it creates one, in the whole study of Romance Philology. Even to one who can claim no special knowledge of this latter department it is clear that Dr. Mohl has completely overthrown the current conceptions of the way in which Latin broke up into the Romance tongues. We have generally assumed that Vulgar Latin—though we did not ask ourselves precisely what was meant by the phrase—being planted down in so many different countries, proceeded to 'convert itself, some time between, say, Marcus Aurelius and Charlemagne, into so many different languages. In the light of the criticism which Dr. Mohl has focussed upon various vague statements of this kind, there emerges for the first time a consistent and intelligible theory, or set of theories, which, whether they are finally accepted or not, can at least be rationally discussed. We are no longer beating the air, wrestling with impalpable generalities; but considering definite theses which can be tested, and either confirmed or modified by the ordinary methods of scientific philology. This is a quite enormous gain, as every one will feel who remembers the distressing vagueness on all chronological points of writers like Diez and Brachet¹; or the wise but not less disappointing silences of Meyer-Lübke's great Grammar. However much correction Dr. Mohl's essay may receive in details, and even if no one of his theses should be maintained in its present form—a result which I hardly think likely—he would still deserve our gratitude for the breadth of view, the learning, and the courage he has shown in grappling with a

Lernaeon tangle of problems. Other enquirers must follow the lines he has laid down, and his exploration will do a great deal to stimulate further research. *De l'audace, toujours de l'audace* is the only motto by which a road-maker can accomplish his task; and considering its magnitude, the reader will look leniently upon errors in particular points, and even upon an occasional lapse from sound methods of reasoning. When all these are pointed out and corrected the book still remains a great achievement.

The high-water mark of previous speculation is represented by Gröber's canons (*Archiv. Lat. Lex.* 1. p. 213), which were the first attempt to connect with Romance philology the different dates at which Latin was introduced by Roman conquest into the different provinces. The Romance languages, excluding Italian, fell into a kind of order of seniority, thus,

1. Sardinian.
2. Spanish.
3. Portuguese.
4. Catalanian.
5. Provençal.
6. French.
7. Romansch (Rhaeto-romanian).
8. Roumanian.

This order is still one of the most important conditions of the problem, but by no means the only one, as Gröber was inclined to assume. His doctrine formed a series of steps, of which the first was that the agreement of all these eight branches in any particular with Italian and Classical Latin proved that that particular form or use was common to Classical Latin and Vulgar Latin; the second, that agreement between all save Italian and Classical Latin proved that the form or use existed in Vulgar Latin at least as early² as 100 A.D., and so forth, until finally we arrived at elements common only to Sardinian and Spanish, and these, it was concluded, must have existed in Vulgar Latin as early² as 200 B.C.

It will be seen at once that this was an application of Schleicher's 'Stammbaumtheorie' in almost its crudest form, and was open to all the criticisms which have caused

¹ Bourciez's admirable *Précis de Phonétique Française* (New Edn. 1900) gives many valuable points, within a very small compass.

² Gröber writes 'as late as' ('belegt die Existenz einer Wortform bis nach 100 n. Chr.'). As Dr. Mohl's French phrase ('jusqu'à') is ambiguous, I have expressed what seems to me the more important aspect of the date.

that theory to disappear from our text-books of Philology: for example, we have absolutely no right to assume, without special evidence, that some word common to Sardinian and Spanish was not introduced into both either from Latin itself or some neighbouring form of it at some date far later than 200 B.C. This consideration alone was enough to bring Gröber's edifice to the ground; but even he left us to enquire what he precisely meant by Vulgar Latin, why he distinguished it so sharply from Classical Latin, and how far he meant to regard it as one and the same language all over the Roman world from 200 B.C. till 400 A.D. On these points there has been much cry and little wool; and even Dr. Mohl, in his opening chapters, does not altogether escape from the depressing atmosphere of unsupported generalities from which his book as a whole may be said to have delivered us. His main theses may be stated as follows:

1. Starting (p. 23) from the principle laid down by Meyer-Lübke that Vulgar Latin was (at one time) an actual single spoken language and that dialectic variations within it (during that time) must not be assumed except where the evidence is conclusive, Dr. Mohl ends (p. 276 ff.) by enumerating several such variations which he regards as proved, e.g. 'en Afrique, *si nos souvenirs sont exacts*,¹ il n'y a pas d'exemples de la réduction' of *au* to *o*.

2. The origin of this language is not to be sought in any of the Provinces, but in the Latin spoken in Italy generally, i.e. the language which resulted from the gradual superimposition of Latin, especially after 89 B.C., upon all the tribes of the peninsula, who till Latin reached them had been speaking different languages,—Etruscan, Celtic, Venetic, Greek, Messapian, as well as the Italic dialects in the strict sense—Oscan, Umbrian, Volscian, and the rest.

This resultant language which we may call Italicised Latin or 'Italo-Latin,' differed in many respects from the language of the cultured class at Rome, but it was by no means unintelligible to them; there was no break in continuity between the two. The fusion is admirably illustrated (p. 50) by the fact that Augustus, born at the Volscian Velitrae, always declined *domus*

¹ The italics are mine. The phrase recurs on p. 246; Dr. Mohl avows rather frankly the weak joints in his armour.

with a good Volscian Genitive, *domos* (Suet. *Ocl.* 87), and by other hardly less striking features.² And I may add that actual examples of *insec.* in this Italicised Latin may be found appended to nearly every section of my 'Italic Dialects.'³

3. It follows that the peculiarities of this pro-ethnic Romance are all ancient and must be studied in their historical connexion with the peculiarities of the Dialects from which they were introduced into Latin.

Thus the palatalisation of the gutturals in Romance is put into fruitful connexion with the partial appearance of the same phenomenon in Umbrian and S. Oscan:—and I should add Marsian (*Marsi*=pure Lat. *Martini*) Paelignian (or N. Oscan),⁴ and also Etruscan to the list. And some striking divergences between the Romance languages are explained as due to changes in the parent Italo-Latin which did not spread to particular areas of Romance. Thus (p. 27) the It.-Lat. forms *illui*, *illuius*, and their derivatives are strange to Spain because *huius*, *hui(e)* on the pattern of which they were formed had gone out of use with all other cases of *hic* in the greater part of Spain at an early date. Seneca and Lucan do not use *hic*, but *iste* in its place.

But this is only half of the story. Perhaps the most important of all Dr. Mohl's conclusions is the following.

4. Upon this popular stratum of spoken, colloquial Italo-Latin, was continually imposed the usage (in vocabulary, morphology, and idiom) of literary Latin. The civil authorities, the military authorities, the schools endowed by government, and last but not least the Church, all enforced upon the provinces the standard literary idiom,

² Mohl hesitates to recognise non-Latin Nominatives in *Samnis*, *Arpinas*, etc. (Brugmann, *Grundr.* i.¹ p. 551). But Brugmann seems to me certainly right, though he has removed the remark from his second edition. The whole formation in *-ti*- is non-Latin, as I hope to show in a forthcoming paper on the Ethnica of Italy.

³ They were so frequent that, with a few similar documents, they seemed to call for a special numeration, see the 'Notes' (i-xliii) *passim*.

⁴ But not the Latin of the *Duenos*-*insec.*, as to which Dr. Mohl seems under some strange delusion (pp. 304-5). The sign *o* (i.e. *c* in retrograde script) appears only in *uirco*, *cosmis*, *pacari*, *feced*; and it is probable in *feced*, possible in *pacari* that we should read *k* instead of *c*; *k* occurs nowhere else. What could be further from the facts than to say that we have here a distinction of '*k* velaire, *c* palatal'?

which never died out, and which remained in living contact with colloquial speech until the break-up of the Empire.¹ Then, but not till then, the old bond was loosed, and the countries of Europe, with their languages, plunged into the isolation of the Middle Ages.

The results of this perpetual fusion between a standard language and popular idiom are of vital importance to Philology. Nowhere else have we such ocular demonstration of an external interference with Phonetic change, and nowhere was the light it throws on such changes more urgently needed. Thus we see how it was that Fr. *chose* came by its *ch*. Had it sprung directly from *cosa*, the colloquial Italo-Latin form of the Republic, it would have retained its *c* as much as *côlter* from *constare* or *col* from *collum*; as it was, the schools inculcated *causa* as the correct pronunciation and so exposed the word to the change which made *carum* into *cher*, *cambiare* into *changer*. But the word *causer* again, from *causari*, shows a new introduction of a literary form at a far later epoch. Mohl declares with literal truth, 'there was no epoch at which a literary form could not pass directly into colloquial language.' The attractive explanation (p. 248) of the curious prohibitive Infinitive (Fr. *ne pas fumer*, Ital. *non dimenticarsi*, etc.) as derived from the (Oblique) Impf. Subjunctive of Classical Latin (cf. Roum. *nu lăudă* 'ne lauda,' beside *nu lăudareți* 'ne laudate') is another more recondite example of the same principle.² In just the same way, at a far earlier epoch, the influence of Greek school-masters gave to cultured Latin the Nom. in *-us* (identical in sound with Gr. *-ος* of the *κῶν*) in place of the mere *-o* to which the orig. *-os* had sunk in spoken Latin by 150 B.C. On this long-debated point I venture to think Dr. Mohl (p. 183 ff.) has said the last word.

Finally 5. Peculiarities due to the ancient dialects of Italy, from which Italo-Latin received its native colour, are fairly frequent in Italian and its modern dialects; (e.g., the complete loss of

final *-t* (p. 254); Italian has no *-t* form like Fr. *parle-t-il*; contrast, e.g. *come sta ella?*); but they occur only sporadically elsewhere; more often in Sardinian and Spanish than in the younger branches (pp. 55, 117, 254 ff.).

6. The result of these principles is to establish four great periods in the history of Latin (Ch. vi.):

(a) The formation of the Italic Dialects. This lasted down to the Hannibalic War in some parts of Italy; down to Sulla in others.

(b) The Constitution of the general Latin of Italy (Italo-Latin, as I suggest it be called). From Hannibal, or Sulla, down to Augustus and later. It is to this period that Mohl refers, with great probability, some of the most striking changes in Romance, such as the palatalisation of the gutturals.³

(c) The Unification of Imperial Vulgar Latin; from the Caesars to the beginning of the fourth century.

(d) The Decomposition of Imperial Vulgar Latin. From the beginning of the fourth century (e.g., 329 A.D.⁵ when Constantine moved to Constantinople) to the fall of the Empire and later.

I have happily but little room left for the thankless task of pointing out defects. In the first half of the book, and sometimes later, Dr. Mohl gives far too few examples of his general statements; for instance one would gladly sacrifice many pages of graceful rhetoric for half-a-dozen insec. to illustrate the essential unity of Imperial Latin (p. 39); and at least one or two of the Romance treatment of German *ki, ke* as distinct from Latin *ci, ce* (p. 291). The points seem to be admitted and the reader could probably hunt examples elsewhere, if he had time; but it is really not his share of the work. Akin to this is the natural but fatal weakness of unverified references. On p. 113 we are astonished to learn 'd'après le témoignage' of Livy (ix. 36), that the Roman youth of the fifth century B.C. was regularly trained in Etruscan. Livy expressly rejects this theory and

¹ I do not think Dr. Mohl quotes the very important remark of Suetonius (c. 88) about Augustus' bad spelling.

² Mohl does not explicitly mention the point which seems to me to place this explanation almost beyond doubt, namely that this Inf. is especially regular in quasi-public documents, street-warnings and the like; where the legal Impf. Subj. in Latin (e.g. in *Senatus Consulta*) was regular.

³ I do not wish to be understood as accepting more than the general principle of this theory. For example (p. 311) the spelling *Iovina* is the merest freak of priestly etymology, as I have shown in *Ital. Dial.* p. 405 footn.

⁴ The title is perfectly sound, in spite of the curious (and suggestive) juxtaposition.

⁵ So Mohl. On the precise date see Bury, in his Edition of Gibbon, II. 157, footn. 65.

gives a convincing reason for so doing. The same author in xxv. 3 makes no reference whatever to the subject in hand on p. 96. The reference to Gellius 11. 7. 5 on p. 62 does not quite justify the 'témoignage formel' ascribed to him that 'Etruscan was still generally spoken in the country.' One might refer to 'Manx or Anglo-Saxon' to-day in precisely the same way as Gellius does to 'Etruscan and Gallic.' The authority from whom the statement as to Ovid is taken on p. 177 must have said something more intelligible than that '*gaudia* pour *gaudium* apparait régulièrement à l'édition,' seeing that no Case of *gaudium* could appear at any other place in either of the metres that Ovid uses, and probably none appears at all. A reference to an article (Idg. Forsch. 2, 157), of the present writer's to which Dr. Mohl alludes on p. 320 would have supplied him with fresh evidence for several of his strongest contentions (e.g., in regard to *Digentia*) and at the same time have saved him from an unhappy confusion between the real Sabine change of *d* to *l*, and the (utterly fictitious) 'change of *l* to *d*,' which Dr. Postgate disposed of long ago. It would be worse than absurd to complain that a scholar who has so thoroughly mastered Von Planta's great Grammar of the Italic Dialects felt it unnecessary to secure access to any other recent edition of their remains: but I may be pardoned for rejoicing that on very many chronological points Dr. Mohl's conclusions tally closely with those of my own edition, and that on others the scrutiny of the epigraphic and alphabetic data which I attempted throughout will furnish him with a good deal of definite chronological evidence whose absence he more than once deplores (e.g. p. 106). There too he will find deliverance from the phantom form '*aurunkud*' (not, as he tacitly emends (p. 102), '*aurunkad*') which was never anything but a false conjecture as to the reading of a coin of Naples (I. D. no. 145). Into other points of this nature I will not enter; but I should

perhaps note that Beloch's *Italischer Bund unter Römischer Hegemonie* supplies many valuable data which Dr. Mohl had not yet laid under contribution.

Here and there Dr. Mohl evinces a certain laxity in the handling of phonetic questions which betrays a pupil of the light-hearted Bréal. He conjectures (p. 253), that a form **plusiones* defied rhotacism in the first syllable because '**plurores* faisait difficulté'; why, pray, did not *maerores* from **maesores* (cf. *maestus*) do the same? And there is a painful obscurity about the alleged 'utilisation' of the dialectal doublets mentioned on p. 273. Such slips, however, are exceptional; in the essay as a whole the reader will recognise with gratitude the soundness of the author's method in complex questions of Phonology. It could not indeed be otherwise; for without the stricter canons of the Neugrammatiker no such book could have been even conceived. Most of the problems with which it wrestles were, in the days of Corssen, no problems at all. How could any weary mortal be asked to vex himself with the chronology of Grammar when it was well understood that any odd sound might become any other odd sound in any odd form in any odd language at any odd moment it chose?

Dr. Mohl has given us a typical and exemplary picture of a language, the Imperial Vulgar Latin, in growth, in being, and in decay, a study of the highest value for science and for education. Reams of generalities on the Theory of Language will teach us far less; and his Essay deserves a most respectful and cordial welcome.

R. S. CONWAY.

CARDIFF, Oct. 3, 1902.

[The delay in the appearance of a notice of Mr. Mohl's book is due to a misapprehension for which Prof. Conway is in no way responsible.—Ed. C.R.]

BRIEFER NOTICES.

Hippocratis Opera quae feruntur. Vol. II. Ex codicibus Italicis edidit HUGO KUEHLEWEIN (Bibl. script. Graec. et Rom. Teubn.). Lipsiae 1902. Pp. xvi. 279. Mk. 5.

It were ungracious to complain of the devotion of the time and toil of the editor of this

new text of Hippocrates, and unkind to draw attention too querulously to the date (1895) of the first volume of his *opus aeternum*. Of the first volume, as well as of the intention of the Editor, and of the sources upon which he would rely, I gave a brief account in the *Classical Review* in 1897 (Vol. xi. p. 162); I have now only

to announce the appearance of its successor. In the present instalment are included the chief surgical works of the Canon, and it may be added that these, if not quite certainly from the hand of Hippocrates himself, are yet Coan treatises of no less antiquity. These are the *Περὶ τῶν ἐν κεφαλῇ τραυμάτων*; the *Kar' Ἱητρείον*; the *Περὶ ἀγκυῶν*; the *Περὶ ἄρθρων*, and the *Μοχλικόν*. The *Kar' Ἱητρείον* is a mere collection of notes which may have served as an introduction to the Fractures and the Luxations, of which moreover the *Μοχλικόν* is no doubt an excerpt. These treatises are among the most important and authentic of the Collection.

The various readings, which appear to be very full and careful, are at the foot of the page. There are no notes or excursus, but at the end of the volume is an Index voc. memorabilium. In a short preface Kuehlein defends certain readings in the first volume, and justifies others in the second. The Editor acknowledges deep obligations to Diels, Ilberg, and Hugo Weber. Volumes so handy and a text so accurate will, when complete, be a very welcome addition to private as well as to public libraries. Littré's text was a great advance upon that of Kühn, yet left a good deal to be desired.

T. CLIFFORD ALBUTT.

P. Papinius Statius. Vol. II., Fasc. I., Achilleis. Edidit A. KLOTZ. Pp. xlv., 62. Lipsiae, in aedibus B. G. Teubneri. Mk. 1.20.

THE latest part of the welcome new Teubner edition of Statius by Alfred Klotz contains a very careful description of the *Codex Puteaneus*, on which by common consent the criticism of the text must now be based. With characteristic liberality the authorities of the National Library in Paris allowed Dr. Klotz the free use of the MS. at Munich; and he studied it not only for the Achilleis, but also for the Thebais, with much diligence. The principal point which comes out from his investigations, for the first time (if I am not mistaken), is that the Puteaneus goes back ultimately to a very ancient copy defective in some places and damaged in the margin, but mediately to a later copy written in minuscules, as is evident from the nature of some of the errors. The earlier source was written in capitals (cf. *safui* for *saeui* in Theb. viii. 732), and not improbably belonged to the Iulianus who

is referred to in the *scriptio* to the fourth book of the Thebaid.

As representatives of the inferior class of interpolated MSS. Klotz has selected three, two already collated by Kohlmann, one his Paris MS. 10317 (Pc.), the other his *codex Gudrianus* (G²), the third a *codex Bruxellensis* collated by Vollmer. He has also used an Eton MS. of a mixed class. To all these he assigns but little value, except when they support the *Puteaneus*, and of course he puts aside, greatly to the relief of his *apparatus criticus*, the great mass of the inferior MSS. which are of interest only as showing how rapid and extensive was the course of the corruption of the text.

Having collated the *Puteaneus* myself for the Achilleis I am able to bear witness to the greater accuracy of Klotz's readings as compared with Kohlmann's in dozens of places. The new editor has not introduced any conjectures of his own, but has printed a noteworthy suggestion of Krohn's 'timidoque rubet (for *P'siuwet*) servire magistro' (Ach. i. 863); and has once or twice accepted Wilamowitz's proposed alteration of punctuation. He is on more doubtful ground when he prints with P *Pharsaliaeque nives* (i. 152), and explains in a note *Pharsaliaeve*; Baehrens for once is safer with his 'Pharsalivae.' It is not without its advantage that he often passes terse judgment on a tempting but needless emendation in his critical notes.

A. S. WILKINS.

The Art of Translating, with special reference to Cauer's 'Die Kunst des Uebersetzens.' By HERBERT CUSHING TOLMAN, Ph.D., Professor of Greek in Vanderbilt University. Pp. 79 (including title-page, &c.). Boston: Benj. H. Sanborn & Co. 1901. Price 70 cents.

PROF. TOLMAN's little book will prove perhaps more interesting and stimulating than if it had aimed at being exhaustive. His chief debt, as already seen, is to P. Cauer; but he acknowledges help from Prof. W. G. Hale and other scholars, while he quotes freely from translations in Lane's Latin Grammar and Tyrrell's Latin Poetry. The canons laid down in it are generally sound, and on the whole are judiciously applied. One observation (p. 12) bears so directly upon one of our main difficulties in teaching Classics in England that I must transcribe it here:

'One ought to associate the words of a foreign language with the objects themselves, of which words are but vocal pictures. Take German, for instance: when the reader meets the word *Baum* there should recur at once to his mind the object itself, and not the English word *tree*... While he is merely reading German, the English *tree* should not intrude into the thought.'

The illustrative specimens are also in the main well selected and suitably annotated: the two first, an English version of a passage from Hugo's *Le roi s'amuse* and a German one of a stanza from Tennyson's 'Blow bugles, blow,' may be singled out as examples of the translator's art. But a book of this kind naturally challenges criticism at every turn. So when, to illustrate Caer's dictum that 'the translator should always observe any broken syntax or obscurity there may be in the original,' Virgil's 'exoriare aliquis nostris ex ossibus ultor' is rendered 'Arise, *some* avenger from my *bones*' (italics, of course, are mine), it must be noted that *some* is here un-English while *bones* is grotesque, and that 'Arise, Avenger, from my ashes!' would be a preferable rendering. On p. 56 Prof. Tolman blames the customary translation of 'L'état c'est moi,' 'I am the State,' as tame, and

prefers 'The State—it is I.' He forgets that the proud monarch, if uttering his vaunt in English, would 'spake' his *I* 'in italics,' and that while 'the State—it is I' is, to say the least, not ordinary English, the French phrase is the sole expression of the sense intended. The question of dialect is doubtless a delicate one; but I do not expect Prof. Tolman to adopt the defence of one of his countrymen whose idioms I had criticised, and to quote Theocritus for proof that 'Dorians may talk in Doric an they please.' I should imagine that he would reject this plea as provincial, admit that the literary English *κοινή* is the proper vehicle for published English translations, and perhaps concede that, when he translates Ennius' couplet

Ego deum genus esse dixi et dicam caelitum;
sed eos non curare opinor quid agat humanum genus

as 'I maintain and always shall maintain that the ' is a race of gods up in heaven, but *they don't bother, I guess*, (my italics) about what men do here,' he is, from this point of view, translating dignified Latin into undignified American.

J. P. P.

CORRESPONDENCE.

PHILLIMORE'S *PROPERTIUS*.

I HOPE in the course of a few months to get sufficient leisure from professional duties to make a detailed reply to the various censors who have criticised my edition of *Propertius*. I shall then have the pleasure of confronting Mr. J. Arbuthnot Nairn with Schulze who hails with approbation the fact that even in England there is a revolt against the re-writing school of critics.

For the moment I desire only to call attention to one matter in the *Classical Review's* recent article upon my *Propertius*. Mr. Nairn appears to be a slave to what I may call the 'progress-and-reaction' fallacy. To call an edition 'progressive' or 'reactionary' is respectively with some critics to bless it or to damn it: without regard to the question 'Is it progress away from, or reaction towards, what (according to the existing evidence) Propertius wrote?'

I leave (says Mr. Nairn) the text of *Propertius* in the state in which it was 20 years ago. I fear it may horrify him even

more if I confess that in my belief *Propertius* is more authentically given in Beroaldus' edition than in the new *Corpus* after 400 years of Progress. But as for the last 20 years, how does the case stand? There have been two main trends, represented, the one by Rothstein (illustrating the text of Vahlen very slightly altered), with the caution and humility of erudite and sympathetic scholarship—and the other by the dogmatic *Nolo interpretari* of the 'wildcat' school of English humanists, out-Baehrensing Baehrens when Baehrens had been disavowed by the mass of continental critics. Between these two I have made my choice. And I am content to be called a disappointing and belated editor, for the same stigma may be applied for the same reason to all editors of Milton since Bentley, who do not swallow Bentley's rewritings of *Paradise Lost*, and to all editors of Aeschylus who leave *Agamemnon* still pretty much as it was before Mr. Margoliouth's recension.

Within the limits of my present reference, I will only add this that Mr. Nairn's citation from my *Preface*, p. v. is, to put it in round terms, neither fair quotation nor sane reasoning. After summarizing the direct data for a text I went on to name, in a separate paragraph, two commentators. I added the obvious reservation in the case of Rothstein.¹

¹ 'Interpretum praeicipuos habuimus Hertzberg et Rothstein, utrumque in tradita codicum auctoritate vindicanda felicissimum, quamvis ille apparatu critico niteretur mendoso, hic locupletissimam eruditionem

Mr. Nairn ignores it. Draw out the logical major premiss of his argument and it is this: 'No editor can be critical, who praises among commentaries a commentary which has no *ad hoc* recension accompanying it': which seems hard on Rothstein, on Vahlen (not least), and on me,—and on the reader who judges a book by the judgment of the *Classical Review*.

J. S. PHILLIMORE.

totam in commentarios non in recensionem iustam largitus sit.

VERSIONS.

Cassius.

Hear me, good brother,—

Brutus.

Under your pardon:—you must note beside
That we have tried the utmost of our
friends;

Our legions are brim-full, our cause is ripe:
The enemy increaseth every day;

We, at the height, are ready to decline.

There is a tide in the affairs of men

Which taken at the flood leads on to
fortune;

Omitted, all the voyage of our life

Is bound in shallows and in miseries.

On such a full sea are we now afloat,

And we must take the current when it
serves,

Or lose our ventures.

SHAKESPEARE, *Julius Caesar* IV 3.

MARGARET AND DORA.

Margaret's beauteous: Grecian arts

Ne'er drew form completer,

Yet why, in my heart of hearts,

Hold I Dora sweeter?

Dora's eyes of heavenly blue

Pass all painting's reach,

Ringdove's notes are discord to

The music of her speech.

Artists! Margaret's smile receive,

And on canvas show it;

But for perfect worship leave

Dora to her poet.

T. CAMPBELL. 1802?

A. Καὶ μὴν ἄκουσον ἐν μέρει κάμου τόδε,—

B. μήπω γε, δεῖ καὶ τοῦτο δ' ἐννοεῖν, ὅτι

χρέος τὸ πιστόν ἐσμεν ἐκ τοῦ πυθμένος

πράξαντες· ὀργᾷ πάντα, πληθύνει στρατός·

καὶ τοῖς μὲν ἰσχύς αἰξεται καθ' ἡμέραν,

ἡμῖν δ' ἐτοῖμος ἀκμάσας· ἤδη φθίνειν.

ρεῖ τοι βρότεια πράγματ'· εὐροῦντα δὲ

ἦν μὲν λάβῃ τις, πλεῖ ξὺν οὐρία τύχη·

εἰ δ' οὖν ἀμάρτη, βράχεσι καὶ δυσπραξίαις

ξυνὼν τὸ λοιπὸν τοῦ βίου ναυτῖλλεται.

τοιᾶδε χῆμᾶς καιρὸς ἐν πλημμυρίδι

πλεῖν, ἢ παρέντας ἐμπολῆς ἀμαρτάνειν.

W. HEADLAM.

IDEM GRAECE REDDITUM.

Μορφῇ μὲν προέχει κούρη χαρίτεσσιν ὁμοία

Λευκονόη, θείας ὥσπερ ἄγαλμα τέχνης.

Μᾶλλον ἔμοιγ' ἔμπας Δωρίς περὶ κῆρι φιλεῖται,

ἱμερόεν γλανκοῖς ὀμμασι δερκομένη,

Τῆς, ὅποταν φθέγγεται, ἔρωτ' αὐδῶσα πελειῶς

τραχύτερον προῖει λειριόεσσαν ὅπα.

Τὴν μὲν δῆ, δύνασαι γάρ, ἀγαλματοποι' ἀφο-
μοίου·

Μοῦσα φίλη, σὺ δ' ἐμοὶ Δωρίδ' ἔσωθε γράφε.

L. CAMPBELL. 1902.

ARCHAEOLOGY.

HUDDILSTON ON GREEK POTTERY.

Lessons from Greek Pottery. By J. H. HUDDILSTON. Macmillan & Co., London and New York, 1902. Pp. xiv., 144; 18 illustrations. 8vo. 5s.

Mr. HUDDILSTON modestly styles his work *Lessons from Greek Pottery*; but he does not clearly indicate to the general reader what lessons he is expected to learn therefrom. While avoiding, perhaps wisely, any attempt at a handbook on Greek vase-painting in general, he has rather erred in the opposite direction, and produced a vague scrappy compilation with no particular aim or system. The vases are considered in their relation to the higher arts, to Greek religion, history, and daily life, and to literature; but though the author exhibits a wide acquaintance with Greek vase-paintings he has somehow failed to make the book a very readable one. We are also disappointed with the illustrations. Two of these are photographs (not particularly instructive) of the Vase Rooms of the British Museum and Berlin Antiquarium; these are followed by four reproductions of shapes of vases from Furtwaengler's Berlin Catalogue. The latter, it seems to us, are quite useless without any textual accompaniment, and there is no section of the work dealing with shapes of vases in any form. Surely it would have been more satisfactory to take a few typical forms as is done in the British Museum Departmental Guide and in M. Pottier's Catalogue of the Louvre vases, and devote a section of the text to an account of them; as it is, the majority of forms on the Berlin plates are so to speak ἀναξλεγόμενα, conveying in the rough outline drawings no clear notion to the average reader, and of little interest except to the specialist.

We can speak more favourably of the second part of the work, a carefully arranged bibliography, which ought to be useful even to those who are well acquainted with the subject. But it is misleading to range Bochlau's *Aus ionischen und italischen Nekropolen* under the heading 'Mycenaean,' while the article by F. Duemmler referred to on the top of p. 117 is not a description of 'Corintho-Attic' but of a class of Ionian vases, and should have been inserted on p. 115. Further, why is Holwerda's article on the Corintho-Attic vases placed under the heading of

'Corinthian,' and Thiersch's monograph on the same subject under a separate heading 'Tyrrhenian,' while for Hauser's article, also dealing with these vases, the reader is referred on to the section 'Early and Black-figured Attic'! Under the heading 'Lower Italy' etc. (p. 123) it seems a pity to jumble together primitive Italian and the later Hellenic wares from Southern Italy; nor do we find any entries whatsoever referring to the local pottery of Etruria. The list of catalogues of collections would have been better arranged geographically (or museographically) than by names of authors in alphabetical order. But with a few corrections and additions the bibliography would become really valuable; it might, however, be worth while to note when a work or article was out of date and useless. Lastly the book would be greatly improved by a revision of the illustrations; at present only eleven reproductions of vase-paintings are given, of which no less than nine belong practically to the same period; even though that is the finest and most typical, a greater variety would be welcome as well as more instructive.

H. B. WALTERS.

JOULIN'S GALLO-ROMAN SETTLEMENTS.

Les établissements gallo-romains de la plaine de Martres-Tolosanes. Par LÉON JOULIN. Extrait des mémoires présentés par divers savants à l'académie des inscriptions et belles-lettres. Paris: Klincksieck, 1901. 4to. pp. 300.

MARTRES-TOLOSANES is a tiny town on the Upper Garonne, thirty-five miles south-west of Toulouse and near the boundary of the Roman provinces Aquitania and Narbonensis. Both the town and its neighbourhood have long been recognized as rich in Roman remains of a very remarkable kind, and more or less unsystematic excavations have been undertaken at various dates since 1632. At last in 1897-9 the place has been scientifically explored, and M. Joulin, chief director of the work, has issued in the volume before me an exhaustive and admirably illustrated account of his results, and of the principal discoveries made previous to 1897.

The area of Gallo-roman occupation near Martres covers some fifteen square miles on the north bank of the Garonne and contains at least eight villas or villages. Chief among these is the group of buildings close to Martres itself, at Chiragan. This is a 'villa' almost as large as a town. Its boundary wall embraces forty acres and the internal buildings comprise a sumptuous mansion, covering six acres with its spacious courts and elaborate suite of baths; three or perhaps four rows of cottages, and some considerable structures of which the precise use is less obvious. The mansion, according to M. Joulin, was built under Augustus, rebuilt and enlarged first under Trajan and then under Pius or Marcus, and finally repaired and restored early in the fourth century. These dates may be a little hypothetical, but the house doubtless existed during the greater part of the Roman Empire. Soon after A.D. 400 it was burnt down—probably in that barbarian invasion of 407-8 when

uno fumavit Gallia tota rogo.

The period of its splendour seems to have been the second and early third centuries. Then it was adorned with sculptures and statuary, which are unparalleled for number and excellence on any site outside Rome, except the Imperial villa of Hadrian below Tivoli. We possess, of course, only fragments of the originals, but we possess, as fragments, some 260 considerable pieces of architectural and plastic art, well-carved pilasters, decorative series such as the labours of Hercules, busts and large medallions of gods, portraits of Emperors and other Romans. Almost all is good art, and every artistic style known to the early Empire is well represented. The reliefs of the Labours of Hercules imitate the Pergamene sculptures and despite a few defects in the way of exaggerated muscles and too short bodies, the imitation is not at all unsuccessful: it is, moreover, an imitation carried out at Martres itself, for the marble used in the reliefs belongs to Pyrenean quarries. The busts and medallions of Greek and Roman gods are also Greek in style, and some of them may well be Greek in workmanship: they vary much in merit, but the best pieces, like the Venus of Martres, are admirable. Still more remarkable are the Roman portrait busts, some eighty in number. One is an interesting idealized head of Augustus, closely resembling the bust with the *corona civilis* in the Munich Glyptothek. The rest belong to that vigorous original Roman school of portraiture

which sprang up towards the end of the first century and extended from Trajan to the period of eclipse in the third century. Almost every Emperor in this hundred and fifty years is represented, and of some there are several busts—four, for instance, of Trajan—and the pieces are not local copies, but contemporary sculptures made (as it would seem) in Rome. No such portrait gallery existed elsewhere in the Roman world as known to us, and it is pardonable to speculate on the owners of this great house. M. Joulin suspects the official residence of procurators or of governors of Narbonensis (rather, Aquitania), and it would indeed be possible to explain the multiplicity of busts of single Emperors by imagining that each new official set up a new bust. But it is equally open to us to suspect the country seat of a noble Gaulish family, heirs of some not discontented Iulius Sacrovir or Vindex. Unfortunately we know no names, either of the site or of its inhabitants. Only we see that here in this Pyrenean valley, the provincial life of Aquitania, in its political and artistic sympathies, its wealth and its educated taste, is more than Italian, and, whether Imperial officials or native nobles dwelt there, we can realise the capacities of a Roman province.

The site was worth describing well and M. Joulin has been equal to his task. Beyond regretting the absence of any list or scale of the excellent plates and noticing that the records of coins on pp. 265-291 and 292-5 do not quite tally, there seems nothing for even the severer critic to censure. Happy would the student of the Roman Empire be, if other provincial sites could be so fully described and so well illustrated.

F. HAVERFIELD.

THE ANNUAL OF THE BRITISH SCHOOL AT ATHENS, 1900-1901.

MR. ARTHUR EVANS' report of the 1901 campaign at Cnossus may fairly be considered the chief interest of the British School Annual. The excavation extended from February 27 to June 17, and both Mr. Evans and his colleagues, Dr. Duncan Mackenzie and Mr. D. T. Fyfe, have good reason to be proud of their year's work. The clearing of the central court of the palace and the buildings adjoining it on the east side make its plan much more comprehensible, and show plainly its intimate relations with the more homogeneous building excavated by the Italian archaeologists at Phaestus.

Further work on the previous year's discoveries has resulted in the clearing of the large western court, which Mr. Evans believes to have been the 'agora,' and a prolongation of the adjoining gallery with its

magazines: the discoveries of 1901, chiefly on the south and east portions of the site, include an olive press, baths, a sculptor's workshop containing magnificent stone vases, some unfinished, in the best Mycenaean style, and, most remarkable of all, a staircase of four flights leading from the level of the central court to well-preserved columned rooms giving on to the east slope of the hill.

A bold departure from tradition which cannot but be approved has been the roofing of the throne room, and the underpropping of several of the high walls of the eastern hillside: the great interest of the throne room is acknowledged, and experience has shown that its materials are not such as to stand exposure; some shelter therefore was necessary if it was to be preserved in its entirety: the roofing and enclosure have been carried out simply, and as far as possible in accordance with Mycenaean models, while at the same time there is no confusion between old and new work. The walls referred to, depending originally on wooden lintels, have been till now supported only by accumulated rubbish, the removal of which for excavation has necessitated new supports if the extraordinary depth of the site was to be fully shown.

In the sphere of colour decoration and sculpture the finds are no less important than in that of architecture: they include fragments of human figures, life-size and skilfully modelled in *gesso* relief, of similar technique to the now famous bull's head, a small steatite relief of a boxer, practically complete, and an elaborate gaming-board (unfortunately fragmentary) executed in gilt ivory, *cyanus*, and crystal. Gem engraving, a highly developed branch of Mycenaean art, is represented by a large number of clay impressions with fantastic types, discovered together with the baked clay documents they guaranteed; the latter appear to contain the royal accounts. Similar deposits have been found in the newly discovered 'summer palace' at Hagia Trias near Phaestus, and at Zakro, the latter *trouville* including some impressions identical with those at Cnossus, and probably from the same gem. Of the frescoes one of superlative interest exhibits the well-known bull-fighting motive, but in this case the participants are girls, reminding us, as Mr. Evans remarks, of the traditional relations of Cnossus and Athens as shewn in the legend of the tribute of Attic youths and *maidens* sent annually to be devoured by the bull of Minos.

Of the early connection between Crete and Egypt we have fresh evidence in an alabastron lid bearing the cartouche of the Hyksôs King Khyan (dating approximately 1800 B.C.) which was found beneath the foundation of an early Mycenaean wall of the palace. Mr. Evans has also discovered at Cnossus certain forms of vases closely related to those of prehistoric Egypt.

Mr. D. G. Hogarth contributes an account of the excavation of two sites at Zakro, a Mycenaean trading station in Eastern Crete. Both appear to have been deserted at the close of the Mycenaean period, and the earlier (Epânô Zakro) dates only from the later years of the pre-Mycenaean Camâres period; here the remains were found in pits, and probably represent deposits of votive articles, mainly pottery, but including also fragments of obsidian and bronze: the vases, many of which are entire, are chiefly of the finest Mycenaean period, one-fifth only being of the transitional style between Camâres and Mycenaean: the sherds are not stratified and were either buried at one time, or turned over by later comers in search of metal: in the lower settlement numerous plans of houses, including two pillar rooms, have

been disclosed; the type of house stands midway between the palace and the simple one- or two-roomed cottages found at Mycenae and elsewhere: Mr. Carr Bosanquet's excavations this year at Paleocastro show that it usually possessed an upper storey in which the chief living rooms were situated. The houses are of late Mycenaean date, and the finds are uniformly of the same period. The most important of these are the clay sealings alluded to above and described in the *Journal of Hellenic Studies* (xxii. 76).

Such graves as have been discovered in the neighbouring caves date earlier than the settlements. The human remains found in them form the subject of a separate paper by Mr. Boyd Dawkins, who attributes them, after comparison with similar skulls from Mycenaean sites, to the dolichocephalic and probably melanochrous aboriginals of the Mediterranean.

A most ingenious and convincing identification by Dr. Wilhelm of two widely separated fragments of an Athenian honorary inscription, preserved at the British School and the British Museum respectively, concludes the strictly archaeological portion of the Annual, the last pages being occupied by the affairs of the School.

The publication is as usual judiciously illustrated with plans, photographs, and workmanlike ink-drawings.

F. W. HASLUCK.

MONTHLY RECORD.

ITALY.

Ferento (*Ercentinum*), Etruria. — Several tombs have been excavated here, of the archaic period. In the first were two b.f. Attic amphorae containing calcined bones. On one the subjects are Herakles strangling the Nemean lion in the presence of Athena and Hermes, and Dionysos reclining, attended by Seilenos and a Maenad; on the other, obv., a bearded man with dog and ephebos with cock; rev., a bearded man with goat and youth with cock and hen. The latter vase has been mended in antiquity. Among other contents were a crescent-shaped sacrificial iron knife, an early Corinthian *olpe* of the 'imbricated' class, and bucchero ware. The other tombs contained vases of *impasto* and bucchero wares, some of the latter being good examples of the class.¹

Rome. — Near the temple of Antoninus and Faustina, in the Forum, a discovery has been made of a very early tomb, of the *pozzo* or pit-type, the first which it has been possible to connect with the primitive dwellers on the sacred hill of Palæ. The depth at which it was found shews that the neighbouring heights had already been for some time inhabited. The date is probably near that of the traditional epoch of the founding of Rome. This tomb contained a large *dolium* in which were nine vases of primitive type, one being a cinerary urn with two handles, the cover of which is shaped like those of the hut-urns from Alba Longa, in the form of a roof with raised markings to represent the timbers.²

Investigations have yielded traces of the gardens of Sallust, in which Vespasian lived, including a crypto-porcicus, and a leaden water-pipe inscribed: IMP CAES AVG VESPASIANI | SVB CVRA CALLISTI AVG

¹ *Notizie degli Scavi*, March 1902.

² *Ibid.* and *Athenaeum*, 9 Aug. 1902.

L. PROC. The pipe is formed of sections each nine feet long, marked with numbers which are not consecutive and not easy to explain (see *Bull. Comm. Arch.*, June 1902).³ In the neighbourhood were found two sepulchral cells with *columbaria*, in *opus reticulatum*, built by a joint-stock company under the trusteeship of C. Sallustius Faustus. A mosaic panel let into the wall of the *columbaria* is inscribed in red, blue, and green letters: D M | CLAVDIAE ACIE | SCANTIVS TFLSDHORVS COIVGI R M; the husband's mis-spelled name is of course Telesphorus; the lady is probably not the mistress of Nero. There is also in the adjoining chamber an inscription to Q. Brutius, a cattle-dealer (*mercator bovarius de campo*), who is described as temperate, chaste, and lovable: 'dum vixit placuit.' Adjoining this monument are two *cippi* inscribed with the name of one of the shareholders in the company, Titus Focsenus Diocles, and that of his wife.⁴

Under the church of the Carmelites an ancient cemetery has been brought to light. In it was an inscription to one L. Laelius Fuscus, whose military career can be traced through a period of forty-two years. He began as a volunteer in a cavalry regiment, and was then successively captain in the first battalion of Firemen, captain of the Statores Augusti, of the thirteenth battalion Urbani, of the tenth battalion Pretoriani, and lastly of the seventh legion Claudia Pia.⁵

Subsequently two more primitive tombs have been discovered in the same region as that described above, between the temple of Antoninus and Faustina and that of Maxentius. The first consists of the usual large *dolium* containing a hut-urn with incinerated remains and nine cups; in the roof of the hut-urn were two openings like skylights, and one of the cups had supports like human feet. The other tomb was that of a child which had been inhumed and placed in a coffin formed from the hollowed-out trunk of a tree. In the Esquiline cemetery yet another group of early graves has come to light, serving to confirm the Roman tradition about the origin of the city and its connection with Alba Longa. The remains are similar to those recently found in the Alban hills (see below under Grottaferrata).⁶

In digging the foundation of a new building on the site of the Domus Valeriorum on the Caelian, remains of the peristyle were found, consisting of a row of marble bases and one column with Ionic capital. The Hermæ at the crossings of the paths are still *in situ*, and in the intercolumniations of the peristyle were marble statues of the members of the family, with *elogia* on the pedestals. One of these was given by the Corporation of Marruvium in the Marsian territory; a fragment of the Fasti Consulares Minores (A.D. 3-6) was also found.⁷

Aquæ Albulae.—Several Hermæ recently found here are probably from the gardens of this fashionable resort. One represents a female head of a very pleasing type; another, however, is inscribed ΘΕΣΠΙΣ ΘΕΜΩΝΟΣ ΑΘΗΝΑΙΟΣ. The former is archaistic in style. On a fragmentary marble bracket is a metrical inscription describing how a man whose name is lost recovered his health

at the springs *numinis auxilio* (i.e. of the Nymphæ Albulae) and offered them a statuette of gilt bronze (*fulgentem auro*).²

Tivoli.—The chamber in which two weighing-tables (*mensæ ponderarie*) were found in 1883 (*C.I.L.* xiv. 3687-88) has been fully explored. Two rectangular bases covered with slabs of *giallo antico* were found, with inscriptions showing that the *mensæ* were set up by Diphilus, a freedman, who also erected three statues of his patrons M. Lartidius and Varena Major. There was also found an elegant marble pilaster with a panel in which was a figure of Hercules in low relief, bearded, with club and lion's skin, but wearing a feminine chiton and *apophytigma* with girdle. The rest of the pilaster is ornamented with panels of foliage and scroll-patterns, all being bordered with Lesbian kymatia. The type of Hercules may be that of H. Tiburtinus, or H. Victor, whose sanctuary was famous in the neighbourhood; he is often mentioned in local inscriptions.¹

Grottaferrata (near Frascati).—A series of tombs *a pozzo* (pit-tombs with cremated bodies) has been brought to light, the pottery from which is closely parallel to that of the tomb in the Forum (see above), and may be classed with that of the Villanova period. It includes a cinerary urn with incised patterns of triangles, chevrons, and a 'swastika,' a hut-urn, a one-handled bowl with incised markings, and several fibulae with arched bows of the *sanguisuga* (leech) type, which mark the transition from the Bronze to the Iron Age.⁸

Pozzuoli.—A sepulchral monument has been excavated, with a statue of Imperial Roman date, in Carrara marble. It probably dates from the reigns of Trajan or Hadrian, the arrangement of the hair recalling that of Marciana, while that and the head-dress generally suggest a parallel with the Vestal in the Museo delle Terme at Rome. The face is not remarkable for beauty.⁹

Pompeii.—On the walls of a house belonging to M. Samellius Modestus were found painted 'election bills,' recommending the owner for an aedileship because he was a *iuvenis probus*. Close by stood the house of Lucretius Fronto, adorned with a similar manifesto in red, which runs as follows:—

SI'PVDOE'IN-VITA'QVIVQVAM'PRODESSE'FVTVTVR
LYCRETIVS'HIC'FRONTO'DIGNVS'HONORE'BENE'EST.⁶

Pisticci (Lucania).—A recent find of painted vases, now in the museum at Tarentum, includes several of interest. The best are a r.f. amphora with a toilet scene and a r.f. hydria with Peleus pursuing Thetis; also a krater with column-handles representing Dionysos riding on a mule and accompanied by a Maenad and Silenos. With these were sundry local geometrical fabrics of 'Iapygian' type.¹⁰

Padula (Lucania).—Some interesting architectural remains have come to light, including sixteen drums of fluted columns, two large sculptured capitals, and two headless draped statues, all of local limestone. The capitals are of special interest; they are surrounded with conventional foliage about half way up, above which, between volutes, are heads or busts in high relief supporting the abacus. On one capital are heads of the youthful Herakles in lion's skin, two Maenads, one with a vine-wreath, and Dionysos or a young Satyr; on the other, heads of Silenos, youthful Pan, Medusa, and a youth wearing wreath. The style, which recalls the heads among foliage on the vases of Apulia, may be described as Italo-

³ *Notizie*, 1902, pp. 95, 269, 287; *Athenaeum*, 9 Aug. and 25 Oct.

⁴ *Notizie degli Scavi*, Feb. 1902, and *Athenaeum*, 6 Sept.

⁵ *Athenaeum*, 6 Sept.

⁶ *Athenaeum*, 25 Oct.

⁷ *Ibid.*; and see *Notizie*, Apr. 1902, p. 268.

⁸ *Notizie degli Scavi*, April 1902, 2.

⁹ *Ibid.* Feb. 1902.

¹⁰ *Notizie*, May 1902.

Corinthian with a substratum of Ionic, and indicates the early appearance of Corinthian influence in Italian architecture, the date being about the third century B.C.¹¹

Gioia Tauro (Metaurum in Bruttii).—An interesting discovery has been made of architectural terracottas [in many respects similar to those of Lord Savile at Civita Lavinia]. Among them is part of a *γείσων* or raking cornice with Doric kymation painted in red and brown and cable, guilloché, and chequer patterns. [Cf. B 609 in Brit. Mus. from Civita Lavinia.] Besides fragments of cornices with chequer patterns, lions' masks forming spouts, and fragments of human figures, may be mentioned part of a metope [or antefix ?] with design in high relief: two horses of a chariot seen from the front, with the driver's arm. This may be aptly compared with the Selinus metope (Benndorf, pl. 3). In all the fragments are holes for attachment to a wooden backing [as seen at Civita Lavinia]. It is obvious that a temple yet remains to be discovered here.¹

Reggio.—Some small balls of red clay have recently been found inscribed with names (presumably of owners) in archaic characters, probably of the first half of the fifth century B.C. Archaic inscriptions from Rhegium are decidedly rare (cf. Roberts, *Gk. Epigr.* p. 204, and Head, *Hist. Num.* for coins), but the inscriptions on these balls bear out the supposition that the alphabet had Chalcidian affinities. Among the characteristic letters are < for Γ, Δ for Δ, and Ρ for P. The name Thrasys appears in the form Θράσυς. A marble fragment with inscription has also been found giving the names of various sacrificial dignities: *ἱεροκῆρυξ*, *ἱεροσαλπιστής*, *ἱεροπαρέκτης*, and *σπονδαίλης*.¹¹

SICILY.

Grammichele (near Syracuse).—In 1893 a series of terracottas were found in a cave sacred to Demeter; they are now in the Museum at Syracuse. They include (1) female heads about three inches high with diadems in the style of about 400 B.C.; (2) part of a group of Demeter and Kore seated side by side, wearing *calathi* (late Archaic work); (3) two busts of Demeter and Kore, similar in type and style; (4) two female busts of fine style [cf. D7 ff. in Brit. Mus.] with richly waved hair and *calathos* adorned with rosettes; (5) two large heads of later (fourth century) type, also with *calathos*. All are typical Sicilian fabrics, resembling those published by Kekulé in his *Terracotten von Sicilien*.⁸

Vizzini.—Tombs of late Greek date (third to second century B.C.) have been excavated. They contained little however except a mirror-handle with square panel on which is a seated meditating woman in relief, like the Penelope of the Vatican. The sides of the panel are in the form of tree-trunks. The figure seems to be a third-century imitation of an Attic fifth-century original. A piece of *acs grave* should also be mentioned; it weighs 23·5 gr., and has an *astragalus* on either side. The type is a very rare one, but seems to be the libral uncia of the fourth century (one-twelfth of the Latin libra of 272 gr.), and has been attributed to Sutrium. The finding of this piece in Sicily is very curious, but two similar pieces of *acs grave* are also reported from the neighbourhood of Camarina.⁸

TURKEY.

Saloniki.—An inscription on a large column which had been built into a well in the east of this city con-

tains the words *τῷ δῆμῳ τῆς Θεσσαλονικέων μητροπόλεως καὶ κολωνείας*. It is dated 'Ετους Γ'QC, which is equivalent to A.D. 145, and shews that Thessalonica was already a colony in the second century, though previously it had been supposed that it was only made one in the third, after the part it played in the Gothic wars.¹²

GREECE.

Hyissac (Achladokampos in Argolis).—An ancient tomb has been found, covered with two stone slabs, one of which turned out to be a marble *stèle* with pilaster-cap of Hellenistic type in low relief, used to cover up the later grave. On the *stèle* is a small relief possibly belonging to the second usage of the stone, representing Asklepios, Hygieia, and Telesphoros.¹³

Dimini, Thessaly.—A Mycenaean beehive tomb has been excavated, but only contained some gold plates and chains and small glass objects. On the top of the same hill a prehistoric settlement has come to light in which were found flint knives and vase-fragments with geometrical designs which seem to be a new local fabric.¹³

Thera.—Herr Hiller von Gaertringen has published the results of his most recent excavations, which include many interesting inscriptions. A large number are of the archaic period; they also include a law of the fourth century, a decree of *προξενία* for a Samian (styled *πρωτανίων γνώμα*) dating from the third century, and a decision of the council of Bactriastae on behalf of Ladamas a Ptolemaic officer in command *τῶν περὶ αὐτὴν διαδόχων*. All these were from the neighbourhood of the Agora. The city fortification-walls prove to be of the Byzantine period. Built into the side of a cistern below the gymnasium was a dedication of an *ἀλειπτῆριον* to Hermes and Herakles, about 230 B.C.; here also were found a brazier inscribed *ΞΕΥΜ* (Ζεύς) and three more fragments of a decree already published in *Hermes*, 1901, p. 444. In a cemetery to the south of the city rich finds were made of late and orientalising geometrical vases, also good gold ornaments of about 750 to 650 B.C. A museum has now been built to contain all the recent finds.¹⁴

CRETE.

Knossos.—Mr. Arthur Evans' report of the past season's work (Feb.—June 1902) shews very fertile results, the palace being found to extend further to the east than had been expected, sloping down in terraces. The new rooms adjoining the principal halls of the eastern quarter were full of interest, two storeys being laid bare, with staircases, bath-rooms, etc., and evidences of an extensive drainage system. They contained interesting remains of frescoes—naturalistic foliage and flowers, fish, and a lady in jacket and chemise. Another fresco from last year's excavations has been reconstituted and shews a scene from a bull-fight in which girl-toreadors take part. Numerous inscribed tablets were found, with ideographic signs (swords, thrones, and sceptres, and granaries); many referred to percentages, the King's portion being indicated by his ideograph of the throne and sceptre. Linear characters were found on a fragment of a Mycenaean vase, and two cups had inscriptions written in ink. In the magazines of an earlier building at a lower level were found large

¹² *Berl. Phil. Woch.* 26 July.

¹³ *Athen. Mitth.* xxvi. (1901), pt. 2, p. 235.

¹⁴ *Ibid.* pt. 3–4, p. 422.

¹¹ *Ibid.* Jan. 1902.

quantities of Kamarais pottery of extreme delicacy. One remarkable discovery was that of a series of porcelain plaques forming a mosaic, some of which represent the fronts of houses of several storeys; the details of construction are reproduced with marvellous fidelity, and the houses with paned and glazed windows are astonishingly modern in appearance. Not less remarkable was the discovery of remains of ivory figurines, carved in the round, with jointed limbs, representing youths in the act of springing; the modelling and rendering of anatomical detail are so exquisite as to place these figures on a higher plane than any other remains of the age. In a stratum belonging to the pre-Mycenaean building were found remains of a model of a temple in painted terracotta, and in the palace itself numerous finds illustrated the cult of the double axe. A shrine with sacrificial vessels, and various cult-objects still *in situ* was found among the later Mycenaean remains, and in an eastern corridor of the palace were wall-paintings representing a series of labyrinths.¹⁵

Palaeokastro.—The British School conducted excavations here in the spring of 1902, with very interesting results, including remains of Mycenaean houses and tombs with remarkable painted vases.¹⁵

H. B. WALTERS.

Journal International d'archéologie numismatique. Part 1 and 2, 1902.

Agnes Baldwin. 'The gold coinage of Lampsacus.' The first portion of a very serviceable and carefully compiled monograph on the Lampsacene gold staters. Miss Baldwin has brought together specimens of thirty-seven types which are illustrated in three photographic plates.—G. F. Hill. 'The supposed gold coin with hieroglyphs.'—J. N. Svoronos. 'On the supposed gold δακμίων with hieroglyphs.'—G. Dattari. 'The gold coin with hieroglyphs.' In the first of these three papers, Hill impugns the genuineness of the curious piece which was first described by Maspero and then figured by Hill, as a forgery, in the *Numismatic Chronicle*. Svoronos replies to Hill and to my own remarks (which were entirely on the same side as Hill's) in the *Classical Review* for March of the present year. While approving 'the prudent reservations' of his English colleagues, Svoronos maintains the view that this piece is ancient, though not a coin, but a weight for a coin or rather (to use his own words) 'not simply a "weight" but an instrument which served for the control of the weight and at the same time of the quality of the metal which might vary greatly for staters of the same weight.' M. Dattari, who is of the same opinion as Svoronos, responds to my inquiry as to whether he made his statement about the provenance of this piece (*i.e.* that it was part of a find of undoubtedly genuine gold staters) from his own knowledge or from hearsay. He states that he was not on the spot when the hoard was found though he does not doubt the accuracy of his informants. From these articles and those previously published, the numismatist can now, probably, form a fair opinion as to the authenticity of this hieroglyphic coin or weight.—J. N. Svoronos *Φειδωνειον το Θιβραωνειον νομισμα*. This article also appears (in French) in the *Rev. Num.* Part 3, 1902. A. Diéudonné. 'Ptolémaïs—Lebedus.' Discusses the attribution of two series of bronze coins inscribed ΠΤΟ. (i) *Obv.* Head of a Ptolemy. *Rev.* Athena.

(ii) *Obv.* Head of Ptolemaic queen. *Rev.* Seated Triptolemus? The type, and still more, the names of magistrates that appear on these pieces indicate *Lebedus* in Ionia as a probable mint-place. If this attribution is correct, the name of that city must for a time have been changed to Ptolemais. Diéudonné identifies the obverse heads as those of Ptolemy III. Euergetes and his wife Berenice II. A third series of bronze inscribed ΠΤΟΛΕΜΑΙΕΩΝ &c. (*Obv.* Head of Apollo. *Rev.* Amphora) is also discussed. These have been attributed to Ptolemais-Ace in Galilee and also (Brit. Mus. Cat. *Thrace*, p. 204) to a supposed Thracian dynast Ptolemaeus. The last attribution is demonstrably wrong and Ptolemais-Ace is not probable. Waddington classed them (as also the above-mentioned bronze pieces with ΠΤΟ) to Lebedus, though without leaving a record of his reasons. Diéudonné justly remarks that the attribution to Lebedus of the ΠΤΟΛΕΜΑΙΕΩΝ coins is not so well made out as is that of the ΠΤΟ coins.—J. Svoronos. 'Ptolemais-Lebedus.' Remarks on the previous paper. He thinks that some of the coins may belong to the time of Ptolemy II.—G. Dattari. 'Dell' affinità delle monete di Restituzione e le monete dei nomi d' Egitto.'—E. Dutilh and Svoronos. 'Vestiges de faux monnayages antiques à Alexandrie ou ses environs.'—J. Rouvier. 'Numismatique des villes de la Phénicie. Sidon.' A catalogue of Sidonian coins struck *circa* B.C. 480–112 (three plates).—J. Svoronos. *Και πάλη περί του πινακος της Ναυνίου*.—K. N. Constantinopoli. *Βυζαντιακά μολυβδοβύλλα*.

Rivista italiana di Numismata. Part 3. 1902

F. Gnechci. 'Appunti di num. Romana.' Description of unissued Roman coins in the collection of J. Lückger, of Cologne.—Dattari. 'Appunti di numismatica Alessandrina.' Chronology of the family of Carus.—Domitius Domitianus (with plate).

Numismatic Chronicle. Part 3. 1902.

G. Macdonald. 'The coinage of Tigranes I.' A brief but important examination of the coinage of Tigranes which probably falls between B.C. 83 when he became master of Syria and B.C. 69, the period of his humiliation by Lucullus. The whole coinage appears to be of Syrian and not of Armenian mintage. It is divided by Macdonald into three periods. On the coins of period III dates of the Seleucid Era occur, equivalent to 71–69 B.C. In period II, Macdonald points out a hitherto unnoticed series of dates which he well supposes to be reckoned from B.C. 111 the Era of Antiochos VIII; Grypus. These coins therefore belong to B.C. 77–73. The coins of period I are undated. The pieces assigned to periods I and III bear the title ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ, those of period II, the title ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΝ. Macdonald does not offer any comment on the curious abandonment of the title ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ and the substitution, in period III, of the single ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ. The use of ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΝ is equally puzzling on the regal coinage of Parthia, as I have already pointed out in the *Numismatic Chronicle*, 1900, p. 188.

¹⁵ *Athenaeum*, 5 July.

SUMMARIES OF PERIODICALS

American Journal of Philology. Vol. xxiii. No. 2. 1902.

Problems in Greek Syntax (II. the Article), B. L. Gildersleeve. *Word accent in Early Latin Verse* (II.), J. J. Schlieher. *Picre d'Urte and the Bask Language*, E. S. Dodgson. *Epicurea*, W. A. Heidel. *Some derived Word-bases*, Francis A. Wood. (I. I.-Eur. *kel* and derivatives.) Note. *New Conjectures on Parthenius*, περί ἐρωτικῶν παθημάτων, R. Ellis. Review, Reports, Brief Mention, etc.

Hermathena. No. xxviii. 1902.

Origins of Barbarian History, Thos. Hodgkin. *Notes on Manuscripts of Catullus and Hisperica Famina*, R. Ellis. *The Creed of Clement of Alexandria*, F. R. M. Hitchcock. *Notes on Passages in the Satires of Horace*, H. T. Johnstone. *The Meaning of Aristotle Nic. Eth.* 1095^a. 2. J. L. Beare. *Notes on Two Passages of Horace*, P. Sandford. *Notes on Cicero at Att. II. and III.*, L. C. Purser. *The Library of Trinity College, Dublin: The Growth of a Legend*, J. P. Mahaffy. *The Visits of St. Paul to Corinth*, Newport J. D. White. *Some Notes on Propertius*, L. N. Guynn. *Notes on the Odes of Horace*, Ernest Ensor. *Butler's Indebtedness to Aristotle*, W. A. Goligher. *Notes on Acts XVI.* 1-8, N. J. D. White. *Notes on Cicero at Att. XV.*, J. S. Reid. *The Tradition of Muirchú's Text*, J. B. Bury. *The Forms and Scansion of the Genitive and Dative Cases of 'is,' 'hic,' and 'qui' in Plautus*, C. Exon. *Reviews*.

Wochenschrift für Klassische Philologie. 1902.

17 Sep. E. Maass, *Aus der Farnesina* (W. Amelung), favourable. Plato, *The Meno*, ed. by

E. S. Thompson (Stender). 'An excellent introduction to the study of the Platonic philosophy. S. Linde, *Adversaria in latinos scriptores* (W. Gemoll). Chiefly on Seneca the philosopher. Favourable. Tegge, *Kompendium der griechischen und römischen Altertümer*. II. *Römische Altertümer* (G. v. Kobilinski), favourable.

24 Sep. Sophokles, *The Antigone*, by M. A. Bayfield (H. Steinberg), favourable. *Euripidis fabulae*, rec. G. Murray. I. (K. Busche), favourable. C. W. L. Johnson, *The motion of the voice in connection with accent* (H. G.) favourable.

1 Oct. H. Francotte, *Formation des Villes, des Etats, des Confédérations et des Liges dans la Grèce ancienne* (Fr. Cauer), very favourable. N. Pavlatos, 'Ἡ ἀληθὴς ἰθάκη τοῦ Ὀμήρου' (G. Lang). Against the Leukas theory. *Thucydides historiae* rec. C. Hude I. II. Libri V-VIII. Indices. 2. II. Libri V-VIII. ed. maior (S. Widmann), favourable. W. Freund, *De Suetonii usu atque genere dicendi* (Th. Opitz), favourable.

8 Oct. E. Meyer, *Geschichte des Altertums*. Bd. V. (A. Höck), very favourable. H. Michael, *Das homerische und das heutige Ithaka* (H. Draheim). Against the Leukas theory. J. Jüthner, *Der Gymnastikos des Philostratos* (Küppers), favourable. R. Bürger, *De Ovidi carminum amatoriorum inventionis et arte* (K. P. Schultze), very favourable. E. Joannides, *Sprechen Sie Attisch?* 2. Aufl., very favourable.

15 Oct. A. Fick, *Das alte Lied vom Zorne Achills* (H. Draheim), favourable. *Herodotos*, ed. von H. Stein. I, 2. Buch II., 5. Aufl. (W. Gemoll) favourable. G. R. S. Mead, *Apollonius of Tyana, the philosopher-reformer of the first century* (J. Miller), unfavourable. P. Maas, *Studien zum poetischen Plural bei den Römern* (J. Tolkiehn). 'A careful study.'

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¹ The Index is by W. F. R. SHILLETO, M.A., formerly Foundation Scholar of Christ's College, Cambridge.
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